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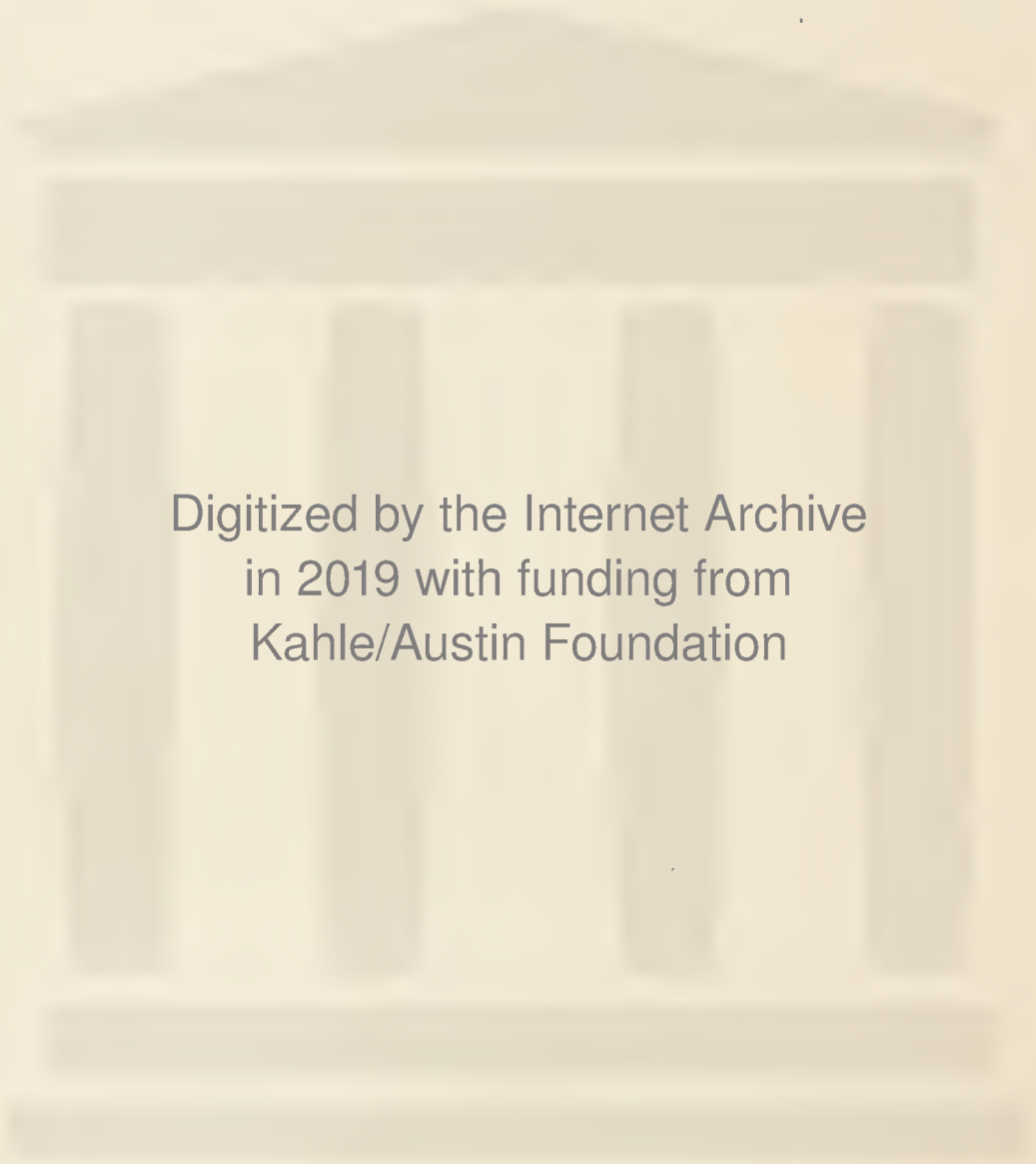

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1636-1639.

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PREFACE.

The present volume covers a period of 43 months, from June 1636, to the end of 1639. The material is all drawn from the state archives at the Frari, with the exception of one paper from the Correr Museum (No. 471), and four from the Public Record Office. Thanks chiefly to the efforts of Mr. Rawdon Brown, our own country is richly provided with Venetian records, originals as well as transcripts. This Calendar has now arrived at a period for which this material is exceptionally abundant. Of transcripts there are very full extracts from the despatches of Anzolo Correr, and the full text of all that were sent by Zonca and Giustinian, from the time that Correr left London to the end of the volume. There are also full transcripts of the *Espositioni Prinicipi,* and of Correr's Relation of England. In addition we have the original letter books of Alvise Contarini and Anzolo Correr, ambassadors in France, for the whole term,* and that of Contarini, ambassador in Spain, from April 1638 to the end.† Owing to the deplorable state of the file of original letters at Venice, the possession of this last is a singular piece of good fortune. The volume has been used here for the text of the despatches from Madrid, and in three instances (Nos. 559, 578, 642) it is the sole authority. For a different reason the letter book is the sole authority for the letter from Paris of the 17th Feb. 1638 (No. 399).

The period dealt with in these pages contains the climax and final collapse of Charles's attempt at personal government. Although the field has been worked over by historians, there is a great amount of material with which they have not dealt, for one reason or another. Within the limits assigned to this Preface it is impossible to enter critically into the various questions that arise, and the narrative contained in the following pages must be under-

* Venetian MSS. Vols. 50, 51, 52.
† Venetian MSS. Vol. 96.

stood as representing the point of view of the various Venetian ministers, omitting or touching lightly upon such matters as historians have already made use of in their published works.

I.

In the spring of 1636 the earl of Arundel set out for Germany, whither John Taylor had already gone, chiefly to protest against the peace of Prague. It was intimated that this would be the last attempt to settle by peaceful agreement the claims of the Palatine House, and that if it failed, more energetic measures to obtain redress would at once be adopted.* Charles had written to his sister definitely assuring her of this (Nos. 4, 18). Arundel claimed to have full powers to make an adjustment, and his task was to try and negotiate a general peace, without which no settlement could be more than a temporary truce.† To this end he carried instructions to act in full accord with the Danish ministers at Vienna, whose master had interposed for a general understanding (No. 2). The moment seemed propitious; the emperor was most anxious to secure the election of his son as king of the Romans, and it was considered unlikely that the electors would commit themselves before they had some idea what course the war and the negotiations would take (No. 19). Arundel was expected to direct his efforts to prevent the meeting of the diet, which might not only confirm the hold of the Hapsburgs on Germany, but secure to Bavaria the permanent possession of the electoral vote, both of which it was the interest of England to prevent (No. 17).

When Arundel reached Linz he had no reason to complain of the cordiality of his reception, though his acceptance of such favours provided material for the sarcasm of his enemies, to confirm the Prince Palatine's prejudice against him and to annoy the ministers, who thought he was wasting his time (Nos. 11, 35, 47). These strictures were hardly fair, for he began at once. Producing definite promises from the emperor to restore a considerable part of the Palatinate and the electoral vote, immediately after

* *See* the preceding Vol. of this *Calendar*, Preface page xxv.
† *Ibid.* page xxx.

Bavaria's death, he presented a formal demand for the whole of the Palatinate and the vote as well. The imperial ministers were rather taken aback. They interpreted Arundel's appointment as an indication that England had no intention of appealing to force, and had forthwith instructed Radolti, in London, to abstain from all serious negotiations. To meet the unexpected attack they appointed commissioners to treat with the earl, and messengers were despatched to Bavaria and the Spanish ambassador Oñate, to learn their opinions (No. 19). It is probable that the emperor's show of readiness to make concessions was nothing more than a blind (No. 329, *p.* 306), though Arundel professed himself satisfied of his good intentions (Nos. 36, 132). In other quarters the earl met with the most determined opposition. The ecclesiastical element, represented by the nuncio and the bishop of Vienna, one of the commissioners, was determined to resist any increase of the Protestant power in Germany by the restitution of the Palatine House (No. 36). The nuncio, in particular disliked the idea that Arundel might negotiate for a general peace, thereby taking the affair out of the pope's hands (No. 11). The bishop enraged Arundel by telling him that he ought to be satisfied with the removal of the ban and a declaration that the Palatines were princes of the empire, with the assignment of a suitable pension (No. 19). He said he marvelled at the bishop's ignorance of European affairs (No. 36). When he blustered about what England would do especially if the diet confirmed the vote to Bavaria, the bishop retorted that they would not be disturbed by threats; they could not shut their eyes to the harm which the Palatine had done in Germany (No. 68).

Bavaria offered even more serious opposition, claiming compensation for any concessions he might make. He assured the nuncio that he had not given and would not give any satisfaction to England, and he had received a promise that nothing to his prejudice should be done at the diet (No. 83). Arundel for his part openly called the duke an enemy and refused to see him (No. 68). But the most formidable opposition came from Oñate, the Spanish ambassador. The power of this minister was so great that

nothing could be decided without consulting him (No. 11). His personal ascendancy bore down all opposition from the imperial ministers, almost without exertion on his part (No. 36). In Paris they declared he was more ruler in Germany than the emperor himself (No. 123). Although Spain had far more to fear from the hostility of England than Austria, he made light of the danger, and if the emperor had to choose between offending Bavaria or England, he left no doubt as to which he considered the safer course. He assured the ministers that while king and parliament were out of harmony, England would not go to war or pay out subsidies for a cause in which the country had no real interest; and still less would they risk the loss of trade with Spain. The very worst to be feared was secret help and encouragement to the French and Swedes with men and money (No. 115). On his arrival Arundel had avoided meeting Oñate (No. 29), but subsequently they met frequently, as the Spaniard had no objection to beguiling the earl with futile proposals, so long as he chose to listen.

Arundel began by demanding full restitution, but he soon showed a disposition to modify his claims and was ready to accept the Lower Palatinate provided the Palatine House was not thereby debarred from claiming more at another time, and that England should not be saddled with any obligation to make an alliance against the French or Dutch. This proviso was due to Taylor having compromised the position by offering an alliance in return for the cession of the Lower Palatinate, an offer for which Arundel declared that he deserved punishment (No. 36). Arundel was prepared to accept a suggestion to refer the question to the diet, and he thought of paying a visit to the Elector of Saxony at Prague, to enlist his support (No. 44).

With all this the negotiations languished, and Arundel complained bitterly of his treatment, accusing Taylor of having led to his mission by misrepresentation. With the approach of autumn there was a revival. Fear of trouble with the Turks made the imperialists more ready to listen (No. 83) and there was probably a further motive in a secret letter from his master, who, after an abortive discussion in the Council, wrote to the earl in his own hand,

without taking any one into his confidence (No. 54). At any rate, from early October until mid November, Arundel was engaged in active negotiations with the emperor, the king of Hungary and Oñate. The discussions seem to have ranged over the whole question of a general peace, including France and Lorraine (No. 102). Efforts were apparently made to purchase English help against the enemies of the empire at the price of territorial concessions in the Palatinate. At a final conference it was suggested that England should promise help against those who disturbed the empire, but that the Palatine House should at the same time renounce all claims against the duke of Bavaria, and give up all idea of the electoral vote so long as the Bavarian line lasted. At this suggestion Arundel rose from his seat in great excitement, declaring that this was the way to a rupture, not an agreement. He broke off the conference then and there, setting out for home immediately after (No. 115).

It is remarkable that the negotiation of a general peace, supposed to be the main object of his mission, was hardly touched upon until towards the close of Arundel's stay, and was then immediately overlaid by what amounted to an offensive and defensive alliance. Of co-operation with the friendly ambassadors there is scarce a word. As a matter of fact Arundel was regarded with some suspicion by those on whose assistance he might have been expected to count. The Dutch minister complained that he could only get him to talk of pictures and galleries, and suspected the earl of concealing some agreement that would pledge England to help the Spaniards against his countrymen (No. 83). The Venetian Ballarino declares that Arundel's professed dissatisfaction was not genuine, and that negotiations went on (No. 102). It was observed that after all that had been said Taylor stayed on to keep up the thread of negotiation.

Arundel travelled direct to the Hague to confer with the Princess Palatine. Towards the Dutch he observed extreme reticence, refusing public honours and declining to discuss any business. He spoke favourably of the emperor and the offers he made, but could not say if his master would accept them. An appeal to arms was the

last resource, and in his opinion matters had not reached that extremity. It was conjectured that the imperial ministers had got hold of him after his departure from Ratisbon, and talked him over. Yet the Princess Palatine declared herself completely satisfied with the way in which he had looked after her interests (No. 132).

Before Arundel reached home the emperor's son had been elected king of the Romans. The earl's presence seems to have had no effect on this result, and, contrary to expectation, he had not been able to turn the affair to advantage. In the midst of his triumph the emperor felt some misgivings as to the line which England might take, and sent after Arundel suggesting fresh terms for an adjustment. He put this affair in the hands of the archbishop of Mainz. At the same time he made advances to the Dutch (No. 122). He tried to persuade Oñate to yield more liberal conditions for the Palatinate, but the ambassador declared he would rather his master engaged in an honourable war than see him surrender what he held by a just title (No. 130). The Spanish ministers continued to assert that nothing was to be feared from England, owing to the strained relations with France and the differences between the king and his subjects (No. 145).

The event proved how correctly they had gauged the situation. At the news of Arundel's return Charles expressed his displeasure with the House of Austria, and assured his nephew that he would not let this pass without taking vengeance (No. 137). When the earl arrived the king received him with every honour and made him give a full account of his experiences for his private ear. He continued to talk big about what he intended to do, and on the 26th January assembled the Council to hear Arundel's account of his mission. The earl made a long statement, at the end of which he expressed the conviction that the Austrians had no desire to settle the Palatine question; their offers of restitution were all a pretence, with the object of keeping England quiet. The king thereupon proposed that all further negotiations should be suspended and active measures adopted, without waiting for the result of the negotiations with France. The readiest and quickest way was to equip a naval force. But even in

this heat it was decided that it should be in the Palatine's name since an open rupture with the House of Austria was neither desirable nor practicable under existing circumstances (No. 147). At the same time the Palatine was to make a public protest that both the peace of Prague and the election of Ferdinand were illegitimate.

This project thus launched was pushed by the king with energy and determination. The fleet was to consist of 22 ships including a nucleus from the royal navy. Funds were to be supplemented by voluntary contributions towards which the devoted Lord Craven at once promised £30,000. The king's subjects were given leave to volunteer for the force, which was expected to make an attack on the Spanish treasure fleet (No. 156). Five royal ships and ten merchantmen were selected for a start. They revolved great schemes in which this fleet should be part of a great allied force, with the Palatine as supreme Admiral (No. 168). But after the first spurt of enthusiasm difficulties and misgivings began to present themselves. Volunteers and contributions did not come in so freely as anticipated. The French were indifferent and the Dutch silent, in the conviction that it would all end in nothing (No. 170). Doubts arose about the best means of employing this force and whether, without adequate support from the allies, it might not do the Palatine more harm than good (No. 188). By April Beveren was able to report that the fleet would be limited to 15 ships, while gentlemen had been forbidden to volunteer for it (No. 193). Foreseeing a collapse, Senneterre suggested that it should be attached as a squadron to the French fleet. The Princess Palatine disapproved of the plan altogether, for she wished to see her son in command of an army in Germany (No. 244). Before the summer was well advanced the plan was completely abandoned, the entire squadron being merged in the royal fleet under Northumberland, of which it formed much the largest part (No. 274).

When the project was first mooted, the younger Oñate, newly arrived as Spanish ambassador, made a great to do, declaring that if the king thought of waging war on the House of Austria under cover of the Palatine, he was

making a great mistake. His master preferred open enemies, and Spain was quite capable of waging war with England (Nos. 160, 165). His bluster made very little impression, particularly as he professed anxiety to arrange a friendly settlement, and showed no disposition to break off relations. The imperial minister Radolti showed more determination, demanding his passports as the consequence of a manifesto issued by the Palatine. This was granted with alacrity and he was hurried out of the country with scant ceremony (Nos. 168, 180). During a stay in England of little less than a year he had transacted no business of any account. Living in complete retirement he had only appeared twice at Court after his first audiences, once to present a letter, ostensibly from the emperor, which he was believed to have concocted in his own study (No. 90), and again to inform the king of the election of the king of the Romans, on which occasion Charles rounded on him so fiercely that he had not a word to say (No. 147).

II.

The mission of the earl of Leicester to France in April 1636 was understood as being complementary to that of Arundel, so that if the latter's negotiations at Vienna proved abortive England might join in an active alliance with France to extort by force what the imperialists would not yield to persuasion.* For many months two ambassadors had been in London to promote such an alliance, but without making any progress. Owing to rooted differences and more particularly to quarrels over maritime questions the two nations seemed rather to be drifting farther apart, and even war seemed possible. The seizure of the *Miniken* ketch had brought things to a serious pass, for Northumberland sailed with orders to take all ships flying the French flag, while the French openly talked of combining with the Dutch fleet in order to check the overweening pretensions of England (No. 6). Neither side was acting quite sincerely. The French looked askance on the negotiations of Taylor and Arundel, about which their enquiries only met with vague replies. From the

* *See* the preceding Vol. of this *Calendar*, preface, page xxxii.

time of Arundel's departure their ambassadors in London abstained from saying anything more about the alliance, their only serious business being an attempt to get Irish levies for their armies (No. 80). Their own government left them entirely in the dark (No. 69). Only once was this reticence abandoned. In July 1636 the imperialists broke into Picardy and pushed almost to the gates of Amiens. Corbie fell on the 15th August. On the 25th Senneterre asked for audience of the king. In a lengthy harangue he pointed out the need for resisting the overwhelming power of the House of Austria. He suggested that the best means was an alliance between France, England and the Dutch without which any attempt to recover the Palatinate would be hopeless. If this were not arranged he intimated that France might be tempted to make a separate peace in which she would consider her own interests alone. He pressed for a definite answer, but the king only replied with generalities, expressing his friendship for his brother, speaking hopefully of the negotiations in Germany, and telling the ambassador that if his advances to France had met with a better reception something satisfactory might by that time have been arranged (No. 55).

Charles had made no offer that was likely to attract France, even in extremity. He made it clear that he did not contemplate war with the House of Austria (No. 73), telling Correr that his ambition was to live neighbourly with all (No. 46). The naval assistance, which was the only positive help promised, was an obvious attempt to obtain French recognition of the supremacy claimed at sea, which they were by no means prepared to accept (Nos. 116, 119). He wanted France to sacrifice Lorraine for the sake of the Palatinate, and when he suggested abandoning this plan on condition that the French would also give up supporting the duke of Bavaria, he thought that the last obstacles were removed and that the French would promptly close with his offers (No. 93). Unaccountably they failed to display the eagerness expected of them, and the English ministers grew doubtful about the treaty, though outwardly they affected confidence (No. 122). The king also grew restive at the absence of any response

to his advance, and remarked in public that his ambassadors had powers to conclude. He would not be to blame if the delay brought harm upon the common cause, but it would all be due to the over subtle circumspection of the French (No. 116).

At the end of 1636 the situation had altered materially. The French were driving the invader back, while Arundel's return empty handed from Vienna showed the hopelessness of any settlement of the Palatine question by negotiation. In the light of Arundel's disclosures the English ministers became very friendly towards the French. It was not good, they said, to allow the might and influence of the House of Austria to be always on the increase. There was, however, no sign that they meant to go to extremes, for which the means were lacking; and the king would on no account declare himself the enemy of the imperialists (Nos. 156, 160). Yet circumstances rendered the French treaty necessary before everything else, the thing upon which everything depended (Nos. 201, 233). But as the English grew more eager, the French became more difficult. Richelieu was not at all disposed to accept the sort of treaty which Charles had in mind. The English, he told Contarini, want to avoid pledging themselves and to do nothing while we do a great deal. They want to commit us without saying what they mean to do. England talked of war but did not say how she meant to wage it. If this was left vague, then France must consult her allies, the Swedes and Dutch, as she could not have fresh confederates about minor matters without hearing their views. But if England would declare war, France would be satisfied if she provided 30 ships and a force of 6000 foot and 1500 to 2000 horse for Germany (No. 203). He also required that England should cease to molest the Dutch fishermen so long as the alliance lasted, since it could not exist for long without a good understanding between England and the United Provinces. But England was not prepared to sacrifice the valuable trade with Spain and the king was not disposed to plunge right away into so costly a war; the reference to the fisheries was resented as a matter in which France had no concern (No. 199). Thus the negotiations threatened to break down altogether, and

the Spaniards went about jeering over the scanty results after so much fuss (No. 194).

There remained the alternative of a limited alliance subject to reference to the allies. Agreement on this was easily reached and the alliance announced as concluded. The news was published in England at the end of June, amid universal rejoicing (No. 247). The Prince Palatine wrote to inform his mother of the happy event (No. 252) and Fielding imparted the news to the Signory of Venice at a special audience (No. 268). All this was decidedly premature, and it did not impose on anyone. The Venetians, struck by the absence of any information about the terms, made a polite reply couched in vague generalities like those of the ambassador (Nos. 269, 270). The Dutch, offended at being left out of the negotiations, treated the whole affair with derision (No. 288).

In effect Charles had merely accepted the conditions sent him from Paris. These comprised two treaties. By the first England promised a fleet under the Palatine to attack Flanders and the Spanish coast; while permitting France to levy 6000 men in Great Britain at her own cost; France, in return, was not to make peace without securing the restoration of the Palatines. By the second treaty, all the claims of the princes concerned in the war were to be adjusted in a general congress at Hamburg. But before the first treaty could be signed it must be submitted to the Swedes and Dutch for their approval (No. 251). Such terms merely transferred the business from the principals to the allies of France, and opened the way to endless disputes and delays. The transfer was marked by the immediate departure of Senneterre and Beveren, much to the disgust of the king and Court, though Leicester and Scudamore remained at Paris.

The meeting of a congress of the allies at Hamburg or some other place had been suggested at Paris earlier in the year, to discuss the part to be taken by the various powers concerned in resisting the common enemy. The French favoured the plan because they considered that England was evading her fair share of the work (No. 185). England desired the treaty first (No. 191) and then to treat with the others separately (No. 201), and Charles had even

declared that he would not send to Hamburg (No. 212). The French had carried their point and as the result of the agreement both Louis and Charles sent invitations to the Swedes and Dutch to enter the alliance and send their ministers to take part in the diet (No. 259).

The Dutch, resentful and suspicious, were determined to do nothing to help the Palatine while their fishermen were subject to molestation. They had enough enemies without antagonising the empire, whose neutrality assured them a valuable trade (Nos. 267, 278). They made a non committal reply, and raised difficulties about sending a minister. The Swedes, whose fortunes were then at a very low ebb, were suspected of being already in negotiation with the emperor for a separate peace (No. 244). Like the other allies they did not consider that England was taking her fair share, and announced that they could not approve of the treaty unless Charles agreed to take his proper part. Suspecting some secret articles in the treaty they insisted on seeing the whole before they would commit themselves (No. 322). The French had long since drawn their own conclusions. It pleases the English, said Richelieu, to see all the Christian powers fighting and they would like to commit them to supporting the Palatine, while they themselves do nothing (No. 314). The treaty would be worthless if Charles was determined not to declare war against the House of Austria and he suspected that if England could peacefully settle the Palatine question they would abandon every other thought (No. 289). This lack of confidence deeply offended Charles, who protested his own sincerity, while suspecting the French of conducting secret negotiations of their own with the Austrians. He grew indifferent about the treaty, from which he began to expect nothing. The fear of being deceived, which had taken firm hold of him, rendered him more inclined to re-open negotiations with the Austrians (No. 297).

Interest in the negotiations languished during the summer and autumn of 1637, with the suggestion of some other meeting place, such as Paris or the Hague, though the original choice of Hamburg was finally confirmed (No. 308). It was revived by the arrival of Bellievre, the new

French ambassador, in November. His coming, after three months without any ambassador, was welcomed because it might bring the ratification of the treaty. In this he proved a disappointment, as his first efforts were directed to settling the maritime disputes between the two countries. The case of the *Pearl* in particular had been under discussion for over two years.* The English claimed both ship and cargo, as an act of justice, while the French would concede no more than the ship, and as an act of grace. Unable to reach any settlement the king ultimately granted letters of marque to the injured parties, who profited by the concession to capture two French ships. In retaliation the French immediately closed all their ports against the English and seized the ships and goods already there (No. 353). The situation was dangerous as likely to lead to war, while both sides suffered by the complete interruption of trade (No. 403). This mattered the more to the French since, owing to the war with Spain, they had become completely dependent upon English ships for their overseas trade (No. 364). Bellievre persuaded the king to send a proctor, one Wannerton, to Paris to settle the dispute. But though he took powers to the ambassadors to make what settlement they pleased (No. 371), he sent back an unfavourable report, and at the beginning of 1638 the English merchants were very pessimistic on the subject (No. 381). The king, however, showed great determination, moved by the outcry of the traders, that in spite of the heavy taxes they paid, they received no security and suffered as much loss as before the days of ship money. He sent instructions to Leicester not to conduct any business at the French Court until this matter was settled (No. 401). This resolution was followed by immediate results. The French agreed to restore the ship and pay 40,000 florins for compensation, while the English were to pay 8,000 florins for the French ships taken in reprisal, and to revoke the letters of marque. This arrangement satisfied the mart in general, but not those immediately concerned, who complained that the goods in the ship had been sold for over 80,000 florins (Nos. 405, 409).

* *See* the preceding Vol. of this *Calendar*, page 434.

With this difficulty out of the way the coast was clear for the resumption of the negotiations about the treaty and the Hamburg congress. Much irritation was felt at the hesitation of the Dutch (No. 339) and surprise at the indifference of France (No. 345), whose behaviour seemed very ambiguous (No. 384). Leicester suspected that the French were secretly encouraging the Swedes and Dutch to hang back in order to force England's hands (No. 380). The fundamental difficulty was the well founded suspicion of the allies that England did not mean to contribute anything substantial to the common stock. Richelieu impatiently exclaimed to Correr that England was a country where they talked of everything and decided nothing. Ambassadors had been discussing the question for three years, and the position was worse than ever. They did not intend to come to the point, their sole object being to preserve their own ease. But the wheel of Fortune might have an unlucky turn for them (No. 403).

Dissatisfied with the ambiguous replies of the English Agents at Hamburg, the Swedes sent to London a Scottish colonel, who had been serving in Germany, to discover their real intentions (No. 389). He represented the serious plight of the allied cause, the danger that Sweden might be constrained to make a separate peace, and urged the sending of an ambassador to the congress with full powers. These offices, actively backed by Bellievre, at first met with very little apparent success. But the Dutch having at length decided to send a minister, Charles resolved to do the like and selected Anstruther, who had previous experience in Germany. Anstruther succeeded in evading a position for which he was generally considered unfit (No. 427) and the king thereupon selected Sir Thomas Roe, the man whom public opinion had already indicated as the most suitable (No. 438), who was known to be devoted to the interests of the Palatine House. Although an experienced diplomatist of proved ability Roe had been pining in neglect for some years.* He must have welcomed this opening, unpromising as the prospect might be, and was very soon ready to start. Before leaving he had a long secret interview with the king. He took

* *See* Vol. xxii. of this *Calendar*, page 411.

with him authority to promise help to the Swedes, so that they should no longer obstruct the treaty with France, he was to give the Dutch assurances about their fishermen, and to treat with Denmark and the Princes of Germany in order to get help for the Palatine (No. 440).

Roe expressed confidence in the success of his mission and declared that he meant to put the thing through (No. 469). But no sooner had he arrived that he was met with the straight question whether his king meant to break openly with the House of Austria. He could only make an evasive reply and write for fresh instructions (No. 484). As the Swedes continued to insist upon substantial assistance both in men and money as a condition of the alliance (Nos. 519, 549), there was obviously little hope of progress when England had no intention of doing anything serious in either way. Yet Roe stayed on and at times Charles seemed sanguine of success, although the months slipped away and still the treaty remained unratified. Early in 1639 Leicester had a special audience at which he urged the French king to conclude the negotiations at Hamburg, as if they were not soon resolved his master would recall the ministers he had sent there. The French laid the blame on the Swedes (No. 585); but the collapse of the negotiations was by that time recognised as inevitable. Roe himself saw the position to be hopeless and asked for permission to return (No. 605). By April Richelieu had come to the conclusion that the projected alliance had completely vanished away (No. 643). The faint hope of help from England completely disappeared with the progress of the revolt in Scotland, and the same cause equally dissipated any possibility that Charles might make himself disagreeable. The changed relations were indicated by the prompt response to Bellievre remonstrances at the seizure, by way of reprisal, of a ship from French Canada (No. 534), and by the fear that a French concentration in Normandy might be intended for a descent upon the Channel Islands (No. 629). The turn of Fortune's wheel, foreshadowed by Richelieu, had already come. At the same time, to recall Roe was felt to be too open a confession of failure (No. 623). Accordingly he stayed on and employed his time usefully in coming to a

friendly arrangement with Denmark with respect to her claims against the English crown, and for help to the Palatine in the future, while he redeemed jewels pledged in that country (Nos. 696, 707).

III.

The provision of a fleet and the French alliance did not exhaust the efforts made by Charles for the benefit of his nephew. The prince's mother favoured her son appearing in Germany to assert his rights at the head of an army. In the spring of 1637 the Landgrave of Hesse afforded an opportunity of realising this plan by offering the services of his own army in return for a subsidy from England (No. 194). The French ambassador strongly urged the Palatine to take advantage of this chance (No. 233); but the prince had no ardent desire to plunge into the welter in Germany. He preferred the ease and pleasure of the English Court (No. 244) and could not conceal his dread of exposing his person in the field (No. 206). He preferred to compromise by accepting what the Spaniards seemed to offer, saying that such proposals ought not to be disdained, since it was better to make sure of a certainty than to run risks for what was uncertain. His ministers were constrained to point out that these Spanish offers were not genuine and were only intended to deceive (No. 221).

With the reported conclusion of the treaty with France the prince set sail for Holland, escorted by the whole fleet. Before he left he received numerous presents, payment of all his debts, the promise of a yearly pension of £12,000, an assurance of help and abundance of good advice from his uncle (No. 253). On his side he presented a paper asking what he should say in reply to the reasonable demands of the allies, the Swedes, the Dutch and the Landgrave of Hesse (*Id.*). The king's answer, given in person was mainly to the effect that these questions would be dealt with by others (No. 256), and with this answer, which amounted to a snub, the prince was forced to rest content. How little he expected from his uncle's promises appeared very soon after he sailed. His Agent in England called

on the Venetian ambassador. After remarking that the prince did not expect much from the French alliance, as they were too feeble to resist the House of Austria, while the Swedes were ruined and the Dutch exhausted, so that all together were unequal to reinstating the prince or to uphold him if they did, he went on to intimate that the friendly mediation of Venice would be highly acceptable (No. 266). The hint was repeated a few weeks later even more explicitly (No. 285). Correr believed that the suggestion originated with the English Court and felt sure that the king would welcome any satisfactory arrangement, even if he had no hand in it himself (No. 282). Yet Charles told the ambassador at this very time that he placed the affairs of his nephew foremost among his most important interests (No. 297), and Leicester was informing the French government that his king would supply the prince with troops to form an army in Germany with which to recover his own (No. 286).

The army suddenly materialised by the unexpected death of the Landgrave of Hesse, whose force was in East Friesland at the time. By the advice of his mother and the Prince of Orange, and encouraged by the offices of the French ambassador at the Hague, who promised help from his master, the prince decided to go and take up the command. At the same time he wrote asking for his uncle's advice, professing that he would be entirely ruled by it. But this feeler merely drew a reply praising his spirit, with only vague promises of support. The English government welcomed any step taken without consulting them first, thinking that under the circumstances the French would have to shoulder the entire burden and that they would escape scot free (Nos. 336, 356). In spite of this chorus of encouragement the prince hesitated to take the plunge. He said he would defer taking up the command until the spring, on the plea that the scarcity of food and forage prevented campaigning in those parts (No. 350). Moreover when it came to the point, the French made their assistance absolutely dependent upon England coming openly into the war on their side (No. 398). Under all the circumstances it is not surprising that the enterprise gave rise to no concern at Vienna (No. 342).

A small force with such meagre backing rendered any considerable enterprise hopeless. But the new year opened prosperously for the allies. The treaty was signed between France and Sweden, the Swedes advanced in Pomerania, and Bernard of Saxe Weimar won a resounding victory on the Rhine. The prince had already purchased Meppen in Westphalia as a magazine, and the brightening prospect stirred his uncle to unwonted efforts of generosity. From the depleted exchequer £20,000 were remitted to Holland for the prince's use, and guns and munitions were forwarded to Meppen while further supplies were promised for the future (Nos. 438, 440, 453, 497). The cause was taken up with enthusiasm in England and many of the younger nobility prepared to go and serve under the young prince (No. 425). The Scots shared in the emulation (No. 507), while the Swedes offered all their forces in Westphalia under General King, a Scottish soldier of fortune in their service (No. 452). By the summer the army had grown to some 5,000 men; an officer was sent to England to raise an additional regiment for which the king readily granted permission (No. 476). But misfortune dogged the enterprise. In May the imperialists surprised and captured Meppen with all its stores. The funds supplied by Charles, though a drain on his slender resources, were quite inadequate for the support of the army, which dwindled so rapidly in consequence that it threatened to disappear altogether (No. 515). Retreating from the siege of Lemgo it was caught in a narrow pass and, the cavalry taking to flight, the infantry were all but annihilated. The prince himself escaped to Minden with the remains of his force. His brother Rupert with Lord Craven fell into the hands of the victors (Nos. 526, 529). The English levy of 600 men did not sail until the end of September (No. 509), and did not arrive in the Weser until after the disaster. Though ready to take service anywhere they found themselves stranded, with no one willing to have them (No. 537).

This unhappy issue to the prince's venture affected the king deeply. His sister, with her usual indomitable spirit, at once wrote to ask him to maintain a force of 4,000 men for her son (No. 535); but this was out of the question,

owing to the trouble in Scotland, and because of the demands made upon him by the sudden arrival of the queen mother to claim his unwilling hospitality (Nos. 513, 527). His first thoughts were to obtain the release of Rupert. While in England the young prince had seemed engrossed in the pleasures of the Court and the delights of female society (No. 119). The charms of ease appealed to him more than the practice of arms (No. 206), and amid a round of pleasures he appeared to care little about the honour and fortunes of his house (No. 238). He had now won his spurs by his gallantry in action and in defeat charmed his captors by his superior manners and ideas (No. 611). He was lodged in the imperial palace at Linz in the custody of the Count of Staremberg. It was a relief that he had not been handed over to the duke of Bavaria, who asked this boon of the emperor (No. 563). Very characteristically Charles wished to procure his nephew's enlargement at the expense of someone else. He wanted the French to exchange him against Prince Casimir, whom they had in custody. But the French had other views and did not consider that Charles had any grounds for expecting them to make this sacrifice for him (No. 704).

The emperor proceeded to depress still further the unhappy state of the Palatine by formally excluding him from the peace conference to be held at Cologne. The act stirred Charles to great indignation and a determination to get the decree abolished (No. 570). But fresh schemes were now being woven on the prince's behalf. At the end of 1638 Duke Bernard put the seal on his successes by the capture of Breisach, which at once cut the Spanish land communications with Flanders and gave him the choice of several different lines of attack. Although this success had been won chiefly with French assistance Charles hoped to use it for his own ends and urged the French to get Bernard to make an immediate attack on Bavaria (No. 580). The French made no response to this suggestion, but it was not abandoned on that account. Charles was inclined to encourage the duke's disposition to be more independent of the French and persuade him to use his army for the Palatine's cause (No. 610). This

scheme was largely promoted by Oliver Fleming, English Resident with the Swiss, a man of strong anti-French bias, who hoped to make sure of the duke's help by arranging a marriage between him and the Palatine's sister (No 582). Fleming was in England on this business at the beginning of 1639, when he received the honour of knighthood for his services before returning to his post (No. 617). By April he was back again, bringing a letter from the duke to the king. It was hoped that after completing his operations in Burgundy the duke would lead his army to reconquer the Palatinate, and many English officers wished to go and serve under such a distinguished leader (No. 687). Once again the sudden death of its leader gave the young prince Palatine the chance of an army of his own. He at once hurried to England to persuade his uncle to give him the necessary financial support, of which he was the more hopeful since the agreement with the Scots had just been concluded.

The idea of getting Bernard's army and the possession of Breisach for the prince seems to have originated with Fleming who was to try to enlist the support of the Swiss by trading on their mistrust of the French (No. 694). Notwithstanding this an appeal was made to France for assistance, naturally without any success, indeed the only result was to stimulate the determination of France to get control of that army at once (No. 710). Under existing conditions there was no hope of obtaining money from England, yet the officers of Bernard's army were sounded about the project, and they wrote saying that if England would supply monthly subsidies sufficient to keep up their strength they would have no objection to the Palatine as their commander (No. 705). After deliberation in the Council it was decided to pay the prince three years of his pension in advance, and to promise further supplies if he was successful (No. 707). To find even this amount was a matter of difficulty, and though the king was thought to be eager to get rid of his nephew, it was mid-October before the prince set out from London for Breisach with remittances for £10,000 in his pocket. On the same day Fleming left for Basel (No. 713). The king had his misgivings and sent a courier after the prince warning him to

avoid seeing the French king on his way through (No. 718). The expedition was already too late. Four days before the prince started, the French had made an arrangement by which they obtained control of the army. They did not mean to leave anything to chance, and the prince was arrested at Moulins, en route,* while Fleming and Lord Craven were stopped at Paris. The French justified their action by saying that the prince wanted the command in order to pave the way for a settlement of his affairs with the emperor, and the secrecy of his proceedings showed that his design was unfriendly to France (No. 727). The prince was conveyed to Vincennes where, with perhaps intentional irony, he shared captivity with that same Prince Casimir whom his uncle had wished to be exchanged for Rupert. Although closely guarded the prince seemed little disturbed by his misfortune and passed his time very cheerfully with such diversions as were open to him (No. 730).

In England the news at first caused a great sensation, but the feeling soon gave way to indifference, the Court being absorbed in a round of gaiety (No. 731). Over a month passed before Thomas Windebank was sent to Paris to try and obtain the prince's release, but his instructions were all for mildness and peace (No. 738). The French received the envoy courteously, but only gave him general replies, and Richelieu intimated to Correr that they proposed to take advantage of the opportunity to bring pressure on England and make her take part for the common cause, for which every effort had so far been unavailing (No. 749). Bellievre assured Charles that the incident would redound to the prince's advantage (No. 738). The French contemplated putting the prince in command of the army after all, on condition that Charles would supply the cost (No. 735).

While the prince lay in captivity at Vincennes the Venetian ministers succeeded in persuading the emperor and Spain to withdraw their ban on his personal appearance at the congress at Cologne (Nos. 715, 720). Towards the end of 1639 William Curtius, who had acted as agent for the prince in England set out from London to act as Eng-

* Ranke: *Geschichte von England*, vol. ii. page 359.

lish minister at the diet of the princes held at Frankfort. He carried instructions to urge the princes to protect the Palatine and to prevent anything being done there to his prejudice, or failing that, to denounce anything so done as null and void (No. 740).

IV.

Since the departure of Don Carlos Coloma in February 1631 Spanish affairs had been in the hands of the Resident Necolalde, but in July 1636 a new ambassador appeared, the Count of Oñate, son of the all powerful Spanish minister in Germany. His advent was awaited with interest and it was thought he might take up the project of an alliance already broached by Necolalde (No. 28). But the new minister from the first adopted an attitude of contemptuous aloofness, inspired no doubt by his father's conviction of the harmlessness of England under the existing conditions. He loitered long at Greenwich, declined an audience which was arranged specially for him and showed no anxiety to get to business (No. 35). He took a house at Chelsea, far from the Court, and continued incognito in the most complete retirement, studiously avoiding a meeting with the king or his ministers (No. 90). This conduct caused much resentment, and various efforts were made to provoke him to action, but all in vain, and even the seizure of money for Flanders did not move him (Nos. 55, 87). His close intimacy with the imperial minister Radolti, who also never appeared at Court, gave equal offence, and it was suspected that they were planning together to cause artificial delays and prevent any vigorous action by England (No. 47). Oñate certainly was not idle. He came amply provided with funds, to be spent in bribing the English ministers, while frequent and most secret meetings were held at Necolalde's house (Nos. 65, 106). His first audience did not take place until October, and he gave great offence by employing as interpreter an English Jesuit well known at Court, thereby flouting the laws to the king's own face (No. 86). He had his first private audience at the end of the month after being nearly four months in the country. He merely urged that Arundel should be kept at Vienna,

in spite of some criticism of the earl's temper. Charles replied dryly, as he had expected something more substantial after the long delay (No. 98). Oñate then retired into his shell again, from which no provocation would draw him. To the amazement of the Court he showed not the least concern about the negotiations for the French alliance (Nos. 107, 116). Yet he contrived to work in secret and a probable result of his activities was a proposal made to Charles by some of his ministers to give his fleet to the Spaniards, in return for which they would obtain complete satisfaction for his nephew (No. 154).

The return of Arundel and the prospect of strong measures in favour of the Palatine at last stirred him to activity. His first line was to threaten immediate war as the consequence of any covert acts of hostility. Finding that this made no impression he began to attack the treaty with France. Boasting that he had full information of all that was going on (No. 201) he pointed out the weakness of France, her failure to support Parma in Italy, to hold her own in the Valtelline or to gain any advantage over the House of Austria, so that the English ministers were led to reflect that even if the Palatinate were won with French help, they could not feel sure of holding their conquests, since the French had never shown themselves capable of holding for long what the fortune of war gave them (No. 212). Oñate insinuated that much more was to be anticipated from a friendly arrangement with the House of Austria, viz.: the immediate surrender of the Lower Palatinate, a compromise about the vote and even more if they would join in an alliance against the Dutch, who merited his Majesty's displeasure for daring to contest his claim to the sovereignty of the seas (Nos. 194, 212). He claimed to have full power to make the restitution and said that some fortresses in the Netherlands would be given to hold as a pledge until the transfer could be completed. As a token of goodwill he presented the king with two fine Spanish horses and gave another to Hamilton, remarking that he had some more very fleet ones to send the news of the final agreement to his master (No. 206). His proposals fell on willing ears, he had long conferences with

the secretaries of state, and commissioners were appointed for him after this had first been refused (Nos. 201, 221). But news received from Germany exposed the duplicity of his offers (No. 230), while the grant of a levy of 4,000 men to the Swedes gave Oñate an excuse for declaring that his instructions no longer held good and for threatening to demand his passports. The king, in response, merely remarked that if he wished to leave he would not find anyone to beg him to stay (No. 226). Revenge was taken for his previous conduct by steadily ignoring all his demands and the government apparently wished to treat him as Arundel had been served in Germany (No. 238).

At this critical moment Oñate fell ill and took to his bed. It looked as if the French ambassador had driven him from the field, and his indisposition was referred to sarcastically as the French sickness.* But his illness seems to have been quite genuine (Nos. 246, 255) and the success of his rivals was more apparent than real. The French treaty was announced, but it was not ratified either then or thereafter, and while Senneterre departed, Oñate remained. While still in bed he received Correr and railed at the English Court and its methods. The agreement with France looked very fine, but it was impracticable as the French lacked money and the king of England was in no condition to supply it (No. 255). As soon as he was about again he declared that he would make no further overtures, as he had already gone far enough, but he professed his willingness to settle the Palatine question in an amicable manner (No. 267), and even hinted that he would welcome Correr's mediation (No. 274). At the same time he threatened immediate war if the king's ships, whether commanded by the Palatine or any one else, committed any hostile acts against the king of Spain (No. 247). As for the French alliance, he laughed at it, affirming that his master had the means to stir up such trouble in Great Britain that would very soon compel the English to recall any ships and troops they might send to help the French (No. 379). The Spaniards had been preparing for some time to turn the disaffection in the country to account (No. 261). They had arranged to supply money to start

* Salamon : *Frankreichs Beziehungen zu dem Schottischen Aufstand*, page 9.

a rebellion and were even ready to take the lead should war be declared (No. 279). But this was unlikely. The indifference of France and the conduct of the allies made Charles incline more and more to renew negotiations with the Austrians (No. 297). Oñate was content to watch the trend of events and to bide his time (No. 327). Before he left England he was able to report that the king was more inclined to an alliance with Spain than to one with France (No. 448).

Though he had not failed diplomatically Oñate had made himself personally impossible. He seemed to take pleasure in giving offence, and that even when he might have been expected to show himself most conciliatory. Thus he abstained from giving any formal intimation of the death of the Emperor Ferdinand II., when this was expected of him (No. 194). He deliberately refrained from visiting the ministers of state, declaring it was their business to call on him first, contrary to the practice of all his predecessors. When asking for commissioners to treat he expressly excluded Holland and Coke by name, as professed enemies of the House of Austria thereby eliciting a sharp retort from the king (No. 199). He gave mortal offence by failing to appear at an audience arranged at his own request and his plea of indisposition was not credited (No. 282). He ostentatiously went to visit the Polish ambassador Rey, whom the king had refused to receive, well knowing that the act would be taken in ill part (No. 312). He vindicated his ambassadorial privilege by rescuing by armed force some loose women who had relations with his servants. The king, when he heard about it, told Oñate that if he came to harm on such escapades he would have to put up with the consequences (No. 279). His conduct aroused increasing resentment, and at last the king had formal complaint made against him at Madrid (No. 315). A successor was appointed soon after, but Oñate remained in England nearly 8 months longer, sighing for the day of his release.

The last part of his stay was chiefly occupied with a dispute, mainly private in character, upon which the Domestic State Papers contain many particulars. He had come to England in the *Victory,* a royal ship, Captain

Stewart. Among the cargo were ten cases of reals belonging to Franchi, a Genoese merchant. Oñate declared these to be the property of his king, because they had not paid duty. He induced Stewart to seize them for him promising to guarantee him against any unpleasant consequences. Once in England Franchi brought an action for the money against Stewart, which he won; but when Stewart asked Oñate to make good his promise, the ambassador coolly referred him to Spain for redress. Thereupon Stewart sought and obtained powers to lay hands on Oñate's goods, to indemnify him for his loss. For a long time Oñate avoided speaking to the king about this affair. Eventually he did so, representing that the property seized by Stewart belonged to his king. At his request the case was referred to the Admiralty commissioners, but their procedure was too slow for Oñate, who by that time was impatient to be off. The king then took the case into his own hand, and pronounced that the property of ambassadors was inviolable; but he offered to grant letters of marque to Stewart so that he could indemnify himself by Spanish ships and goods. At this Oñate haughtily declared that he would not ask any more for the release of the goods. If the seizure was unlawful the king should annul it himself. He was very angry about the threat of reprisals, yet he stooped to ask for commissioners who could decide the case in the king's presence. They decided in Oñate's favour, while covering Stewart against Franchi, much to the indignation of the last, who threatened reprisals at Genoa (Nos. 287, 413, 423, 434, 438, 440, 447).

In spite of all that had passed Oñate had an excellent send off, the king giving him four horses, besides the usual present and putting a royal ship at his disposal (No. 449), yet at the very end, when he remained covered before the queen, all were convinced that he acted out of malice though he had the right (No. 447).

Oñate was relieved by Don Alonso Cardenas, who was accompanied by the duchess of Chevreuse, than a refugee from France. At the same time Lord Aston was leaving Madrid after acting as ambassador there for $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. From the efforts of these three the Spaniards counted on

good results. Before Aston left Olivares handed him a paper for the king, holding out hopes of the restoration of the Palatinate through the negotiations at Cologne (No. 448). The French had feared the intrigues of the duchess against the treaty (Nos. 292, 299), and the Spaniards expected much from her efforts (No. 400). She was a favourite of the queen, whom she had accompanied to England, and the king esteemed her highly (No. 304). She was at once in her usual atmosphere of intrigue. Her privilege of sitting in the queen's presence, as a kinswoman, made trouble with Bellievre and at Paris. She tried her arts on Holland to make him a Catholic and win him over from the French side (No. 447). She artfully threw out the suggestion of a marriage between the Spanish Infant and the Princess Mary. In spite of all that had passed, not only the queen but the king was attracted by this bait (No. 728). She succeeded in making both believe that she had power to conclude the match (No. 456), and as a step towards it, the queen let her take the little princess to mass (No. 659).

The Resident Cardenas played second to this active woman. She was in constant communication with Spain, and it became his practice to go to her for instruction and information (No. 519). But he suffered a mishap. A letter of his to Count Kurtz at Hamburg was intercepted advising the Count to drop the Palatine question, as he himself was dealing with it (No. 542). Charles was furious, since he had promised the French that he would not treat at all with the Spaniards so long as the Hamburg negotiations continued (No. 580). He declined to have any further dealings with the minister whom he denounced as a liar at Madrid, Brussels and Vienna (No. 542). Cardenas denied the actual message but asserted that the information came from the king's own lips, a statement borne out by the interpreter.* The king denied it stoutly, a warning says Giustinian significantly, to all who deal with his Majesty to trust in the future to the pen rather than to the tongue (No. 549). Cardenas was not restored to favour for over 9 months, when he was again received, chiefly through the efforts of Hopton (No. 709).

* This seems to be the meaning of an obscure and involved passage.

Despite the king's denial of negotiations with the Spaniards, repeated to the French and Venetian ambassadors, belief in their existence remained unshaken, not without cause. When Arundel left Germany the envoy Taylor remained behind and continued to negotiate (No. 130). Although he intimated that he was no longer a minister, this was not believed as he was known to be in regular receipt of letters and instructions from home (No. 202). Though he was undoubtedly there by the king's command and in the king's pay, the English ministers met French objections by asserting that his credentials had been withdrawn and any business he did was on his own responsibility (Nos. 285, 413). The Spaniards, on the contrary, asserted that he had fresh credentials for the emperor (No. 244). When the alliance with France was announced Vienna became apprehensive of an open breach; but Taylor assured them it would not come to this. He kept alive the hope of an adjustment, promising that if the emperor would finally settle the matter England would give up all idea of helping his enemies (No. 275). Even when relations seemed most strained he remained on friendly terms with the ministers and was well received everywhere (No. 291). The Austrians were glad of this as though they did not apprehend much harm from the Palatine they recognised that a settlement of the question would do most to discourage their enemies and lead towards peace (No. 342). Thus negotiations with the Hapsburgs had never really been broken off. After the formal exclusion of the Palatine from the Cologne congress, Bavaria suggested referring the prince's affairs to a special meeting at Brussels. Measures were taken to secure the co-operation of Spain, and meanwhile the details of a settlement were thrashed out at Vienna with the help of Prince Tomaso of Savoy. By this Bavaria was to keep the vote and the Upper Palatinate. The Lower province was to be restored, with Heidelberg, for which Bavaria should have compensation from the emperor and Spain. The Palatines would only get the vote on the Bavarian line becoming extinct. In return for this England was to join in expelling the French from the empire, for the restoration of Piedmont, Monferrat, Alsace and Lorraine, and for a

general peace (Nos. 587, 618). With this plan Taylor started for Brussels, telling Grimani that he had settled all the essential points with Bavaria and the Austrians, and they only wanted the consent of Spain (No. 627).

In spite of the utmost secrecy something of these plans leaked out, and the nuncio at Venice imparted to the Collegio what he had learned (No. 625). Something was also known at Paris, where the French were being asked to get passports for Cologne. The result of this double dealing was to excite suspicion and to paralyse action. The emperor, who had arranged the Brussels plan to please England, stayed his hand when he heard of the Paris proceedings (No. 632). There the denials of the Brussels affair met with polite incredulity. Leicester was put out of countenance because he felt sure that the conference had been arranged in concert with his master (No. 570). Under these conditions the Brussels plan came to nothing. To clear things up Correr wrote from Paris to England to discover whether Charles wanted passports for Cologne or whether he preferred a special conference at Brussels (Nos. 652, 665). He only elicited an assurance from the king that he had never agreed to Brussels. Taylor acted without authority and when he returned he would be punished (No. 671). Yet in spite of these denials and a repetition of the promise to the French, Cardenas continued to treat very secretly with Windebank (No. 661), and the king agreed to listen to his proposals (No. 656), though he would not hear of Brussels (No. 659). He told Bellievre that the idea had been started by the Cardinal Infant but had not been taken up in England, yet before the month was out the meeting was again under serious consideration (No. 670). When Taylor reached home the king demanded an account of his operations and sent him to the Tower. It was generally believed that this was only to save the king's face and to satisfy Bellievre. It was expected that he would eventually receive a reward instead of punishment (No. 707).*

The great service rendered to Spain at this time was

* The state papers have a petition from his wife for his release dated conjecturally in October, 1640. *S.P. Dom.* 1640, page 208. If this is correctly dated he must have been detained for many months. These negotiations are dealt with by Gardiner, *Hist. of Eng.* vol. viii., pages 377, 378.

the keeping open of her sea communications with the Netherlands. The ship which brought Oñate had on board two million florins for Flanders. Three months later another million passed through Dover for the same destination (No. 87). In September five royal ships convoyed across a fleet of 24 Spanish vessels with 4,000 men and two million florins (No. 71). The French and Dutch ambassadors remonstrated in vain; but the king's own action seems to have checked the practice for a time. He laid hands on the money that came with Oñate for some old debts he claimed to be due. It was taken across against his express command, an action which showed, incidentally, to what lengths the Hispanophiles were prepared to go, and for which Windebank and Cottington were for a while in deep disgrace (No. 62). To make up for the miscarriage the next instalment was also seized (No. 87). In response the Spaniards seem to have stopped trade with London on the pretext of the plague there, and they refused to withdraw the prohibition despite the strenuous efforts of Aston. At the same time the money for Flanders was all sent by way of Italy (No. 167). But in the next year the traffic was proceeding regularly as before, without interruption (No. 300), in spite of remonstrance from France and resentment in Holland (Nos. 417, 446). Nor was English help confined to this service. In July 1637 an English squadron came out from Portland and stopped a fight in which the Dunkirkers were being worsted by the Dutch (No. 261). Soon after Cardenas arrived in England he bought a large quantity of gunpowder and lead for Flanders. Gunpowder of excellent quality was made in England in large quantities, but it was a royal monopoly (No. 514). The king charged double the usual rate, but it was part of the bargain that the consignment should be convoyed across at the king's risk. When Joachimi remonstrated, Charles admitted the sale, but added, disingenously, that once sold the powder no longer belonged to him. In France this affair caused great indignation (Nos. 452, 456, 460, 464).

To improve their communications with Flanders the Spaniards greatly strengthened the Dunkirk fleet, and there was considerable activity in the Spanish dockyards.

English ships helped by bringing materials, and several of them fell a prey to the French navy (No. 510). Towards the end of 1637 a fleet from Spain succeeded in getting through to Dunkirk with 500 chests of money and 4,000 soldiers, though the Dutch captured two ships (No. 372). The fleet should have returned at once, but could not elude the vigilance of the Dutch. To facilitate their getting away unobserved the port was absolutely closed and the utmost secrecy enjoined (No. 409). After long delay they sailed at length, but returned almost immediately, having got no further than Calais (No. 413). A month later, on the 5th April the fleet sailed, making straight for an English port, where the admiral busily laid in stores and then slipped away safely to Spain (Nos. 423, 425). In the following year the fleet from Dunkirk was not so fortunate and suffered a severe defeat off Gravelines. Some of the ships which took refuge in English ports were seized as reprisals by the king's order (No. 582). The hazards of the voyage and the loss of Breisach led the Spaniards to prepare an expedition on the largest scale attempted since the Armada. They hoped at the same time to use English merchantmen to transport their troops. The French and Dutch gave fair warning that they would not respect the neutrality of ships so engaged (No. 629), and the Admiralty thereupon forbad merchants to send their ships to Spain for this purpose though already arranged (No. 644); but the embargo was almost immediately withdrawn. The king told Bellievre and Joachimi that he could not prevent merchants from taking what cargoes they pleased, but they should not be escorted by warships. He intimated that the captains could look after themselves (Nos. 649, 654). In spite of this Bellievre suspected that the eight ships kept to guard the Channel might be used to protect the passage of these troops (No. 656).

By summer the great Spanish fleet was nearly ready. To transport the soldiers they engaged 12 English merchantmen. Some of these started ahead of the fleet, either through the impetuosity of the English captains, or as an experiment as to the chances of the fleet. Tromp with 26 ships was patrolling the Channel from Portland to the

Downs. On the 28th June he fell in with three out of the advanced squadron of five, and took off 1,070 Spanish soldiers, allowing the ships to go free and even leaving them their passage money (Nos. 670, 673). Those who escaped were landed in England and proceeded to London, whence they were safely passed over to their destination. They complained that the English captains had betrayed their comrades (Nos. 674, 684). Soon after 1,800 more men and 900,000 ducats were brought safely to England to go on to Flanders (No. 705). Under pressure from the merchants the king remonstrated with Joachimi for the search of ships under the English flag (No. 679). He spoke on the same subject to Bellievre, but the ambassador replied boldly that the English captains broke the treaty by taking men and munitions to Flanders, and France would look after her own interests (No. 684). This mishap to the merchantmen no doubt prompted an offer from Cardenas to pay 12,000 crowns for a royal ship to take money from Spain to Flanders (No. 687).

It was not until September that the Spanish Admiral Oquendo brought his fleet into the Channel. When he arrived in the Straits of Dover Tromp, with only 28 ships against 66, boldly attacked him and after a fierce fight, lasting two days, drove him to take refuge under the guns of Dover castle. The fight roused great excitement in England, where it recalled the Armada and admiration was felt at such a spirited attack against superior numbers and bigger ships. The Spaniard suffered by comparison, though he is said to have run out of powder. The Downs now became a centre of interest and intrigue. Cardenas tried to enlist the king's help for his fleet, to enable it to escape without a fight. The Dutch backed by the Princess Palatine urged him to lay hands on the ships and money and use them for his nephew's cause, because they cherished hostile designs against his dominions (Nos. 708, 709). Putting aside these suggestions Charles proclaimed his neutrality and said he would support the fleet that was first attacked (No. 709). At the same time he told Tromp that he meant to get rid of the Spaniards soon (No. 711). He interpreted neutrality very favourably for the Spaniards. Oquendo showed more skill in diplomacy than in

war and it is hinted that he bribed both the king and his ministers (No. 709). Early in the blockade 14 small Dunkirkers got away to Flanders with a million in cash and the greater part of the troops. The Dutch declared that Pennington, commanding the English observation squadron, had deliberately arranged for this, and had escorted the ships out of danger (No. 711). Further the king supplied the Spaniards with powder, food and other necessaries of which they were short, despite the remonstrances of Bellievre and Joachimi (Nos. 707, 713). The English ministers would have liked to assist Oquendo to escape altogether, but this was frustrated by the growing strength of the Dutch fleet (No. 713). The king did his best to strengthen the force under Pennington. Several merchantmen were pressed into the service, and other royal ships were fitting out, including the *Sovereign of the Seas,* the most powerful ship then afloat (No. 709). But with all this it was not nearly strong enough to cope with the forces of which the Dutch now disposed. On the other hand, the Spanish fleet grew steadily weaker by the desertion and death of its crews (No. 709). The Cardinal Infant tried hard to send a squadron to relieve Oquendo, but found it difficult to evade the Dutch blockade (Nos. 707, 709), though he eventually got through a squadron of 16 ships and a reinforcement of 800 sailors, who were badly needed (No. 718).

In the Netherlands the greatest excitement reigned, and only the fear of offending Charles held them back from an immediate attack. The partiality shown to the Spaniards roused great indignation, which was fomented by the preachers (No. 712). But prudence made them hestitate. Many debates took place and the Prince of Orange was especially consulted. Tromp advocated immediate action, but he wanted definite orders, and the States tried to evade the responsibility (No. 711). The country was carried away by the expectation of certain victory, and that achieved, they felt sure they could mollify Charles (No. 719). So the die was cast. A Dutch soldier slain during the usual musketry practice of the Spaniards afforded the pretext. The Dutch paraded the body before the English and accused the Spaniards of having broken

neutrality. Tromp notified Pennington of his intention to attack on the evening of the 20th October, and on the following day he fell upon Oquendo. The Spaniards put out to sea, though many ran themselves aground rather than take part in the fight. Oquendo got away in a fog to Dunkirk with 9 ships, but his flagship was too large to enter the port and had to be dismantled and abandoned (Nos. 721, 722, 724). Pennington had been expecting the action and some days before, on noticing signals from the Dutch admiral, had moved to put the Dutch between himself and the Spaniards, declaring that he would support the latter if attacked (No. 716). He sent for definite instructions in case the Dutch infringed neutrality, but with Tromp so strong, the government avoided committing itself. On the day of the fight he found himself with only 11 ships, some having gone over with the Palatine, while several merchantmen, grown weary of waiting, had withdrawn to the Thames (Nos. 721, 722). He made no effort to stop the fight and merely fired a few shots in formal protest.*

Charles was deeply incensed at the insult, but in his position he could not afford to nurse his resentment for long. The battle had upset a situation from which he had drawn profit and hoped to draw more, and had left him in ill odour with both combatants. He did what he could for the discomfited Spaniards. Ten of the beached ships, the bulk of the Spanish infantry and a fresh supply of money from Cadiz were safely conveyed to Dunkirk (Nos. 728, 736). The guns and tackle of wrecked ships he presented freely to the king of Spain, waiving his Admiralty rights (No. 731). A special envoy was sent with much mystery to explain matters to the Cardinal Infant (No. 724). But it won him no gratitude. In Spain they laid the blame for the disaster on his shoulders.† His friendship did not help them at all, and he ought to escort and protect their ships (No. 733). Yet the battle rendered the goodwill of England more necessary than ever to the Spaniards. The Cardinal Infant, whose position was most

* Duro suggests that both fleet and forts fired on the Spaniards (*Armada Espanola*, vol. iv., page 222). There is not the slightest ground for this supposition.

†Although they had sought the hospitality of English waters without the king's knowledge or permission. Edmundson : *History of Holland*, page 152.

immediately affected at once sent to Madrid urging them to despatch an ambassador to England with instructions to settle the Palatinate question and make some arrangement to counterbalance the ascendancy of the Dutch at sea (No. 734). Hopton had to disabuse the Spanish Court of the idea that England had any such notion (No. 739). To make good the loss an English contractor in Spain offered to procure them forty English ships (No. 733). In England attractive terms were offered to induce merchants to put 20 armed ships at the disposal of Spain to transport men and money to Flanders (No. 750), providing a very satisfactory answer to the ungenerous insinuations against the captains who had fallen into the hands of Tromp.

The fear that the French and Dutch might get possession of Dunkirk accounts very largely for the favours shown to the Spaniards. In the spring of 1637 the Prince of Orange asked the French for troops to attack the place and undertook to attempt the capture of Gravelines as well, to hand over to them. The French could not send troops at the time but were ready to promise money (No. 215). In the following year, to prevent an expected combination of the French and Dutch fleets against the place, Pennington had orders to take his station opposite the coast of Flanders and keep them under observation (No. 449). A year later the delivery at Calais of a quantity of stores for Holland again aroused anxiety (No. 605). It was suspected that the archbishop of Bordeaux's fleet might have designs on Gravelines or Dunkirk or both, since the king's difficulties in Scotland afforded a favourable opportunity (Nos. 630, 643). This fleet, some 80 sail strong, was cruising unchecked in the Channel, causing much alarm. In spite of his pre-occupations Charles was determined, so far as he might, to thwart an enterprise so mischievous to the safety and repose of his dominions (No. 663).*

V.

The English claim to supremacy at sea became in prac-

* It is noteworthy that in 1637, while the Spaniards were in the ascendant, England's apprehensions were excited by their plan to enlarge and fortify Gravelines, and Charles wanted the French and Dutch to prevent the enterprise (Nos. 241, 244).

tice little more than an effort to extort fishing licences from the Dutch and caused an amount of irritation out of all proportion to any possible gain. Charles would consider no compromise and refused even to discuss the question (No. 69). In the Netherlands the pretension caused extreme excitement and only the pressing difficulties of the time prevented immediate war. At Rotterdam a serious riot broke out among the sailors, who would have smashed the houses and magazines of the English merchants if the magistrates had not intervened (No. 52). Even those who counselled prudence urged that they should wait for a more favourable moment to assert their rights (No. 57). The Prince of Orange himself in trying to calm the States of Holland, said that they must avoid precipitate action and not encourage the Spaniards to risk another war. Taxes could not be increased, but they might vindicate their liberty at sea when a truce had been arranged (No. 118). The Dutch bowed their heads to the inevitable, but they told the English that their action might force the States to make terms with the Spaniards; and Beveren sought out an interview with the Prince Palatine on purpose to warn him of this possibility (No. 122). The threat made very little impression on the English ministers, who considered any agreement between the Dutch and Spaniards extremely improbable (No. 124).

The failure of Arundel's mission and the negotiation for the French alliance materially altered the situation. Charles, though not ready to give up the principle, was willing in practice to leave the fishermen alone. He wanted to use this concession as a lever to obtain help for the Palatine, promising in return that he would not mention the sovereignty of the sea for some time (No. 204). A difficulty in the way of this policy was the popularity of the claim, and its justification of the ship money tax (No. 184). The Dutch did not feel at all inclined to accept the solution offered. The Prince of Orange frankly told the Princess Palatine that they would do nothing for her son unless they had a formal declaration that the liberty of the sea would not be infringed (No. 217). When Beveren left England in the summer of 1637 the question remained unsettled and his departure caused the English ministers some an-

xiety (No. 267). Under the terms of the recent arrangement with France the Dutch held the key to the situation (No. 271). They were in no mood to be accommodating. It would be a serious matter for them to enter a league against the House of Austria without very considerable and assured advantages. They had no reason to expect anything from England (No. 320). Meanwhile they prepared to defend their rights. Their old admiral Dorp was replaced in October by one of a very different stamp, the famous Tromp. The new commander took his station off the coast of England with a determination to engage the fleet and put everything to hazard in case of need (No. 351). The changed spirit was illustrated by the refusal of a Dutch man of war to veil her topsail to an English frigate, shots being exchanged and the frigate sheering off with loss (No. 484).

Although the main difficulty was solved by force of circumstances in the course of 1637, other incidents occurred from time to time, notably by the issue of letters of marque, by virtue of which three Dutch ships were taken in a short time, and one, with a rich cargo, attacked and burned in Plymouth Sound. The king, by no means pleased at the readiness with which the Council granted letters of marque had these suspended, when the ambassador remonstrated, and the cases were referred to the Admiralty Court (Nos. 488, 497, 527). The English government were very anxious to prevent supplies reaching the Scots from Holland, which was suspected of sympathies with the rebels. The fleet was sent north to intercept any that might be sent but the Scots succeeded in obtaining as much as they required (Nos. 512, 573). Boswell, the English Agent, went so far as to ask the States to forbid their subjects to trade with the Scots and to expel them from their mart at Rotterdam. But the Dutch had no mind to destroy a lucrative business and made an evasive reply (No. 664). When the fleet returned from the North, the London merchants rejoiced, hoping that it would impose more respect for the flag (No. 684). It signalised its arrival by seizing six Dutch warships anchored off Folkestone, though these were speedily released with an apology (Nos. 687, 689). The Dutch were very indig-

nant and announced that their sailors were authorised to defend themselves, no matter what the consequences might be (No. 698).

The climax came with the attack on Oquendo in the Downs. The Dutch feared that the action might bring England and Spain closer together. But they relied on the king's natural kindliness (No. 725) and were relieved that the arrest of the Palatine and the affairs of Scotland gave him something else to think about (Nos. 729, 732). Yet they hastened to send over their most seasoned diplomat, Aerssens, to mollify the king's resentment. Although Aerssens was obliged to resort to stratagem to get a hearing (No. 741) he made himself agreeable to the king by his address, and helped by the queen he was soon able to report all danger at an end, and even suggested a closer alliance (Nos. 740, 741), to allow the Dutch to attack the Spaniards in English waters and to stop the traffic in men and money to Flanders. Charles was not prepared to go so far, though he was not willing to sacrifice Dutch trade either, which had become the most valuable of all (No. 738). In the Netherlands it was believed that the king would temporise until he had heard what the ambassador expected from Spain had to say (No. 748).

VI.

According to Correr, Charles had set himself the definite task of providing a steady revenue, independent of parliament, while proceeding under the forms of law, and in this way designed to make himself the most powerful sovereign in Europe (No. 329, *p.* 308). For a regular revenue he relied on taxes on commodities and taxes on houses, under the name of ship money. The merchants had not resisted the former, as expected, and they were not only regularly collected but increased from time to time. To prevent evasion ships were stopped in passing through the Downs and compelled to pay even if they had not put in at any port (Nos. 124, 127, 133). Articles produced in the country were made to contribute by a system of monopolies, for which the grantees paid an agreed sum to the exchequer (No. 180). The privileges of the guilds were threatened by issuing permits to foreigners to practise

their trade in the city for a fee of 25 crowns (No. 416). It has been usual, following Clarendon,* to represent the time of Charles's personal government as one of great material prosperity. This needs some qualification in the light of statements recorded here. The collection of duties at sea materially reduced the volume of trade passing through (No. 221). The augmented duties on commodities caused an incredible scarcity of everything and raised a general outcry (No. 416). This artificial famine followed close upon a natural scarcity due to a great drought in the summer of 1636, so severe that at the end of August the trees were as bare as in mid-winter. This made the lot of the rural population intolerable and even the wealthy felt the strain (No. 62).

Custom did not make the other source of steady revenue, ship money, any easier to collect. When it was wanted for the Palatine's fleet the inland counties declared that they should not be compelled to pay for ships that were to serve foreign princes; if the king wanted to make war and help his friends, he must appeal to parliament (No. 111). In spite of stringent orders the tax came in very slowly, and severity only seemed to make the people more determined to resist (No. 139). To facilitate the collection the king obtained a favourable opinion from his judges, and the Venetian ambassador apparently believed that he had arrived in sight of his goal (No. 165). Certainly the money began to come in more freely, though it was considered necessary to humour the people by giving out that it would be employed to secure mastery at sea (No. 124). At the same time a Suffolk magistrate was punished for saying, when asked his opinion, that the collection ought to be regularised by parliament (No. 180). Considerable astonishment was felt at the king allowing the case to be brought up again in the following year (No. 356). It certainly was not to his advantage to have it re-opened and discussed amid a chorus of excited comment, libels and squibs circulating through city and country. Popular opinion judged that the upholders of the prerogative put up a feeble defence against their opponents. The judges stood exposed to the wrath of

* *Hist. of the Rebellion*, vol. i., page 74.

their master on the one side and the violence of the people on the other. Two of them, unwilling to pronounce against the king, were said to be anxious to resign. The mere fact of the trial increased the difficulty of collecting the tax and the discontent at its enforcement. No person of rank would pay voluntarily, preferring to submit to distraint. The collection proceeded so slowly that the sheriffs were summoned before the Council and sharply reprimanded. To encourage payment the people were told that the tax was being collected for the last time and that the king would not ask for it again (Nos. 379, 397, 405). By April 1637 the amount collected was altogether inadequate, yet extreme severity against defaulters was avoided because of the trouble in Scotland and the danger of increasing discontent in England (No. 427). The decision of the judges in the king's favour brought him no advantage. Those who refused payment still persisted. The judges were loudly cursed and an official distraining for the tax was mobbed (Nos. 460, 465).

Suspicion of a tendency to Rome contributed largely to swell the sum of discontent. Direct relations with the Roman Court had been opened by the arrival of Panzani in 1634. Although he came primarily to reconcile differences among the Catholics themselves his ambition extended to the reconciliation of England to Rome. Overcoming the queen's reluctance to interfere in state affairs (No. 14) he induced her to tease the king to agree to the appointment of a Catholic bishop for England. Although fearing that it might open the way to civil strife Charles finally consented provided the bishop would confine himself to his legitimate functions and the pope would cease to condemn those Catholics who took the oath of allegiance. As the pope would not agree to this Panzani gave up asking for a bishop and devoted himself to getting the oath altered or abolished (Nos. 70, 134). To carry on the work he induced the king to allow a papal agent to reside with the queen. The one selected was George Conn, a Scot, and a canon of St. John Lateran. Charles prescribed that the agent must not be a priest, and to conform to this Conn resigned the canonicate (No. 329, *p.* 303). He was an able man but taciturn, lacking some

of the arts of a courtier; yet the king received him cordially and he soon won a place of consideration. He had as free access to the king as his most familiar servants, and was visited in his own house even by the most rigid Protestants (No. 231). Unlike Panzani he was friendly with the Jesuits, though they were known to be indifferent about reunion.

Conn's first energies were directed to relieving the Catholics from distraint for refusing the oath. But this was dangerous ground, rousing violent opposition and giving his enemies some cause for accusing him of fomenting civil strife (No. 134). The king formally declared that he did not intend the oath to derogate in any way from the pope's authority, but Rome was not satisfied with this and desired words offensive to the pope to be ruled out altogether. That settled the matter because parliament alone had the power (No. 161).

The work of proselytising Conn seems to have left mainly to the queen's almoner and her confessor, to whom he held out hopes of the red hat for their zeal. They shewed great enthusiasm and were not always too scrupulous. They offered one bishop the red hat if he would make open profession of his belief in the Roman Church. Special efforts were made to win the prince's tutor, Brian Duppa (Nos. 161, 231). Conn himself had hopes of the cardinalate, and as the king discovered no objection to this idea, the only probable obstacle in the way seemed removed. But the occasion passed and did not return.

Besides these spiritual activities Conn tried to promote commercial relations with the States of the Church. Civitavecchia was declared open to English traders, who were assured they should not be molested on the score of religion. They asked for the same privileges at Ancona and to establish commercial houses in the papal States with personal freedom of conscience. The former was granted, but the latter condition seemed too hard. Yet no nation was made more of at Rome at the time, than the English, whereas previously they could only slink about in disguise. In England too the Catholic priests enjoyed more liberty than ever before, celebrating mass regularly in private houses, while the chapels of the queen and the

foreign ministers were thronged with worshippers (Nos. 70, 231).

This apparent coquetting with Rome joined with the ceremonial forms and observances favoured by Laud caused deep resentment and suspicion, so that quite harmless acts and sayings were taken amiss, such as a visit casually paid by the king and queen to the new convent of the Capuchins (No. 134), and a mild jest of Charles about a present from Rome (No. 70). A furious storm was roused by the discovery that a Jesuit was educating the sons of some of the leading nobles in the Roman faith, with their fathers' permission (No. 139). The Calvinist party was estimated to number three-fifths of the population (No. 416), and the fear of Rome induced many of the more moderate Anglicans to join the Puritans (No. 329, *pp.* 301, 304). Charles considered himself a Catholic and accepted some things considered distinctively Roman, such as auricular confession, so much so that he punished a minister who disclosed a serious crime revealed in confession (No. 231). This did not prevent him from removing Buckingham's children from the custody of their mother because she was a Catholic (No. 161). In effect the king, like Laud, who guided him in ecclesiastical matters, was rather anti-Puritan than pro-Catholic, and their policy was to destroy the former by the help of the latter which was then to be destroyed in its turn (No. 384). But the effort proved vain; though numbers of ministers were deprived for refusing to submit to Laud's ecclesiastical reforms (No. 329, *p.* 304), and others were savagely punished, the movement only grew stronger and men were ready to sacrifice their goods and even their lives for the cause (Nos. 261, 267), while their persecutors incurred a rich harvest of hate. Men were heard to express regret that whereas in the past a man was found bold enough to take Buckingham's life there was no one to do the same to an even worse minister, who was heading for the complete overthrow of the kingdom (No. 421).

The Venetian ambassadors often intimated that disaffection in England was unlikely to be dangerous because of the lack of a leader. Early in 1637 matters seemed to be coming to a head. Secret meetings attended by

influential men were held to consider resistance to the royal encroachments and to ask the king to summon parliament. It was part of their design to depose the archbishop of Canterbury and to sweep away all his reforms (No. 139). Nothing came of it and although the king was aware of these secret meetings he does not seem to have thought them worth troubling about (No. 149). The time was not yet, but after another six months there was to come a lead, if not a leader.

The riot in Edinburgh was at once felt to be dangerous because of possible repercussion in England, and it absorbed the earnest attention of the government. The king inclined to mild measures. Laud, though exceedingly depressed, feeling that his whole system was attacked, used his influence to prevent premature action and proposed to reserve his revenge for a later time. He insisted, however, that the new order should be upheld, and his views prevailing, instructions were sent to Scotland in that sense (Nos. 282, 289, 300, 304). The Scots were not in the least intimidated. They refused to obey, offering at the same time to dispute the points in controversy and submit to an impartial judgment. Laud was greatly piqued and declared he would risk all before he would yield a jot (No. 336).

It soon became evident that the king's authority in Scotland counted for naught. The whole people was united against the new liturgy. The bishops went in fear of their lives; one who tried to read the service was mobbed, another was compelled to read the old service instead while a third, in alarm, shut himself up in his house. The king's proclamation was publicly burned and there was even some talk of choosing a new sovereign. By Laud's advice the earl of Roxburgh was sent to try and persuade them to submit. He had powers, kept very secret, to offer them, in the last resort, a term of four years in which to practice their own rites (No. 375), but this was utterly refused with a demand for the complete revocation of all innovations. Roxburgh reported his belief that the Treasurer Traquair and other nobles were secretly fomenting the revolt while pretending to urge obedience.

Much surprised at the failure of the measures taken the

king, again acting on Laud's advice, sent for Traquair and two others, to come to London, intending to summon the rest, one by one, if the example of the first did not suffice. Great secrecy was observed over all these proceedings and it was announced at Court that a composition had been effected (No. 388). Traquair arrived in February and had several private conferences with the king. He begged Charles not to drive the people to extremity, and prayed God to enlighten those who gave him such pernicious advice. But he only angered the king, who threatened to punish Edinburgh by removing the Council and the Courts of Justice to Stirling. The Scots at Court deplored this obstinacy, but the king would not listen to better advice (No. 409). Hoping to divide the rebels he issued a conditional pardon, from which Edinburgh and two other towns which had ill treated their bishops were exempted, and with this Traquair recrossed the border (No. 416). But the king's measures only served to cement the solidarity of the Scots. They treated the royal pardon and proclamations with contempt and set to work to organise the national resistance (No. 421). In a few weeks the Treasurer, with other officials, were back in London, having escaped in order to avoid signing the Covenant (No. 427).

The king appeared unaware of the nature of the gathering storm. When the queen urged him to make concessions, he told her gently not to alarm herself as he could reduce the Scots to obedience when he wanted (No. 423). Yet there were men about him who realised the danger. A leading Scot gave his views very frankly to Zonca (No. 416). But Charles went his headstrong way alone. He did not consult his ministers either severally or collectively, and they washed their hands of the mischief which they foresaw (No. 421). Knowing that Laud was blamed as the author of the repressive policy, the king spoke strongly on the subject to the Council, declaring that he had taken the advice of no one, but had acted entirely on his own responsibility. But this generous act in no wise exonerated Laud in the general opinion, and it was supposed that, in alarm at the odium against him he had represented to the king the danger in which he stood (No. 423). Yet

upon reflection Charles seems to have come to the conclusion that some concessions would be necessary, though some of the Scottish bishops who had fled to London urged the contrary (No. 431). But it only amounted to abandoning the liturgy, while retaining the bishops, and requiring the rebels to ask pardon for their offences (No. 434). As was clearly foreseen, the Scots promptly declined this proposal. Thereupon the king decided to send the Marquis of Hamilton and the whole Council of Scotland to Edinburgh with fresh suggestions. The choice of Hamilton caused some astonishment, as the parliament of Scotland had declared him next heir after the Stuarts (No. 440), his mother also made no secret of her sympathy with the rebels (No. 563).

Hamilton's instructions were kept very secret, but it was anticipated that he would have power to make concessions which did not compromise the royal dignity (No. 440). But the Scots, as they grew stronger, showed a disposition to raise their demands. They required that the service book should be abolished by act of parliament, and that body to meet at least once every three years to regulate the affairs of the state (No. 449). They told Hamilton that if he had not brought powers for convoking parliament it was useless for him to proceed (No. 456). He was stopped at Dalkeith to wait for revised credentials. It was observed that the king and Laud changed colour on reading his despatch (No. 460). On entering Edinburgh he was received with acclaim, but when they learned that he was to ask them to renounce the Covenant, they refused to listen to him (No. 472). He could only return to London and tell the king what was demanded of him. This was the withdrawal of the service book, and ceremonies, the confirmation of their privileges and the summoning of parliament. Objection was made that such concessions would serve as a precedent for England. But there being no immediate means of resistance Hamilton was sent to Edinburgh with all speed to make further efforts for a settlement. As a reward for his services the king granted him the manor of Chelsea (No. 484). Hamilton's second mission proved as futile as the first, all the conditions proposed being rejected; yet he was sent back a

third time with fuller powers than before, the king conceding an ecclesiastical assembly and a parliament but requiring disarmament (No. 519).

The temper in which the assembly met showed how little hope of a peaceful settlement remained. It was held in the name of the nobles, not of the king (No. 542). So far from disarming, a force of 8,000 men was assembled to protect it (No. 544). Hamilton was called upon to answer a charge of attempting to overthrow the privileges of the country (No. 549). He was recalled but afterwards told to stay on lest his departure should hasten those troubles which the wisest ministers hoped to avoid (No. 554). Yet he reached London on 19 Jan., 1639, and reported that if the measures adopted by the assembly and parliament were ratified, all might be well, if not every effort at an accommodation would be fruitless (No. 564). Messages arrived from Scotland asking for the approval of the assembly's decrees and also to suggest a conference (Nos. 569, 580). The king consulted the Councils of England and Scotland separately, but the ministers could not make up their minds, though the king inclined to mildness. Manifestoes on both sides left things much as they were, but events were tending rapidly towards a conflict.

Only lack of means had prevented Charles from attempting to reduce the Scots at the outset. In the spring of 1638 he had sent to Ireland for the mustering of 8,000 men for service in Scotland, if required (No. 421). But the Scots succeeded in getting a long start in the matter of military preparation, and a precipitate move on the king's part might have led at once to the invasion of England (No. 476). The king retained a number of officers in pay, to be ready for emergencies (No. 506), and many experienced soldiers had come from the Netherlands to serve on either side (No. 521). In October the fleet was sent to the North to intercept supplies from abroad (No. 512). Troops were being assembled quietly in Yorkshire and elsewhere (No. 535). With the new year the musters were called out and an army began to assemble with its headquarters at York.

Meanwhile the king tried to win the favour of his English subjects. In the course of a few days he abolished

22 subsidies; he hinted at calling parliament (No. 542) and appointed Essex, a Puritan, to command the cavalry (No. 544). Strenuous efforts were made to keep the people in ignorance of what was going on. Bad news was suppressed and the matter made light of (No. 416). Official reports were deliberately intended to deceive (No. 502). The king had every copy destroyed of a book printed in Scotland appealing to the English people and showing that the cause was their own (No. 512). A similar paper issued in March by the Council of Scotland and appealing to an English parliament, was treated in the same way, even the reading and possession of this paper being treated as a crime (No. 596). But there was no sign as yet of a corresponding movement in England.

On the 6th April the king left London to join his army at York. Before starting he made liberal provision for the queen, in case of his death, and ordered the Council to report to her once a week on the affairs of the government (No. 629). The plan of campaign comprised an attack from the rear by Huntly, an attack from Ireland, and a blockade and attack by Hamilton's force from the sea. But the Scots forestalled these moves by getting possession of Aberdeen, Dumbarton and Edinburgh. Hamilton was reported as having captured a ship bringing officers from Holland (No. 663), but for the rest he did not achieve the success expected of him. The king advanced northwards, but his forces remained inferior to the enemy, in spite of efforts to raise fresh levies from his unwilling subjects. After their first successes the Scots remained on the defensive but they intimated that they would attack England if the king persisted with his hostile demonstrations. The king's advisers pointed out how dangerous this would be and urged him to make concessions (No. 661). Many advised him to go unarmed to Edinburgh and take part in the parliament there (No. 663). A conference was arranged, but the king was so incensed at the demands made of him that he sent a force under Holland and Astley to attack Kelso. They approached near enough to see that the enemy was in force, and then retired precipitately and in some disorder (No. 669). The king saw that he must give way and the pacification of Berwick followed soon after.

When it became probable that military measures would be required to reduce the Scots, ministers urged the king to summon parliament to obtain supplies and the co-operation of his subjects. Charles took this very ill and expressed his confidence that he could raise enough money to support the army for six months by pledging the revenues for two years, without laying any fresh charges on the people (No. 576). But the task did not prove so easy as he imagined. The treasury had already been drained by several extraordinary calls upon it, for the entertainment of the duchess of Chevreuse, for that of the queen mother and for supplies to the Palatine; not large amounts in themselves but sufficient to cause embarrassment under the circumstances. Various expedients were employed to supply the immediate need. Hamilton brought the king £50,000 obtained by the sale of offices and payments to escape military service. Conn did his utmost to get subscriptions from the Catholics (No. 646), the only section of the community that spoke against the Scots (No. 647). The queen made a special appeal to the gentry to contribute not less than £100 a piece (No. 654). By pledging the revenues up to 1644 the treasurer was able to raise £30,000 from the merchants to send to the army (No. 661). But despite all this the revenues were quite incapable of meeting the demands upon them any longer. The increasing need for money and the impossibility of any fresh provision caused the ministers the gravest anxiety (No. 669). Great dissatisfaction was felt with Juxon because he had no expedient to suggest and there was some idea of replacing him by Wentworth. So great was the need that the king pocketed his pride and accepted a grant of £10,000 made by the city on his return from Scotland, which he had at first haughtily refused (Nos. 694, 697).

The pacification of Berwick was clearly no more than a truce. It was received in England with great rejoicing and a hope that this experience would cure the king of any further idea of making revolutionary changes and render him more anxious to please his people (No. 670). The Scots were highly popular and all spoke highly of their discreet and generous behaviour (No. 683). The king did not share this view. He had been driven to

accept defeat for the moment, but he hoped soon to reassert his authority. Immediately after his return to London he was proposing to send fresh troops to the frontier (No. 697). He was roused to fury by a publication issued by the Scots that the published terms were made to save his face and that privately he had granted them all that they asked. He had the paper suppressed as false and announced his intention of renewing the struggle in the spring (No. 700). He was sustained in this resolution by the advice of Wentworth, who promised 20,000 men from Ireland, and by the English bishops and clergy who, fearing for their own order, insisted on an appeal to arms and through the archbishop offered to support 10,000 men (No. 734). Although Charles accepted the decree of the assembly abolishing episcopacy in Scotland, he at once filled up a Scottish seat that fell vacant (No. 731), and he dismissed without a hearing the deputies sent by the Scottish parliament. The Scots accused the king of a breach of the treaty and on hearing of the dismissal of their deputies they prepared to renew the struggle (No. 740). The report of preparations in England made them relent somewhat, and they sent to ask permission to send two commissioners, which was granted, while Traquair took them word that at last parliament was to meet in England (No. 750).

Charles seems to have decided that if he was to renew the struggle he must first solidify his position at home. He greatly feared the effect of his concessions to the Scots upon England, where many of the towns began to demand the removal of Laud's ritualistic innovations (No. 707). The king seems to have accepted the necessity for calling parliament as soon as he got back from Scotland (No. 689), but he did not definitely decide until the end of the year. After hearing from Huntly and Traquair of the dangerous state of Scotland he announced his intention to the Council on the 16th Dec., where it was received with universal applause (No. 744). The parliamentarians gave liberal assurances of their intention to arrange everything to please the king and confine their demands within modest dimensions. But there were indications that Charles did not mean to throw himself un-

reservedly on his people. Changes were made among the ministers and it was expected that Puritans like Coventry and Pembroke would be replaced by others who would be entirely dependent upon the king (No. 702). Hamilton, Wentworth and Northumberland were added to the Cabinet Council (No. 724), and that body decided to levy ship money once again, with all severity, from which they expected to get £200,000 (No. 734). They also made arrangements for enlisting a force of 25,000 foot and 5,000 horse, ostensibly against the Scots, but chiefly to overawe the parliament (No. 750), for in spite of the assurances given it was felt that it would not separate before some victim, from those highest in the king's favour, had been sacrificed to it (No. 744).

Lack of space forbids more than the bare mention of the various incidents that marked Fielding's terms of service at Venice; the reception and entertainment of the queen mother in England; the ravages of the plague in 1636 and the last flickers of the Polish Palatine marriage project. The account of the fenland disputes seems to throw a different light on the subject, if it can be accepted as accurate (Nos. 465, 499). Attention may also be called to a serious accident to Charles when hunting (No. 65), an original idea of his about godparents (No. 199); a mystery about his itinerary in 1636 (Nos. 46, 54); a grant of the fishing off Newfoundland to Kirke (No. 199), an appeal from Brandenburg to England about Pomerania (No. 362), the slavery of an Englishman in the Venetian galleys for a trifling debt (No. 394), the mission of the Capuchin de Tresson to Rome for the queen (No. 596), besides many interesting particulars concerning trade, to be found under that heading in the index.

I am indebted to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London for kind permission to search their records for particulars of a suit brought by a merchant named Gatwood against a Persian, unfortunately without result. Equally unsuccessful was the search for a work of Laud on church councils in England to prove that parliament had no concern with ecclesiastical matters (No. 168). I am greatly obliged to the Very Rev. the Dean of Winchester, Prof. Jenkins, Librarian at Lambeth, and Mr.

W. H. Stevenson, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, for their help in trying to trace this work.* I would also thank the officials at the Frari Venice for the facilities which I enjoy there through their kind assistance.

ALLEN B. HINDS.

London, March 1923.

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*The volume referred to in the note to page 156 is still preserved at Lambeth library, MS. 323.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 8, *line* 7, *for* have *read* try.
,, 108, ,, 11, *for* announcement *read* announcements.
,, 126, ,, 24, *for* pretty *read* petty.
,, 127, ,, 14, *for* was *read* saw.
,, 209, ,, 9, *for* commissioner *read* commissioners.
,, 374, ,, 21, *for* ambasasdor *read* ambassador.
,. 403*n*, ,, 2, *for* residir *read* resider.
481, ,, 7 from bottom, *for* trallar *read* trattar.
,, 487, ,, 17, *for* Princess *read* Princes.
,, 580, ,, 15, *for* five *read* give.
,, 600, ,, 36, *for* Board *read* Table.

CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS—VENICE.

A.D. 1636.

1636.
June 3.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

1. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day the Earl of Leicester ambassador extraordinary of England, makes his public entry. He will be met at St. Denis by the Marshal de Sciattillon with the royal coaches.

Paris, the 3rd June, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

June 6.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

2. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Allowing himself to be served by a few only the king is enjoying the pleasures of the country here with every satisfaction. Stag hunting is the diversion upon which he spends most of his time, and he thinks nothing of paying for this pleasure with the fatigue of passing the whole day on horseback. Since leaving London he has not given audience to any ministers except the Ambassador Joachimi, who, having obtained permission from his masters to return to Holland for some months, merely came to take leave and to kiss hands.

M. di Beveren meanwhile remains in sole charge, employing all his tact to bring the negotiations to some end. But the difficulties he has encountered from the first become ever greater and deprive him of all hope of a satisfactory termination. In the matter of the fishermen, upon which he is especially urgent, they will listen to nothing, except on the heavy conditions already proposed. These would be very costly to the Dutch, besides amounting to an open declaration of their dependence upon this crown at sea, and they are most determined not to accept them. Thus it follows that they will either entirely lose the liberty of fishing, a matter of the utmost importance from the profits which they derive therefrom, or, if they go on, they will have to run the greatest risks and incur heavy expenditure to maintain their strength, because they will certainly meet with the most

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strenuous opposition from this quarter. Thus they assume a threatening aspect here against the Dutch over the fisheries and against the French for the sovereignty of the sea. The Spaniards give all possible encouragement to this by their artifices, so that unless some speedy remedy be found, the worst results may be produced with considerable disturbance of the public welfare. It is therefore a matter of astonishment that the French show so much reluctance about the restitution of the barque,* as one cannot understand, when they are keeping an ambassador extraordinary here so long with the sole object of arranging an alliance with this crown, why they commit hostile acts against it and refuse to listen to reason.

The affairs of the Palatine, which are the only ones that interest this country abroad, continue, as always, to be viewed without passion. The despatch of ambassadors, the detaining of the Palatine and his brother in England and every other conspicuous declaration are all done more with the idea of satisfying the world than out of real cordial zeal for their welfare. Certain it is that if greater obligations do not mature with time the Austrians and the French alike will labour in vain to obtain any favourable declaration for their side on these bases alone, as they abhor the very name, to say nothing of the actuality of a league, as something pernicious above everything else and mortal to the interests of these realms. If from time to time they let slip words of hope to one side or the other, their inner sentiments certainly do not correspond. They merely aim at keeping up an ambiguity with both and at making them jealous, to serve the interests of the Palatine family by their arts, and at least bring them to a state of moderate repose, so that they may withdraw with the more decency, without injuring their reputation, and not intervene again, or at least not until domestic affairs are in a condition more satisfactory to the king or until some unforeseen accident compels them to change their plans.

They observe with great bitterness the careless behaviour of Radolti, who does not explain the proposals which they hoped from that quarter; and from his reserve they augur badly for what the Earl of Arundel is to negotiate with the emperor. For this reason the interposition of Denmark for the establishment of peace in Germany becomes more valueable and important to them every day, and they rely on the Swedes persisting in their demand for the inclusion of the Palatine in the accord with the other allies. It is true that they recognise the necessity for modifying the claims involved in the restitution which was absolutely promised, or of a part, since it is impossible to obtain the whole owing to the interests of Bavaria, which are inseparable now from those of the emperor.

Thus with the sole object of encouraging this transaction they directed the English minister at Hamburg† to proceed to Denmark, and it seems that they send him fresh orders every day

*The king's ketch *Miniken* with mails, taken off Calais on the 8th May N.S. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1635–6, pages 392, 393.

†Joseph Avery.

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to urge that monarch to press forward, while the Earl of Arundel, by the last letters, has been straitly charged to act in full concert with the Danish ambassadors at Vienna. Thus the ministers here are at present devoting their chief attention to this third expedient more than to any other and I am assured, by one who has some influence in the government, that in the meantime they will not cease to urge the claims of the Palatines upon Cæsar, and that Arundel is certainly to work for the advancement of a general peace, without which no agreement arranged directly for that part can be considered perfectly secure.

In France, however, they keep up the old transactions, either to keep the Austrians uneasy, or because they are really concerned about the interests of the Duke of Lorraine. The Ambassador Scudamore has sent word this week to the king that he has repeated his offices about the suggestion to restore Lorraine in exchange for the Palatinate, and he sends the reply they gave him. I must defer sending the substance of this to my next despatch, as the report is confused, though I may state that the ministers here are not pleased with it. One of them told my informant in confidence that they are sure no treaty will ever be concluded with France; but as there is great commotion all over the world, and everything therein is by nature subject to change, it is difficult to form a true judgment about the future.

Most certainly this is the real substance of what they are transacting and discussing at the Court here just now, or at least so far as I have been able to discover it, with the imperfection of my poor ability.

The Polish ambassador* is expected at any moment. Since they heard that he was travelling by way of Brussels all delay irritates them and at the same time makes them jealous. Thus they do not like what they heard of his conversation with the Princess Palatine on the subject of religion, fearing that this pretext may serve to raise difficulties sufficient to break off the affair. They propose here, accordingly, to adopt the gentlest method in order not to lose this good fortune, although they would be very sorry for the young princess to adopt any religion but the one in which she has been brought up and adhered to so far.

The Duke of Bouillon, in order to obtain a more convenient and safer passage for Holland, has come this way.† Before embarking he saw the Ambassador Senneterre, and told him that he had orders from the king to command his Majesty's troops who are in the Netherlands, and he had sent orders with all speed to have them stopped.

I have received the State despatch of the 9th ult, with enclosures.

Totnen, the 6th of June, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

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*John Zawadski.

†He crossed in the *Happy Entrance*, Capt. George Carteret. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1635–6, page 527.

1636.
June 10.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

3. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Leicester has been conducted by the Duke of Scieurosa to Fontainebleau, where he was to have his first audience of the king yesterday.

Paris, the 10th June, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

June 12.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya, Venetian Archives.

4. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Princess Palatine has received letters from her brother about his dissatisfaction with Radolti and with assurances of decisive action if Arundel cannot obtain a satisfactory answer. The States are much aggrieved at the humiliation forced upon a Zeeland ship by English vessels, and protest that they will never consent to the mastery which England claims at sea. Accordingly it is to be feared that while they talk of peace, we shall see a fleet that may upset everything and kindle a war that it may be very difficult to adjust. The indications are that matters are approaching this stage between England and France as well. Indeed if the English really mean to uphold the Palatine, men of understanding perceive that they are not taking the right course, because by laying claim to great privileges at sea they must inevitably clash with France and these Provinces, and they will not be able to attack the Austrians at the same time. It is not claimed that they should lay aside their own interests altogether, but they are accused of renewing their claims with so much emphasis at a most inopportune moment, considering the circumstances of the time and men say that they ought not to show themselves so sticklish so long as they need assistance and while they recognise the necessity for friendly relations with their neighbours.

The Hague, the 12th June, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

June 13.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

5. To the Ambassador in England.

We have received your letters of the 9th and 16th May. The fresh disputes with France call for deep consideration and require a corresponding attention because of the consequences that may ensue. We feel sure that you will continue your fruitful operations to supply us with information about what takes place in this most important matter.

Ayes, 77. Noes, 1. Neutral. 3.

[*Italian.*]

June 13.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

6. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Poygni came to see me yesterday, with his usual show of confidence. I raised the subject of the Princess Palatine's affairs. He told me of the replies to the Ambassador Scudamore about Lorraine. Scudamore pointed out that the

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reply given to him some months ago did not contain any precise declaration but rather an expression of regret at the mission to the Imperial Court. On this point Poigny had instructions to assure his Majesty that the only object of the mission was to demand the investiture of the Prince Palatine. Everyone was aware of this and only France remained in ignorance of it. He did not think it desirable to say any more on the subject. There was little cause for astonishment if his king felt affronted at being refused a definite answer on such slight grounds. The interests of both sides required a general peace, and this must be preceded by the complete restitution of all that had been taken by force, including Lorraine and the Palatinate. For all these reasons he thought that France would have taken his proposals into serious consideration, whereas while a clear expression of their intentions is so long deferred, he can only infer that the representations made by the French ambassadors in England with so much apparent zeal, have no substance.

But all these vigorous representations have not sufficed to stir the French to make any substantial change in what they thought fit to reply from the very first to these proposals. Thus they express themselves in the same form even now. They go about saying that whereas in their first reply to the Ambassador Scudamore they intimated that the Most Christian being without information about what Teler had gone to negotiate in Germany touching the affair of the Palatinate, or of the nature of the answer he had received from the emperor, was waiting to be enlightened on the subject, so that he might have a firm upon basis which he might take steps suitable to the state of the affair. That now, so long as Scudamore has not told them what was proposed to the emperor or his reply, they must observe a corresponding reticence, especially as they heard that Arundel had gone in the capacity of ambassador. Nevertheless his Majesty believes, in common with all Christendom that the House of Austria will never restore the states of the Palatine except by force, and he remains as ready as ever to assist the King of Great Britain, if he will do his share, for the reinstatement of the prince.

Such is the substance of what has passed. While it leads to no conclusion of any sort ; so it serves equally to arouse jealousy and disgust, *because both sides, by practically masking their real intentions, keep sincerity also out of sight and only make use of artifices. The French ambassadors say this of the English, and the ministers here freely repeat the same of the French, adding that necessity compels them to think of something else than union with France.*

On the other hand the upset caused by the detention of his Majesty's barque leads to the most dangerous manifestations. The ambassadors have declared frankly in Court that after a careful examination of the matter by the ordinary course of justice, it has been decided that the capture was lawfully made and ought not to be restored. They maintain that it was lawful booty because of the instructions found on the captain, by which he was bound to fight all the barques of Calais he met with, and

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take them to England if he could. The ministers here cannot absolutely deny this, but they justify it by saying that it was only against some barques which had done some hurt to the merchants here in the past, and not general against the whole nation. Thus the Secretary Windebank told me a few days ago that he himself signed these orders, but the Ambassador Poygne gave me a different account in the copy he showed me. He added however, that if they will agree to accept a pardon here, such as he has often arranged on similar occasions by order of his king, they will meet with no difficulty in obtaining it. But bitter feeling is greatly increased on both sides, and as the Earl of Northumberland has instructions to take the ships he meets flying the French flag, so that they are waiting to hear at any moment if anything has happened, such an incident would render an accommodation impossible.

Some of the partisans of France say she would be well able to take care of herself joining her fleet with that of the Dutch and give England causes to think more of her own preservation than of molesting others. The Dutch also threaten, being greatly offended on many accounts, especially at the severity shown recently to a ship of war on which the Ambassador Joachimi was crossing, and because another warship was taken two days ago; but no authentic particulars are yet known of either incident.*

The Polish ambassador† arrived in this kingdom the day before yesterday. He will make his public entry to-day, and will be taken to a house four miles away from the city. I sent my coach this morning to meet him, and when he has seen the king I will pay the necessary compliments in person, although his dwelling is many miles away from here.

The king has gone to Theobalds to enjoy the hunting there for some days. The queen remains at Hampton court, and when the king returns they will proceed together to the house of Oatlands, going on very soon to some other more distant place. The plague makes great progress in London and has even spread to the villages near here.

The State despatches of the 16th ult. have reached me this week.

Totnen, the 13th June, 1636.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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*The warship taken was the *Black Bull* of Amsterdam, Captain Jan van Galen. On the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{4}{4}$th May she had engaged two Dunkirkers off Falmouth, driving one of them back into that port and chasing the other into Helston, where the Dutch captured her. Nine days later Northumberland with the fleet fell in with the *Black Bull* and her prize and sent them both into Portsmouth for enquiry. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1635–6, page 428; Northumberland's Journal in S. P. Dom., Vol. CCCXLIII, No. 72; Memorial of Beveren of 2nd July, *S. P. Holland.*

†The ambassador was John Zawadski, who had come from Brussels after seeing the Princess Palatine at the Hague. (See the preceding Vol. of this *Calendar*, pages 561, 564.) He was lodged at Caron House in South Lambeth, formerly the property of Noel Caron, Dutch ambassador in England from 1604 to his death in 1624. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1636–7, page 247; Wheatley: *London*, Vol. I., page 335.

1636.
June 19.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

7. To the Ambassador in England.

Events in Italy, showing that Rohan is acting in concert with allies, calling for great circumspection on the part of Venice. The emperor is pressing for the diet at Ratisbon, at which the choice of the King of the Romans and a truce with the Swedes are to be discussed, as well as the question of the Palatinate, for which they are awaiting the arrival of the Earl of Arundel. The appointment of Prince Casimir, brother of the King of Poland, to his regiment, throws light on the affair of the marriage with the Palatine princess. All this is for information.

Approval of his decision to leave London and to follow the Court, in order to avoid the plague.

Ayes, 76. Noes, 1. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

June 19.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

8. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Joachimi has spoken in the Assembly about the English claims at sea and their demands for a licence from fishermen. The Prince says that the States would take a high tone if they were not at war with the Austrians, and once a truce is concluded they will put forward their own claims and go to war with England if they continue in this state of mind. I hear, however, that all the merchants submit, because they do not want to run risks. Even war ships do the same, though the States pretend not to know. But with the fishermen it may be different, as in that case interest, which has more influence with this people than questions of reputation, may lead to great disorders.

The English have seized a Dutch ship in the Thames, but the States do not resent it, as they admit that the ship was attacking a Dunkirker in the river.*

The French announce that what the King of England told the Princess Palatine he had written to the emperor, is not true. That the English will unite with the Austrians and attack these Provinces. That they care nothing for the Palatine House, and so forth, the result of passion and of the fear of a breach between England and France.

The Hague, the 19th June, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

June 20.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

9. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The seizure of the Dutch ships is confirmed. The king has received letters this week from the Earl of Northumberland, who writes that some of his ships fell in with a Dutch one taking the Ambassador Joachimi, and compelled the captain to render the obedience he had neglected either from ignorance of his duty

*This appears to refer to the *Black Bull.* (*See* No. 6 at page 6 above), though it was taken off the Isle of Wight and was the subject of reclamations by Beveren.

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or from carelessness of the consequences. They also found another warship of the States which had pursued and taken a tartana of the Dunkirkers right into one of the ports of England. He took possession of both claiming them as lawful booty, the more so because the Dutch, not content with having violated the king's orders at sea, had also set foot on land, pursuing the Dunkirkers who took refuge there to have to save their lives. But the Ambassador Beveren, who is deeply grieved to see the first blows of this fleet fall upon his country, says he is very well informed of the truth of the matter and gives a different account. He says that from the ship conveying Joachimi they demanded not only what they might rightly claim, but something unreasonable that was never done. Not content with a salute from the guns and the lowering of the standard, the English wanted all the sails completely lowered, a thing that could never be conceded except to force. The Dunkirk tartana was not taken in the ports of England, but surrendered to the Dutch on terms in the middle of the sea, as it chanced to find itself separated from many others which had captured four Dutch barques ; so he maintains that they have no reason here to take that action in here, and this time their severity has entirely passed the bounds of discretion. Meanwhile he is carefully preparing to defend his case at length before his Majesty, not only upon these incidents, but on the whole question. At the same time he declares frankly that his masters certainly will not put up with so hard a servitude for long, as their forces are quite strong enough, if they like to use them, to exact a proper respect from anyone soever.

Thus whereas it was thought that this ambassador might serve as the instrument to establish a closer union between those Provinces and this crown it would seem that the occasion rather presents itself to him to break off all good relations. But he is and wishes to be a discreet minister above everything, and although he speaks somewhat sharply yet he shows great tact in keeping things in the proper way. He quietly uses his knowledge of the fact that the depression of his masters is not desired, in the interests of England herself, and of the security which she derives from them, and although they are very ardent about the dominion over these seas, they will not, on that account decide upon an open rupture with the States, and so he is not without hope of leaving everything before his departure in a quieter and safer condition than before.

The Polish ambassador had his public audience yesterday at Hampton Court. After that he desired at once to see the king, queen and the Prince Palatine privately. He stayed much longer with the queen than with any of the others, but it has not yet been possible to find out with certainty what he negotiated with any of them, except that he thanked the king for his aid in assisting the disputes between Sweden and Poland. It is already stated that he has no power to conclude anything about the marriage with the Palatine princess, and they fear that the difficulties raised on the score of religion are merely a pretext for

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breaking off the business entirely, as the lukewarmness shown by Poland in the conduct of this affair does not at all agree with the ardour with which the king there was supposed to desire it.

The councillors and secretaries of the Prince Palatine here begin to say that it might be better for the interests of their master that this marriage should be made with some prince of Germany, who could uphold his claim more appropriately, as it should be less difficult for a prince of the empire to undertake the direction, with supporters near at hand, than for the King of Poland, who, although more influential and powerful, is a long way off, and generally diverted by matters of grave consequence for his own kingdom, so that he cannot always be in the position to bear so great a burden even if he wishes.

But who can this prince be, now that Germany is laid waste everywhere, who is powerful enough and willing to make this marriage ? It is not very easy to see, so people conclude that the Palatines use these arts to help the business or else to save their face in case the result they desire is not achieved.

No later news has come from the Earl of Arundel besides what arrived from Frankfort. He is to wait for the emperor at some place between Vienna and Ratisbon, where it is suitable for him to be admitted to audience, and it seems that he has decided to stop at Linz, whence they hope soon to have some advice of his negotiations by a special messenger.

The king's barque arrested at Calais has now been sold, after the decision that it was lawful booty, as they would not accept its restitution here as an act of grace.

The Duke of Bouillon has passed this way without seeing his Majesty. They are the more displeased at this because he visited the Ambassador Senneterre and the Dutch ambassadors. The ambassadors apologise declaring that he only stayed a few hours here, and was obliged to proceed with all speed to Holland in order to stay the French troops who were embarked at Rotterdam.*

At the beginning of next week the Court will proceed to Oatlands, to remain there about three weeks. To avoid difficulty in obtaining quarters I decided to forestall them and have found a dwelling that will suffice not more than a mile from there.

Cersey, the 20th June, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

June 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

10. Piero Foscarini, Venetian Bailo at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Emino of the Arsenal has now been appointed Capigi Larchiaisi, and is in great favour with his Majesty. He is a very wary and subtle individual. His appointment was unexpected

*Frederick Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne, duke of Bouillon was proceeding to Flanders to take up the command of the French cavalry there. He crossed from Calais to Dover, where he was on the 31st May N.S., visiting Canterbury on the 1st June, and was taken to Ostend by Captain Carteret, in the *Happy Entrance*. Père Anselme : *Hist. Gen. de la Maison Royale de France*, Vol. IV., page 540. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1635–6, pages 447, 448, 527.

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and bears little relation to his office of Emino. I propose to send him a present, as the English ambassador, who is his great friend, represents him to me as a man of extraordinary capacity, equal to conducting the greatest affairs, and possessing an intimate knowledge of naval matters.

The Vigne of Pera, the 21st June, 1636.

[*Italian, deciphered.*]

June 22. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

11. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Arundel arrived at Linz two days after I left.* On the road he met and conferred with the King of Hungary, who received him with extraordinary marks of honour and esteem, expressing his sincere desire to see all the present differences adjusted. The emperor, equally anxious to honour him, has given orders for him to be freely defrayed with all his suite, which is not usual with ambassadors. He also took the earl to the chase and sports, always showing him remarkable courtesy. This indicates his Majesty's propensity towards an accommodation. However they have not yet entered into the merits of the affair, and will not utter a word without the Count of Ognat, who is still convalescent at Vienna, and does not propose to travel at present. The nuncio also claims to be heard before anything is arranged about the Palatine family. He asserts that he wants to be present in order to oppose a conclusion. But it is not really so, indeed I have been assured in confidence that he will forward an agreement, although with circumspection. Some weeks ago he told me that the Most Christian ought not to mind an alliance between Austria and England. The latter only had sea forces, with which they had not been able to do anything to speak of against Charles V, at a time when England had Calais and was allied with France. He said that their forces would only serve to injure the Dutch at sea. What Baglioni dislikes most of all is the report that the Earl of Arundel will try to arrange for his king's interposition for a general peace, as this would take the affair out of the pope's hands.

Noistot, the 22nd June, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

June 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

12. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador extraordinary is paying his visits to the ministers, thus confirming that he did not pay the usual compliments at his first audience. They think he is waiting to hear from England the reply given by the emperor to the Earl of Arundel before he opens his negotiations.

Paris, the 24th June, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

*Arundel reached Linz on the 14th June, N.S. *See* his despatch of $\frac{6}{16}$ June. *S.P. For. Germany, Empire.*

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June 26.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

13. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Princess Palatine told me she had heard from Prussia that the king of Poland insists upon a change of religion, as otherwise the estates of the realm will not approve of the marriage. Accordingly it is expected that the affair will fall through, since the ladies are obstinate and the Princess's mother inclines to think that the king has cooled and raises this difficulty in order to make it appear that the breach came from her side.

The Hague, the 26th June, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

14. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Besides the compliments already related the Polish ambassador announced the ardent wish of his king to marry the Palatine princess, above all on account of the connection with the English crown. He said that certain difficulties still remained in the way of a final settlement, and as his king could not remove them he hoped that his Majesty here would exert himself to that end. Here he touched on the point of religion, showing that if the change did not come from the princess's side, he could not treat of any thing further, as the constitutions of the realm and the king's oath to observe them did not permit it. Although the ambassador advanced this suggestion gently the king grew quite heated at it. He said he thought the ambassador had come to further the marriage treaty not to break it off. He could not help feeling the utmost astonishment, after he had contributed so much for the welfare of the King of Poland and shown such readiness to do everything to please him, at finding such a poor response to his friendship, when they came to make such utterly unreasonable proposals to him in a matter of so much consequence. The interests of his niece would never make him forget those of his own reputation. Anyone who tried to injure that in any way soever was not his friend, and would indeed put him to the necessity of seeking revenge at the risk of all he possessed. The sharpness of this reply did not allow the ambassador much latitude for his answer ; but he justified his master with propriety in a very modest and civil manner, though it availed nothing to assuage his Majesty's passion. In order that he might not see him again, the king told the ambassador that if he had anything better to propose he should make his exposition to the secretaries of state.

Although somewhat dashed by this encounter the ambassador set forth his instructions more freely before the queen, pointing out the harm the tranquillity of Poland might suffer by this mixture of religion in the royal house. He urged her very strongly to make every possible effort to soothe his Majesty and induce him, if not to permit, at least not to thwart the arrangements which might be made for maturing this affair to the satisfaction of both parties. She promised everything, but has done little,

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as she is usually reluctant to interfere in matters of grave consequence, especially those which concern the interests of the state.

He had no better fortune with the secretaries of state, as they kept exactly to the terms of his Majesty's reply. They expressed themselves, indeed, more directly, saying that he had great reason for offence, since they wished to make him the instrument for violating his niece's soul, to adopt a religion which he himself disapproved. It was well known that the custom in Poland was to leave every one's conscience free, and they ought not to set limits to any one, least of all a princess of such rank. The queen here enjoys the rites of her own faith without hindrance, although they differ entirely from those of the king and from those which his realms are required to observe, with severity. It is only reasonable that the same should be done in the present case, as there are fewer obstacles, owing to the liberty of the Poles. It was not a novelty for his king that the princess should follow the doctrine of Calvin, but it was something very novel that difficulties should be raised upon that point here, after the matter had been in negotiation for such a long time. If they meant that they did not want to go any further, they could do so undisguisedly, and it might possibly cause less resentment here.

The ambassador replied that to give satisfaction to the estates his king could not behave differently, although he was very eager to carry the business through, possibly at all risks. One who spoke for others could not go beyond his limits, although personally he wished to give every satisfaction. These were only beginnings (*principii*), and if regarded less severely some mitigation might be found such as to satisfy all parties. The secretaries, however, did not change their original tone. They seemed disinclined to continue the conversation, and so the interview terminated.

In spite of all this the ambassador wished to try his fortune with the Archbishop also, possibly hoping that he might find him more ready to approve his proposals, and use him to recommend them to his Majesty, as one reputed to be a great friend to the Catholics, and who certainly possesses more influence with the king at present than any one else soever. But where he expected to find more mildness he encountered greater severity, indeed such angry words that he cannot complain of them enough. The archbishop told him he had made a great mistake if he addressed himself to him with the idea that he would find him so weak as to yield to his persuasions, and to undertake, contrary to his conscience, to his duty as a minister and to his unstained loyalty, to persuade the king to do what he disliked so much. Whatever the outcome might be, the only recommendation he would attempt or listen to would be to rebuke an act unworthy of his greatness, which would leave an everlasting stain visible on his reputation. If the King of Poland intended to conclude this marriage he must try some other way. This one was certainly the worst of all and the most dangerous.

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Protestations and violence only impressed vile spirits born for servitude, not princes, who are magnanimous and generous by nature and cannot endure to be treated basely. He went on with this outcry and such biting remarks, without affording the ambassador an opportunity to say a word in defence of his cause. He also showed very scant respect for him personally, and so let him leave full of dissatisfaction.

With the Prince Palatine the ambassador did not go beyond simple terms of courtesy and the expression of the excellent intention of his king to confirm the friendship which he professes by a closer union. He found a middle course about titles, to avoid disputes. He spoke in German and used a word by which he said it would not be easy to distinguish whether he meant Prince or Elector.

I have had all the above particulars from the ambassador himself. He goes about protesting loudly to everyone, saying that he has been received, not as the ambassador of a great king but as if he were a charlatan. He protests that he has done his duty in every particular and if they do not give him better answers, he will depart. He will at least have the consolation of having served his king well, and in the assurance that if the negotiations do not go any further, the fault will not be his but entirely due to the stiffness of England.

He proposes to take leave of his Majesty on Monday, and will proceed to France to carry out at that Court other commissions which he holds. He leaves a report that he will return here very soon to carry out such orders as may arrive in the meantime, but he told me very clearly that if he comes back it will only be for the greater convenience of his journey. Meanwhile the discontent and perplexity of the Court are as great as the dissatisfaction of the ambassador. No one has much hope of the matter being arranged at any time. This insistance on the point of reputation does not meet with the approval of everyone, as such good fortune, once lost, may not easily recur. It is quite true that it does not seem right to them that they wished to treat of religion here from the other side, indeed so improper that it makes them dubious as to whether the Poles did not want to make a pretext for getting out of the business, into which they entered of their own accord by means of this same Zavaschi when his Majesty was in Scotland. However this may be, it is certain that delay cannot fail to be pernicious to the business, as the Austrians, who would dislike the conclusion so much, only want time in order to upset it.

In the mean time they will send Gordon from here to Poland, to forestall any ill offices which Zavaschi may perform by his letters, and assuring that crown that they are as friendly towards him as ever. He will have to find out if other means remain for the conclusion of the marriage.

Cersey, the 27th June, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

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June 27.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

15. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Dutch ambassador has not yet spoken about the ship seized by the Earl of Northumberland's squadron,* but is awaiting full particulars of the eireumstance. His hopes are fainter than his rights as he remembers the ill success of Joachimi on similar occasions. I went to see him the day before yesterday and found him in great agitation, lamenting the laek of good correspondenee for his masters at this Court. He complains that eleven of the sailors of the ship taken last year† are still in prison, and no food is supplied to them. He assured me he had freely told the Secretary Coke that they could hardly treat the Dutch worse than they are doing just now if they were enemies, as they subject them to the results of a tacit war, while they, on their side, lost no opportunity of showing affection and respect for his Majesty. If this wind blew more strongly it would drive the Provinces to come to terms with the Spaniards, and if England suffers from this either in trade or in other ways, she will only have herself to thank.

He went on to tell me about the Dutch ambassador at Venice leaving for Paris.‡ He did not think that a suceessor would be appointed, an agent could do all that was neeessary.

The Earl of Arundel confirms his decision to wait for the emperor at Linz, and that in the mean time he has gone to confer with the King of Hungary at Norlinghen.

The Court has all gone to Oatlands, where his Majesty is amusing himself with the princes, his nephews, in the pleasures of the chase.

His Majesty has granted the post formerly occupied by the late Earl of Carlisle to the Earl of Holland, who petitioned for it with more eagerness and humility than the others.§

The merchant of the King of Persia, together with the ducal missives of the 26th January, has arrived here only at this moment. I will help him diligently, as directed, provided he is able to express what he wants. So far I have found a difficulty about this, as he has no interpreter, I hope he will not leave here dissatisfied.

I have received this week the State despatches of the 30th ult.

Cersey, the 27th June, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

July 1.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

16. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassadors, extraordinary and ordinary, have been to audience at Fontainebleau, where they are treating with Bottiglier. From what we hear they are diseussing the original proposals, already introduced by Schidmor, about a

*The *Black Bull* of Amsterdam, taken off the Isle of Wight on the 2nd June, N.S. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1635–6, page 450.

†The *Sampson* of Flushing, Captain Jan Verdieux, taken on the 19th August, 1635. *See* the preceding Volume of this *Calendar*, page 446 and note.

‡William van Lier, sieur de Oosterwijk was appointed to succeed Langerach at Paris on the 7th June 1636. De Jonge: *Nederland en Venetie* page 214.

§The post of first gentleman of the Bedchamber. Salvetti reported this appointment on the 30th May. Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.*, 27962G.

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general peace and the exchange of Lorraine for the Palatinate, and also about an English barque seized at Calais, adjudged here to be lawful booty. There seems no doubt that they expect more precise commissions after they have heard from England of the first negotiations of the Earl of Arundel at the Emperor's Court, and in the mean time they are acting for show and to make manifest their importance to the Austrians.

Paris, the 1st July, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

July 3. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

17. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After the unsatisfactory experiences reported the Polish ambassador left for Paris, having taken leave of their Majesties and received the usual presents. His proceedings about the marriage of the Palatine princess leave that matter more ambiguous than ever, and induce them to hasten the departure of Gordon here more than ever. They have already given him his despatches. They direct him to take up the matter again, if possible, in some other way, in an agreeable manner and without abandoning decorum, above all, making clear the justice of the resentment felt here in the matter of religion as a point that neither conscience nor reasons of State can allow to be discussed here. He will represent, however, in a proper manner, that while the king here will not allow his soul to be soiled under any circumstances in affairs of this character, so he will never prevent his niece from adopting what belief she thinks best, inferring that if, before or after the marriage, she lends an ear to any instruction in the Catholic faith, she will do so with all the connivance that can be desired on the part of England. By this means they hope to assuage the present ill feeling, and they pretend to penetrate to the bottom of the intentions of Poland to proceed safely in this, or to think without distraction of some other expedient which time and circumstances may mature for the service of the Palatine house.

The Secretary Windebank, in speaking to me of this affair on the very day that the ambassador took leave of the king told me that there were many difficulties which might upset the affair. Even if the question of religion was settled there remained the claims for dowry and other things, not so easy to arrange. When I asked him what he thought the outcome would be, he replied that he could not say, except that the greater the things the more difficult they are, which means in plain language that he does not think it feasible. All the rest of the Court speaks in the same way. Those who are reputed the wisest say that if the affairs of the Palatines are not previously arranged with Cæsar, it is vain to imagine that this business will take effect, as it is unlikely that the King of Poland, instead of a dowry, will consent to take on himself troubles and burdens which cannot fail to disarrange and upset greatly the interests of his own kingdom.

They hear by private letters this week of the arrival of the Earl of Arundel at Ratisbon, and that he has taken lodgings in

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the house of one Scherer, who was previously destined for the service of the Duke of Bavaria. In the fear that some dissatisfaction may arise out of this, which may serve to render the progress of his negotiations more difficult, they will send him orders to proceed with gentleness in any case. They say at Court that they ought to try and prevent the diet; that the earl should have proceeded to Germany before with this object, because the emperor will try to make himself absolute thereby, and it may be said to be achieved when his son has been chosen King of the Romans; and Bavaria will not consent to go away before a fresh declaration definitely establishes the electorate as the perpetual inheritance of his house. Both these points are very important to England, both because of the interests of the Palatines, and from the constant jealousy which the excessive power of the House of Austria will cause to the repose of this kingdom, but his commissions do not go so far as necessity requires, as it seems that they confine their energies here at present to keeping a sharp look out.

They learn from very recent letters from Hamburg that the Chancellor Oxestern is about to proceed to the King of Denmark to treat about peace negotiations with the emperor. The news has given great satisfaction as they cling to the hope that the affairs of the Palatine can be more easily adjusted in that way than in any other.

After having cruised along the coasts of France for many days, without meeting so much as a single fishing boat, and finding his hopes of making some notable reprisals vain, the general has withdrawn with the fleet towards Plymouth, there to await fresh orders from his Majesty before proceeding elsewhere.

I have worked hard in the interests of the Persian merchant. I have had lodgings to his taste found for him in the city; I have obtained from the Lord Treasurer most ample patents for landing all his goods without paying duty, and wherever I can help I shall let him see the constant friendliness of your Excellencies. The case with the pocket pistols laded on the ship "*Fior Dorato*" has not yet arrived, but they think it must come before long; when it does I shall not fail to do what you command.

Cersey, the 3rd July, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

July 3. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

18. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The king of England has written to the Princess Palatine that he is only waiting to hear from Arundel to take decisive action. But she greatly fears that England will do nothing serious and that he is only trying to frighten by noise, to avoid disturbing peace at home, which is so advantageous, as with trade forbidden between France and Spain, it all goes to England, with incredible profit to the crown.

The Hague, the 3rd July, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

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July 5.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

19. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

After his first audience of the emperor, the earl of Arundel was introduced almost immediately to the empress. He would not cover, although he remained more than half an hour in conversation with her, the time being spent in passing compliments. Their suave manners have not diverted his Excellency from the essential part of his business. At his second audience he expressed the determination of his sovereign to put the finishing touches to this affair, after so many delays, otherwise, he says frankly, England will take more vigorous steps. He says they should make no difficulty about giving his king complete satisfaction, as is proper, not only in equity but from written promises. He produced a letter consigned to Teller in which the emperor says: *Principibus Palatinis restituemus partem nequaquam contemnendam*, and two others from his Majesty to the late king James clearly promising to yield the electoral vote to the Palatine Princes immediately after Bavaria's death. The emperor said nothing about the last two letters. As regards the first he said it would be promptly fulfilled, but it was necessary to be clear about the terms. Arundel said this would be difficult as it is understood to mean all that the late Prince Palatine possessed, and he formulated the demand for all the Palatinate and the electoral vote. The emperor replied, though always with great suavity, that he could not give what did not belong to him, and if they want so much they should apply to the Elector of Bavaria. Nevertheless, to prove his sincerity he has appointed fresh commissioners, who are the bishop, Swalendorf and Il Ghibardi. The Aulic Councillor Haubiz has been sent to Munich to learn Bavaria's decision and they have also written to the Count of Ognat to set out at once to take part in the discussions upon the subject, and he started forthwith. Bavaria replied two days later, defending his claims and declaring that he will not give up the electoral dignity, though he is ready to restore the Palatinate provided that suitable compensation is given to him.

It is supposed here that the despatch from England with such promptitude, to meet the wishes of Cæsar, of an ambassador who is one of the most distinguished personages of that Court, is intended to settle this point by mild measures, without an appeal to arms and without noise. I have also heard that as soon as they learned that an ambassador was coming, they sent instructions to Radolti to confine his negotiations as much as possible to generalities, and if he had to speak at all about the Palatinate he was to make his proposals in writing and not to commit them here in any way. But with the high tone taken by the ambassador they began to change their opinion, and it is thought that they will have to do something in earnest. But they do not know how to do this without offending Bavaria or without stripping themselves of the best part of their hereditary dominions, and to this the emperor will never consent. They hope to appease Arundel by every mark of attention, but this is

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in vain, as he declares that he will leave at once if he does not receive all the satisfaction that is claimed. They hope that Ognat will do some good, but that is not enough. They believe that the ambassador is building upon the present weakness of the Spaniards and of the House of Austria. A compromise has been suggested, but not taken up, to give the Lower Palatinate and to hold out the hope of more in time.

The earl of Arundel has conferred also with the bishop, and was told that he ought for the present to be satisfied with the removal of the imperial ban, and a declaration that the Palatines are Princes of the Empire, with an assignment of a suitable pension. He suggested a part of the Lower Palatinate. Arundel seems to have been greatly incensed at such ideas, saying that they must go further than this if they wanted quiet, as England was quite able to enforce her claims, and if they did not propose to do more, he would leave at once. The bishop, like the emperor, suggested applying to Bavaria.

The mere report of these difficulties will suffice to prevent the meeting of the electors at Ratisbon, as they will be unwilling to risk their own interests by nominating a king of the Romans until they see what turn these negotiations and the course of the war will take. Some think that France may act in concert with England in these negotiations, as they would not make such resolute declarations if there was not some previous understanding.

Ebersperch, the 5th July, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure.

20. Copy of Bavaria's reply.

Electoralem dignitatem quam Carolus Quartus Imperator a domo Bavaria ademit et in lineam Rhenensem, transtulit se jure belli recuperasse ; propterea nequaquam consentiri posse in petitionem Regis Britanniae. Quo ad Provincias ad Palatinum pertinentes se libenter eas restituere velle.

(1) si linea Rhenensis Palatina refuderit fructus perceptos a tempore Caroli IV.

(2) si domus Palatina refuderit damnum Bavariae per regem Suetiae illatum.

(3) si imperator refuderit domui Bavariae sumptus quosque Imperatori impendit.

July 8.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

21. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors have returned from Fontainebleau. The Earl of Leicester assures me that since the Austrians have declared that without the restoration of Lorraine they will never make peace, the King of England desires a declaration to that effect here, in order to advance it, but although the ordinary ambassador has frequently touched on the subject he has never succeeded in obtaining a formal reply. From this I gather, as others also bear witness, that they are returning to this point. The Cardinal, as usual, expressed to me how little he expected

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from their negotiations with the English, although he thinks well of the ambassador extraordinary. The Polish ambassador has arrived here from England, but as yet he remains incognito.

Paris, the 8th July, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

22. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

They are very intent here on news from the sea, fearing that some storm may descend upon the fishermen. Beveren reports the king's determination to have the mastery, as well as England's increasing leaning towards Spain. Nevertheless the fleet has not yet sailed from these Provinces, and cannot do so without money.

It is stated that the king of Denmark, stirred by the example of England, is equipping twelve well armed war ships. with the sole object of making himself recognised as master at sea.

I have spoken at length with Sig. Gravinghel about the pretentions of England and the book entitled "Mare Clausum," and the reply which he is to make to it. The essence of our conversation was this. The King of England claims to be recognised as master in the waters of England, Scotland and Ireland and in what they call the "narrow seas." Gravinghel replies that the dominion claimed by England is either natural or acquired. It is not natural because there is no argument for England that does not apply equally for France, or these Provinces. It is not acquired, because that is a question of fact, and the fact is not apparent. He said later that the sea, as sea, is not subject to private dominion, although it is as a gulf. He quoted the lordship of your Excellencies over the Adriatic, and argued that as the King of England has no gulf he cannot have lordship over the sea. He will reply in general terms and come to particulars afterwards. He will argue just as strongly to uphold before the world the just dominion of your Excellencies in the Gulf as for the rights of his own country, because he professes as much devotion to the most serene republic as to this one.

The Hague, the 10th July, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

July 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

23. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince Palatine has never recovered his serenity of mind since the offence he took about the negotiations of the Earl of Arundel in Germany. He has become more suspicious than ever and no longer believes anything whatever that the ministers here tell him. Thus he tries secretly to find out what is really happening about his affairs by every means which he considers disinterested. With this object he sent secretly to me that Curtius, one of his secretaries, who was here before in the capacity of his agent. He prefaced his remarks with a long discourse about the great value which

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his master put upon the friendship and advice of the most serene republic. He went on to disclose in large measure the reasons *why he mistrusts the operations of the Court here, the unfriendly bias which he presupposes in the Earl of Arundel towards the interests of his house, and the interested leaning of the greatest men of the government towards the house of Austria, alleging these as the chief reasons. He therefore begged me, if I knew anything of what had been negotiated at the imperial Court so far upon these affairs, or if I had any special knowledge of the views of the emperor, that I would be good enough to communicate it to him, under the veil of utter secrecy.*

In order not to commit myself I told him that my letters contained nothing but what was known to everybody. Upon this he rejoined that his master well knew that no one was more regularly informed than I of the affairs of the world, as it was an ancient custom of the republic to send their ambassadors a record of the most important events, and all the ministers did the same among themselves. *He therefore begged me again, if I had anything of substance, to oblige the prince by communicating it, with the assurance that the confidence would be kept inviolably secret amongst ourselves. I expressed regret at having nothing for the moment to impart, but promised that if I heard anything hereafter I would do so willingly. I said this in order not to lose his confidence, but I shall do nothing, in order not to displease the Court by my action, as I am quite sure they would take such a correspondence in ill part, at least that is my humble opinion. Curtius left me well satisfied, giving me a paper or manifest with the Palatine's signature, enclosed herewith, imparting the attainment of his Highness's majority, to take up the direction of his dominions.*

The contents show how little substance there is in their efforts on behalf of the Palatine House and what scanty results can be expected. It shows that this Court will do nothing more than the interests of these realms demand. Such steps as they do take are rather to show their willingness to act abroad, and the only motive is the need to do something to quiet the criticisms which are uttered, wherever an opening is found, to the detriment of their reputation, with every licence and without reserve. But in substance they lull themselves in the belief that in a treaty for a general peace or for a particular one in the empire, there must of necessity be a final adjustment, without any trouble about all these points which the toils and expenditure of a long time might not suffice to make entirely secure in the end. This supposition while lulling to sleep all generous and appropriate resolutions causes the interests of Christendom at large, as well as those of the Palatine family to retire into the background, possibly with the most serious consequences.

Cersey, the 11th July, 1636.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosure.

24. Letter of the Elector Palatine to Francisco Erizzo, Doge of Venice.

Desire to maintain the ancient friendship between his Electorate and the most serene republic, especially as he has now attained

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his majority and the electoral dignity of Palatine of the Rhine with everything pertaining thereto ought to be transferred to him. Considers this statement of his undoubted rights would not be displeasing to the doge, and that it would be his care that he should obtain peaceful possession, with which the peace and tranquillity of Germany and of the whole of Christendom are bound up etc.

Dated at London, the 8th May, 1636.

Signed : Carolus Ludovicus Dei gratia Comes Palatinus Rheni, Sacri Rom. Imperii Archidapifer et Elector, Dux Bavariae.

[*Latin.*]

July 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

25. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Gordon having left for Poland with the instructions advised, all the talk at Court about the marriage of the Palatine princess has quieted down, and they are waiting to hear from him how far Zavaschi has disturbed matters. In the mean time attention is directed to the effect of the treaties of peace in Germany and the result of the diet of Ratisbon. They expect good for the Palatine from the former and the reverse from the latter. Orders have been sent to the Earl of Arundel to oppose with all his might the confirmation for ever of the electoral vote to the house of Bavaria, which the diet was expected to ratify, protesting that if it takes place, England must of necessity take offence and strike.

The earl's letters this week bring the king very unsatisfactory news. They relate that the King of Hungary has refused to see him, under the pretext that he ought not to do so before he has seen his father. He asked for this of the emperor at Linz, but it has been postponed until his Majesty arrives at Ratisbon. From this title piece one may read both disagreeably and clearly that their principles are always the same, to try and drag things out at length ; but all these fluctuations do not suffice to rouse them to thoughts of war. They still think about negotiating, without knowing which way is the safest to take. Only this is certain, that they will not make any decision until Arundel's negotiations have made some advance.

Everything is quiet at sea, nothing having been done since the capture of the Dutch war ship.

The Ambassador Beveren, after remonstrating with the king, has proved by witnesses on oath that the captain of the Dunkirk tartana was a notorious rover* and that the Dutch had seized him solely at the instance of his Majesty's subjects, because, out of respect for the place where they met him, without being prevoked, they had decided not to touch him. As the truth has thus been ascertained, Beveren trusts that the ship will be given up.

*John Pero, captain of the frigate taken at Helston, had already been arrested as a pirate. *See Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1636–7, page 23.

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On the arrival at Court of the news that the Dutch fishermen have put to sea with a numerous escort of well armed ships, determined to fish indifferently everywhere and to defend themselves against whoever tries to molest them, the king and ministers were greatly moved, and by their order the more speedy sailing of the other ships, which were being slowly fitted out to join the rest of the fleet, has been immediately commanded. But the Dutch seem in no wise intimidated by this, saying that they hope nothing unusual will be done against them, as they have respected the royal flag more than any other nation. On the other hand they announce that thirty more sail will be added very speedily to reinforce their fleet. They show themselves resolute and prepared for whatever may happen to them. From this it is clear there is very dangerous material about, and when to this are added the sinister ideas which the partisans of Spain go about spreading odiously, it seems inevitable that occasions for the worst events must arise.

Letters from Frankfort of the 27th ult. report the preparations of the Landgrave of Hesse to introduce succour into Hanau and that Duke Bernard is marching to join him. This raises great hopes, and they are on the alert here so as not to lose any opportunity of securing advantage.

The Earl of Leicester reports from Paris that at his request commissioners have been appointed to hear him, namely Messieurs de Bouillon and Savigny ; but he does not know what to discuss with them, as his instructions remain the same as when he left London, since the English cabinet is apparently awaiting the result of the Earl of Arundel's negotiations.

Rolandson came to see me yesterday, having recovered from his illness. He expressed his devotion to the most serene republic. He hopes to return as soon as he has attended to his affairs here, to end his days there as a private citizen. He said he had spoken to some of the ministers here about the affairs of the English merchants at Venice and found that they knew nothing about Hider's business. He told them about it and of the kindness shown to Obson. He had pointed out to them the extravagant nature of Hider's demands, and as they do not attach much importance to that merchant personally your Excellencies will see that the demands put forward on his behalf at Venice receive no impulse from this quarter.

Cersey, the 11th July, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

26. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

My desire to confer with the earl of Arundel and Baron Rabata, Captain of Gradisca, has brought me here. There arrived at about the same time the Count of Ognat, the Resident of Poland and Griffoni, knight of Malta. So far the field is free for conferences, without affording observations and comments. But I had no opportunity of speaking to these ministers as I wished, since Rabata, left the same day for Gratz and Arundel for Vienna,

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where he will pay his respects to the queen and the archduke.
Linz, the 12th July, 1636.
[*Italian.*]

July 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

27. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The fleet has left for the Strait of Gibraltar. They hear that it caused great anxiety when it approached the coasts of Galicia. They assert here that if it meets the fleet going from Spain to Dunkirk, it will fight it in spite of the presence of an English ship with money. The Ambassador Leicester remonstrates, declaring that if this occurs it may lead to some mischief. The English barque detained by the governor of Calais is still under arrest. They consider it a lawful prize here because they have information that it was taking food and munitions to the Spaniards, but since the last offices of the Ambassadors the Cardinal has promised that it shall be released and restored in a few days.
Paris, the 15th July, 1636.
[*Italian.*]

July 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

28. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The day before yesterday an express arrived at Court from the Downs with news of the seizure by the fleet of two French armed barques, flying the Most Christian's standard, which were cruising not far from these coasts.* This caused great rejoicing and the Court has seemed pleased about it beyond all belief, as they have been anxiously and agitatedly awaiting some such event as reparation for the royal barque seized at Calais.† On hearing the news the ambassadors remonstrated immediately, though without any hope of obtaining the release of the vessels. They met with such a quick and decided refusal that they could hardly open their mouths to reply. But they willingly practise patience, and do not think of renewing their offices, thinking that if quiet can be secured for the future by such satisfaction the incident will not have been unfortunate. Here, however, they still seem full of ardour and think they cannot relax their jealous observation of the movements of the French naval forces, and they fear that these will cruise about these narrow seas, although the ambassadors here have assured them of the contrary several times. Under the shadow of such apprehensions but perhaps with another object, all the merchantmen in the river have been stopped this week. They have selected twenty of the best of them and ordered them to be fitted out for war with all speed, so that they may be ready to sail with his Majesty's twelve, which will be completely equipped in a few days.

*Two armed frigates of Calais, captured by Captain Henry Dunning in the *Swan* frigate, on or about the 5th July, N.S., and taken by him into Broadstairs. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1636–7, pages 21, 33.

†The *Miniken*. *See* the preceding Volume of this *Calendar*, page 559.

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When these forces are united with the fleet now in commission they will increase its numbers to sixty sail. They will all be large picked ships, admirably armed. Thus those will not be far wrong who think that so great a movement does not spring from little designs, but that they intend to do something of great consequence. The French are uneasy, because they know that the materials are always ready for exciting fresh disturbances; but the Dutch seem much more disturbed, and they have very good cause, because they know for certain that last week fourteen of the best ships of the fleet were unexpectedly sent towards the North to encounter their fishing boats, which recently sailed as I reported. Their instructions are unknown, even the decision being kept so secret that it was not divulged until executed. The Ambassador Beveren spoke to me about it the day before yesterday with very strong feeling. He seems to fear some grave disorder, and is the more convinced of this because the very strong arguments he adduced for the restitution of the Dutch warship seized with the Dunkirk tartana have not so far made any impression. He dreads an untoward result, as the United Provinces are not so strong at sea, even when strengthened by the 30 ships which they are arming at present, that they can pretend to be equal to resisting their enemies and England as well.

On the other hand a report is circulated, it is supposed with design, to the effect that these forces may be destined to act against the Austrians, his Majesty being especially offended by the reply said to have been given by the emperor to the Earl of Arundel in the audience granted to him at Linz, after repeated instances. They keep the tenor of this secret, I know not whether through fear or shame, so that I cannot give your Excellencies any sound information about it. What I have heard is that instead of a reply to Arundel's instances, according to instructions, for a definite and categorical answer, the emperor offered the feeble excuse that he felt the weight of his years too much to apply himself to the conduct of grave affairs, the care of which now fell upon the King of Hungary, and so he must address himself to him if he wished his negotiations to make speedy and favourable progress.

Such is the rather vague account which has issued from the Court. But I have had it from one who is able to speak on good authority. Yet it is so extraordinary that it makes the wisest doubtful, indeed some would refuse to believe it if great commotions and whispers of serious dissatisfaction were not circulating at the same time.

In all these negotiations the arrival of the ambassador expected from Spain has happened very opportunely. He reached this kingdom at the beginning of the present week, and is now staying incognito at Greenwich, where he is preparing a great equipage for his first appearance, in the most pompous and magnificent manner. He came on one of his Majesty's galleons,* on which he left two millions of francs,

*Don Inigo Velez de Guevara count of Oñate and Villa Mediana, the Spanish Ambassador, came in the *Victory*, Captain Walter Stewart. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1636–7, pages 54, 62.

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which it will take to Flanders with the first favourable wind. They await his negotiations with great curiosity. It is thought that at the very first he will touch upon the proposals for an alliance, already opened by Nicolaldi, possibly in the belief that the present strained relations with the French and Dutch may afford the best opportunity for pushing them. But no one believes that he will attain this end so easily, as it will require something very urgent to bring England to such a resolute declaration in these days.

They say that a son of the late Marquis of Aytona has been seen in London. He has come from Flanders and is seeking for an opportunity to proceed in safety to Spain.* He keeps his incognito and they have taken no notice of him at Court.

The Persian merchant went to kiss his Majesty's hands last Sunday, and presented his king's letters. The king received him very graciously, but the reception of the courtiers was not so courteous, as moved by curiosity to see his remarkable dress they greatly crowded and incommoded him. There is a sharp dispute between him and one Richard Gatwood, who arranged for transporting his household and goods. He claims 3 per cent. for hire for some cases of reals, amounting to about 20,000, after he has received 740 for everything, in accordance with the agreement. I sent for him and gently urged him not to be so grasping and to show himself reasonable ; but I found him so obstinate that I was forced to tell him that I should find a way to make him recognise what was right, hinting that I should inform the ministers here. He then told me, more insolently than ever that I might do what I liked it would make no difference to him, as the interests of individuals and of merchants had nothing to do with those of the state. I told him again not to be so hot, as if he happened to prove in the right I undertook to have the right done to him, but it was of no use as he remained most obstinate and left me most disdainfully, saying that the republic had no power to give orders here and he did not care what I might do. Accordingly, because of the wrong which he wishes to do to the Persian and his insolent behaviour I made complaint to the Secretary Windebank, who promised to see that the money was restored and the man put down. But things are carried out so slowly that although I know he urges it on with all diligence, I cannot feel sure of the issue. However I will not abandon the affair until I see what can be done. If I do not have some satisfaction before Sunday I will speak expressly to his Majesty.

Meanwhile the reals remain in the ship, without the captain or the merchants concerned choosing to receive them into their custody, and they declare that if they are stolen they will not be responsible. The leading man among them, or rather the one who has shown most arrogance is this same Richard Gatwood, who is the same who made the agreement at Venice jointly with Michael, his brother, who is said to have remained at Venice, with a house and business common to both. This has made me

*He landed at Dover on the 14th July N.S. *See Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1636–7, page 50.

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decide to give your Excellencies full particulars of the matter, so that, if you think fit to take any steps against the belongings of that man, as a surety for the Persian, who has petitioned me for this, at least until the affair is settled here, you may have something solid upon which to take action. For my part I think that their barbarous manner of behaving merits severe correction everywhere.

His Majesty has been staying at Bagshot all this week. He proposes to come on here to-morrow to meet the queen, and then they will both proceed on their destined progress without further delay.*

The Senate's letters of the 13th ult. alone have reached me.

Windsor, the 24th July, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

July 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

29. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The earl of Arundel has so far avoided a meeting with the Count of Ognat, and it is asserted that he will not come back here, but that he will stay at Prague until he goes to Ratisbon.

Linz, the 25th July, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

July 29. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

30. The Ambassador of the King of Great Britain came into the Collegio and said :

I have come to your Serenity these last months to recommend the interest of English merchants, who complained of divers grievances. I never came before I was sure of the reasonableness of the request. I have previously presented some requests from those merchants, and they were graciously received by your Serenity, who took some steps in consequence, of which I am informed my king. Since then the same merchants have suffered some wrong at Zante and Cephalonia, which aggravates their case, as shown in this paper. Your Serenity will see this and will relieve them with the more zeal : that will also serve the interests of the republic, because of my king's appreciation. I may add that as your Serenity made a gracious response some days ago to a request of mine for these merchants, I informed his Majesty, who was pleased and from him you may always promise yourselves the most perfect response. He then handed a memorial to his Serenity.

The doge replied : We always have the interests of merchants at heart, especially of English ones. They are always welcome and favoured, owing to our excellent relations with his Majesty, but also because of the benefit from trade at Zante and Cephalonia and elsewhere, as well as in this city. Your prudent request

*The king had intended to go to Theobalds on Monday, the 21st July, N.S., and to join the queen at Oatlands on the following Saturday, but owing to the plague he went to Bagshot instead on the 21st. Hist. MSS. Comm. *3rd Report*, page 74 ; *4th Report*, page 291.

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shall be considered and these Signors will examine the paper. In the mean time we assure you that we intend the public order to be carried out.

The ambassador said, I thank you Serenity and have no doubt of your decisions being carried out, and I know that you will consider the petition I have made on my king's behalf. I made a special request here for the merchants Hider and Opson, upon which the Senate's reply was brought to me. I especially asked for the deposit which Opson requested, which has not yet been thoroughly carried out. When this was reported at Court, fresh orders came immediately from England to hasten on the affair. I waited, knowing full well that your Serenity would not leave it unexecuted. Yet I must recommend it again, although I know that you mean to satisfy his Majesty's desires.

The doge replied : We repeat that we have the interests of your merchants at heart. The Senate will decide what it thinks proper in this matter in their favour. It only remains for the interested parties to solicit, and if they present a petition every proper satisfaction will be given them, the magistrates being instructed to carry the decisions of the Senate into effect. Your lordship may rest assured of this, and we have the highest regard for you. Without saying any more the ambassador bowed, took leave and departed.

[*Italian.*]

Attached : Filza.

31. 1636, the 4th August.

By order of the Savii that the Five Savii of the Mercanzia shall examine the attached memorial presented by the English ambassador in favour of English merchants trading at Zante and Cephalonia as well as the sentence passed by Antonio Pisani, when he was General in the three islands, and give their opinion in writing upon oath.

The two last Proveditori from Cephalonia shall do the same.

Most Serene Prince :

We, the Savii of the Mercanzia have examined the paper presented by the English ambassador. It consists of two items, to afford facilities for English merchants to trade at Zante and Cephalonia, and to make some alterations in the duties. As the parties, who have come from Zante and Cephalonia to bid for the duties, have heard something of this petition, they have stated freely that they have no instructions to take part in the bidding while there was a prospect of some change. We told them to come, as the duty would be put up on the same terms. This was in order to find out the value of the duty, as if your Serenity made any change they would be advised of it and they would remain as free as before. We put the duty up, therefore, and 81010 ducats were bidden, an increase of 12810 ducats a year, and this was the second auction. The loss of this increase must be considered with respect to the reply to the memorial.

The first point of the English is that when ships come to lade, the customers, even when asked, will not be present at the weighing and stamping, causing serious loss through delay.

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They ask that if the customer does not go the same or the next day the weighing and stamping may be done by the public weighers and ministers alone, according to the decision of the General Pisani of the 17th April, 1632. We think that the extortions may be removed, but as the presence of the eustomer is necessary at these functions we think that your Serenity should decree some penalty if he does not appear without delay, to be levied at once, and if he still persists, that the ministers and rectors shall depute some sufficient person to act together with the ministers aforesaid.

In the second article they say that the plantations of currants in the island of Cephalonia have increased so much as to cause them grave inconvenience and this prejudices their lading in the only ports decreed by the old capitulations, and so the customers make improper gains by granting them licences to lade at other ports. They therefore beg leave to lade at those ports, in order to escape this charge. We would represent that while the lading was confined to Argostoli and val d'Alessandria, there was more security against smuggling and the increase of currant plantations, which cause a dearth of grain in the island, while to grant so many places may facilitate smuggling and increase the burden upon ministers for the weighing and stamping. Yet the merchants are exposed as they state to unlawful charges to the profit of the customers. We leave the reconciliation of these opposites to your Serenity.

They ask thirdly that when three or more vessels are lading at the same time the ministers may have instructions to choose officials to assist in stamping the casks and crates, in the presence of the customers or their deputies, to avoid delay. This seems reasonable, and we think that your Serenity might instruct the Rectors to this effect, but this favour should be done without expense to the State.

They ask fourthly that they be not subject to extortion from the customers for the faults of others, such as smuggling by sailors. We do not see how a distinction can be made between the interests of the merchant and those of the officers of a ship in the matter of currants in considerable quantity, as the trade is in the hands of companies who have the sole right of sale in England. We therefore do not think that any change should be made, but we do not think that the merchants ought to be molested for a small quantity of currants which the sailors may have taken for their own profit.

They ask fifthly that a Stadiere may be sent to the islands to test and stamp all measures, as both public and private measures get worn out and the merchants are defrauded in buying currants, and the state also suffers. We think this both reasonable and necessary, as if your Serenity receives the duty of the tenth from the new plantations when the measures are altered, you are undoubtedly grossly defrauded. It is also customary in all cities and fairs to stamp the measures annually, It would be advisable to appoint some one for this purpose, and he should profit from the numerous individuals of those islands who would

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need him, while people would come from the Morea, where there is no one capable of doing this.

To the sixth article for the export of a certain quantity of oil, wine, acids and other things by their ships, without paying duty, we think it a delicate matter as under this cover the duties might suffer severely, and it would affect the auction.

Seventhly they ask that the duty may be paid at Argostoli, where the English merchants usually live, as it is seven miles from the fortress of Cephalonia, where they have to go and pay the new duty, and they are in danger of being robbed by the numerous brigands, or that their lives and money may be protected in some other way. We think that Argostoli is not a suitable place for keeping the public money, as the site is open, but their request for protection is reasonable and the Rectors should be strictly charged to keep the roads clear of malefactors, as they may easily do by means of the two armed boats of the guard, which are always there. If the merchants, having some large payments to make, should desire greater protection, we think that the Rectors should grant them a sufficient escort, at their request, and without expense.

They ask eighthly for the confirmation of General Pisani's decree of the 17th April, 1632. It comprises facilities for the merchant to recover debts, if he has a written or signed paper, by direct process, but if not, proceedings shall be by the ordinary forms of justice. This seems reasonable and for the benefit of merchants and islanders alike. Then that the merchants may have currants weighed and stamped even in the absence of the customer, if he does not come promptly when advised by them. We have already remarked upon this. The third concerns the relief of merchants from charges made by public officials, in raising contributions under the name of gifts. We think it proper to relieve merchants from extortion and to facilitate trade. The fourth is about forbidding the cutting of currants before they are ripe and taking them from the altars before they are thoroughly dry, injuring the crop and the purchaser. We have no objection to this.

Ninthly they want Londons, half Londons and tin relieved of the new impost asserting that this would not affect the duty, which is so heavy that the goods are not taken to the islands, indeed it causes harm, because the ships discharged such goods in the Morea, and the import duty of 2 per cent. and the export duty of 4 per cent. are lost. This affects the articles already arranged and the companies here declare that they do not mean the duty to be altered. But the question may well be discussed and a decision taken, as we hear that but little of the goods in question is unladed in the islands, and much goes on to the Morea, with obvious loss to your Serenity.

Finally they ask for instructions to the Rectors to bridle those who slander and maltreat the English living in the islands. This seems reasonable and foreigners living in your Serenity's diminions should not only be respected, but receive honours and favours.

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Dated at the office, the 12th August, 1636.

Polo Morosini
Marin Contarini
Lunardo Foscolo
Girolamo Lando, knight.
} Savii.

[*Italian.*]

Attached: Filza.

32. 1636, the 4th August.

By order of the Savii, the two last Proveditori from Cephalonia shall give their opinion in writing upon oath upon the memorial presented by the English Ambassador in favour of English merchants trading at Zante and Cephalonia.

In fulfilment of the order of your Excellencies, we the undersigned have to state :

First that we think the decision of the General Pisani should be confirmed.

Secondly, we think that as the plantations of currants have really increased, the merchants should be able to lade at the ports of Asso and Theachi, in addition, and should be content with this, as the ports of Pilaro and Leo are unsafe for large ships.

Thirdly, we think it would be a convenience for the merchants and equally to the interest of the state for the Proveditore of Cephalonia to have instructions to choose a trustworthy official to assist the customer when several ships are lading at once, if your Excellencies do not think it too costly, as the merchants ought not to bear the charge, for fear of fraud.

Fourthly, we think it reasonable that the merchants should not be made responsible for the frauds committed by sailors and others, if possible, but the damage done is often discovered after the ships have gone, and no other way of recoupment is possible. The merchants can easily prevent it by keeping control over the sailors.

Fifthly, we think that some one should be appointed to test the measures every year.

Sixthly, with regard to the export of wine, oil etc. we have only to say that by decree of the Senate of the 25th July, 1626, English ships have permission to export such things from this city without duty, if they have brought them here and paid the charges. There is no difference between export from this mart and what they ask. On the other hand the island of Cephalonia will suffer some inconvenience if nine or ten ships, which sail with currants, take away the things in question, which they might need more for themselves if they were released from interest in the export. The duty thereon might suffer somewhat, while the island, which only produces enough oil, every third year for its own needs, would suffer no little inconvenience and loss.

Seventhly, your Excellencies alone can weigh the pros and cons of making payment at Argostoli. The universal practice is for state payments to be made in the Chamber only, and the merchants can easily get men from the ships to escort the money.

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Eightly, we have given our reasons for the confirmation of General Pisani's decree of the 17th April, 1632.

Ninthly, it would be profitable to the islanders for Londons, half Londons and tin to be exempted from the new impost, as they could dress in the cloth at a cheaper rate, and to the merchants, who need not go to the Morea, if they do so : but this must be left to the prudence of your Excellencies.

Tenthly, they well deserve the protection of your Excellencies by a public order to desist from hurting them in deed or word, with a promise of severe punishment for those who pass the bounds of moderation and charity.

Dated at our house, the 13th August 1636.

Signed :—Nicolo Erizzo.
[*Italian.*] Gasparo Querini.

Attached : Filza.

33. Memorial of the English merchants trading at Zante and Cephalonia presented to the doge by the English Ambassador.

The new impost at Zante and Cephalonia is paid for the most part by us English merchants for the export of currants to England and other places. Contrary to the wishes of the republic we meet with many difficulties and obstacles in our business, raised by those who seek their personal advantage by indirect ways. Now that the duty is to be put up to auction we have decided to lay our grievances before your Excellency, so that we may obtain relief through your intervention, as the representative of his Majesty.

The ten articles which follow are referred to seriatim in the reply of the Five Savii above.

[*Italian.*]

Attached : Filza.

34. Judgment of Antonio Pisani.*

The English merchants, who trade with large capital at the islands of Zante and Cephalonia not only with advantage to our subjects, but also to the revenues of the state, have petitioned for relief in various particulars. After a due consideration of the matter, we have resolved :

(1) that in Cephalonia, as here, English merchants who have written papers or signatures for their debts, can obtain the assistance of chancery against their debtors, to be executed forthwith, after it has been signed by the government, without prejudicing the rights of the parties to appeal afterwards ; and creditors of the English shall have the same privilege. But debts not so authenticated must go by way of citation, trial of the case and sentence, before execution.

(2) in order to relieve merchants of delay in getting their ships away, they may weigh and stamp their currants provided one of the following is present, one interested in the new impost, one interested in the import and export duties, the public weigher. The customers may send any one for their own satisfaction, but

*A copy of this judgment in Italian is preserved among the state papers, attached to a despatch of Fielding of the 17th October, 1636. *S.P. For. Venice*, Vol. 38.

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the merchants are not obliged to wait for him. If the customers are advised and do not send, the weighing can proceed, provided the others are present. Every time the customers are advised and do not send, they shall be fined 100 ducats upon the duties for each occasion, and shall be responsible for any harm suffered by the ships, two guards being placed upon each ship, to watch day and night over the interests of the duty.

Thirdly, the order of the 4th December, 1631, is annulled, at the instance of the customers, who ask that the present order may have effect. Further that the aforesaid offices of guards, assistants, weighers etc. shall not constitute any charge upon the merchants, even under the name of gifts, as the public interest would be prejudiced thereby, upon pain of outlawry, imprisonment and the galleys for those who transgress.

(4) Whereas some, for malicious ends cut the currants before they are ripe, to profit by the weight, and take them from the altars before they are dry which cannot please the English, because the fruit must often be thrown away, so that the merchants sometimes refrain from buying, and the duties suffer, we order that every year the Proveditore shall proclaim that every one must let his currants ripen properly and dry thoroughly on the altars and clean them from all wastage, upon a penalty which the representative of the state shall decide.

These presents, registered in the chancery here and in that of Cephalonia, shall be duly observed and carried out.

At Zante, the 17th April, 1632.

[*Italian.*]

July 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

35. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Beveren has succeeded in staying the fourteen ships which had been commissioned to sail northward to stop the Dutch fishing boats. The reason they agreed to his request was the hope that the Dutch, intimidated by such resolute action, would decide to treat for the composition which they have asked for here from the outset. But they are more intent upon gaining time than disposed to enter upon negotiations. So they temporise with offices and lull them with gentleness when they threaten violence, believing that by putting things off they can quietly enjoy the benefit of all the present season at least. The king, however, seems to think and decide differently. The twenty merchantmen and twelve royal galleons are being got ready with all diligence, with the idea of sending them all against the Dutch if they will not see their duty.

Beveren also made another attempt to recover the ships detained, but he found their reply firm, although ambiguous as usual. He added to this a remonstrance about their continuing to transport so openly to Flanders money coming from Spain, and said that English help to the Spaniards did his masters more hurt than the arms of their enemies. They told him that they were not at present doing anything extraordinary in favour of the Spaniards, and hinted that for the $1\frac{1}{2}$ or even 2 per cent.

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profit which they make from this passage they would do the same for any one else, although one needs much persuading to believe it. It is enough to consider the results: the two millions recently brought by the Ambassador Ognat having been seized for past debts. He still remains incognito at Greenwich, and apologises by saying that he is not ready to appear publicly. His Majesty, who is impatient to hear what he brings sent him word that if he wished to see him last Sunday at Windsor, he would gladly arrange it, but he excused himself for the reason stated, and practically let it be understood that it would be enough for him to begin his offices after the king had returned from his progress.

They do not like the delay and make unfavourable deductions therefrom, especially as Cæsar's minister no longer appears at Court either. He remains quietly in the country as if his business was to amuse himself with hunting and walking. The French think that this behaviour ought to make the ministers here somewhat more sensible than they seem to be that it would behove them to mitigate their severity against their country and the Dutch. They do not neglect to advance this in their interests when occasion offers, although with little profit.

The Ambassador Giustinian informs me that Ognat brings instructions to reopen relations with the ministers of the republic, admitting their claims. I hope to receive clear instructions from your Excellencies before he is ready to visit me. Meanwhile I will maintain a due reserve and will try to discover his intentions.

On Saturday a courier reached the Court sent in all diligence by the Earl of Arundel from Linz. He brings very full despatches to his Majesty and the Secretaries of State; but they keep the contents so secret that it is not possible to find out any particulars for certain. He says he has seen the emperor four times, and has fully set forth all his instructions, omitting none of the exhortations or protests required by the importance of this well seasoned affair. It seems that Cæsar's replies so far have been insubstantial, or at least they are considered so here, as they announce the scantiest satisfaction. They were sorry to hear of the earl's intention to proceed to Vienna to see the Queen of Hungary, indeed they entirely disapprove of it, as they do not think it seemly for him to abandon business for compliments. Those who have little liking for him are bitingly sarcastic about this action, and the Prince Palatine, who is prejudiced, objects most strongly, and gives no credit either to what he negotiates or to what he writes.

The Dutch ambassador, who was lodged more than thirty miles away from me, came on purpose to see me the day before yesterday *to repeat the request made me by Curtius on the Palatine's behalf to communicate any advices I might have from Germany touching his interests. I confined myself to the terms of my original answer, trying to oblige the prince with my lips when I cannot and ought not to do so in effect.*

Lord Leicester in Paris has begun to negotiate with the commissioners appointed for him about the restitution of

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Lorraine. They say he has made four proposals about this, which they will not allow to be known here. They expect him to send the replies, but they seem to attach little importance to what is negotiated in France, as they aim more at making the Austrians jealous than at concluding any agreement with that crown.

His Majesty is making great strides with his progress, because the plague follows rapidly in the places which he has left. They have bad news from London this week, the number of deaths having increased considerably.

Last Sunday I spoke to the king expressly in the interests of the Persian. I asked him to give orders for the immediate despatch of the business, as the money was in the hands of the merchants without any receipt, and in the course of time some confusion might arise, even greater than the first. I complained of Gatwood's behaviour and showed that he deserved some correction. The king listened attentively and promised that the matter should be dealt with as justice and reason require. But what has been done so far seems to contradict this, as the matter is placed in the hands of the Mayor of London. He belongs to the order of merchants, and as he may be interested with these also in various ways, it is possible that he will administer such justice as pleases him, not what he ought. *This is the way things are done at this Court, and the greatest affairs are frequently ruined by carelessness or confusion of orders (in questo modo si maneggiano gli affari a questa corte et i maggiori ben spesso, per negligenza o per confusione di ordini, si vedono precipitati etiamdio.)*

In obedience to orders I have done my utmost to help this Persian, but I have not been able to achieve more. I have interested the Earl of Denbigh, father of the Ambassador Fielding, in the matter. He gladly took it up with great spirit, professing great obligations to the Persians for the favours which he received in those parts.* *But the efforts of anyone you please are helpless to change their disposition here with respect to gratifying strangers, I do not know if it be from lack of will or lack of habit.* The Persian has again prayed me for the arrest of the belongings which the English brothers, Michael and Richard Gatwood have at Venice. He protests that this can be done legitimately because of the violation of the contract which he made with them there.

Westcourt, the 30th July, 1636.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 1. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

36. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

I travelled to this place to meet the Earl of Arundel, who, after seeing the queen and the archduke came here on his way to Prague, where he proposes to stay until he sees what will happen

*The Earl of Denbigh sailed for the East Indies at the end of 1631. He took letters to the Shah of Persia from the king and actually sailed from Swilly Roads on 28 April, 1632 in the *Mary*, which anchored at Jask on the 15 June following. Two days later the *Mary* sailed for Gombroon and the earl was back in England on 26 Aug., 1633. *Cal. S.P. Col.* 1630–4, pages xliii., 295, 341,

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about the Diet. After exchanging compliments I led him on to speak about the Palatinate. He told me that the ministers deputed by his Majesty proposed to refer the decision to the Diet at Ratisbon. He had offered no opposition although he was very anxious to return home. He saw that their chief aim here was to prevent the Palatine family from becoming too powerful in the empire, so that they might not do worse things than the father had done, with the support of England. If the wound cannot be healed otherwise they must apply iron and fire. He spoke highly of the emperor as a generous and gracious prince; but he did not seem pleased with the ministers, especially the bishop. He went so far as to say to me that he marvelled greatly at seeing a person of that condition with scarcely any grip of the various interests of the powers or of what the affair of the Palatinate means. As a matter of fact the short comings of the emperor's council seem to be recognised by general opinion, since it contains no individual with sufficient spirit and resolution to withstand the views of the Count of Ognat, who carries his point every time with scarce any exertion. Although his Majesty is aware of this prejudicial state of affairs, yet he does not see how he can help himself. The earl told me that he thought of coming to this Court when the business was done, but he could scarce see a beginning and the matter was so tangled that he did not see how it could be unravelled in a short time.

Under his breath he complained of Teler, though without naming him, because he had negotiated in one fashion here and had written to London in another. This was the origin of the sending of an ambassador, which was perhaps premature as it was undoubtedly most hurtful to the dignity of his king, because Cæsar had scarce heard of the decision when they shut Radolti's mouth. I knew that the emperor and the ministers had told the ambassador of the alliance offered by Teler if the Lower Palatinate was restored. Arundel declared that Teler had no such instructions and deserved very severe punishment. The emperor wished to send for Teler to confront Arundel and say it to his face, but he steadily refused. In any case he has been much discredited and covered with confusion (*volse l'imperatore che si facesse venir avanti de lui il Teler in presenza d'Arundel per dirglielo in faccia, ma egli nego sempre, restando in ogni modo assai discreditato e confuso.*)

I have also heard from a most trustworthy source, that although Arundel demands everything, yet he will be content in the end to lay aside his threats and severity and agree to receive that portion that is offered to him, but upon two conditions. These are: that the Palatine family shall not be debarred from claiming more at another time and that Cæsar shall make an express declaration to this effect; and secondly that England shall not be saddled with any obligation to make an alliance against France and still less against the Dutch; since it is understood that the several claims of the English and their High Mightinesses to the lordship of the sea are on the way to an adjustment. On the other hand the Spaniards say that they are determined

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not to let go of the Palatinate, and Bavaria will offer vigorous opposition. So the affair is plunged in deeper difficulties than ever. The outcome will depend largely upon the success of the Austrians in the present campaign.

Fraistat, the 1st August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

37. Representations have often been made of the hurt done to the customs by goods brought by ships from the West coming to lade oil in Apulia, which first come here. With regard to the measures to be taken in order to induce English and Flemish ships to come to this city and to encourage trade, be it resolved:

That for two years the oil brought to this city for the West, Flanders and England be free of all export duty and that it pay the same import duty as oil of the Levant, which is only two thirds that paid by oil of Apulia.

That oil not exported within the term of four months and eight days shall pay the entire import duty and shall only be exempted from the export duty.

That those who export the oil shall leave a pledge that it is to be taken to the countries aforesaid.

Ayes, 121. Noes, 1. Neutral, 9.

The last paragraph was added in the Pregadi, on the 5th September.

Ayes, 133. Noes, 2. Neutral, 6.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

38. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador Leicester is awaiting an answer from Bottiglier, one of the commissioners appointed for him about remedying the irregularities which he declares are committed by all the French on the sea coast infringing the treatics with England. He says he fears that if they do not attend to this reprisals will be begun on both sides, and an open rupture between the two crowns will arise from private quarrels, a thing which they would deeply regret.

Paris, the 5th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*

Aug. 6. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

39. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Little or nothing of importance has been done this week. The King hunts all day and therefore never stops more than two or three nights in the same place.

At the sitting of the Council on Sunday two important topics were discussed to wit, the Dutch fisheries and the last despatches from Germany. In spite of the specious promises to the contrary made to Beveren they decided to send 12 of the best ships with all speed and secrecy to the North in quest of the fishing busses, and to execute certain orders, the nature of which cannot be

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discovered. It is supposed that the intention is to frighten them to make terms and to use force if required. This is the policy attributed to some of the ministers, so one may well doubt if their deeds will ultimately prove as serious as their threats. A strong argument for taking this view may be adduced from observing what scant attention they pay to the offices of the Dutch ministers, and that while soothing them with smooth words they take the most vigorous and severe steps against the interests which they represent. In discussing the matter with one of the ministers Beveren said that the Dutch were not accustomed to bear the yoke of servitude, but were friendly and free everywhere, and least of all would they tolerate vassalage at sea, and if provoked they might take unexpected measures, which would certainly be dangerous. These were the greatest inducements to make his masters come to terms with the Spaniards, not because they wished it, but of necessity, if England will not change her present principles, as the forces of the States cannot resist the attack of so many and such powerful enemies. They seem to pay little attention to these remonstrances here, and apparently they think only of present profit, without any regard for future consequences.

The account given in Lord Arundel's despatches of the special honours received from the emperor and of the good intentions he expresses, give satisfaction, but on the other hand the slow movements of the Spanish ambassador and the declaration of the papal nuncio that he wishes to have a voice in the negotiations are deemed artifices on purpose to keep up ambiguity and irresolution for ever, and this increases the dissatisfaction. In order to get rid of uncertainty they decided to send back the same courier to Arundel, as they did at once, with orders to press with all his might for a decision and to add fresh protests that all delay would be considered as an absolute refusal. Although they feel these checks, yet the successes of the Spanish arms in France and their continuance by no means displease them, the curiosity shown by many to hear such news affording an evident sign that they look very partially on the Spanish side here, which is supported by the one who can do most in the position of the greatest advantage. They have given up without difficulty the ready money brought with him by the young Count of Ognate, which was seized for some old debts, upon no other satisfaction than a few words from Nicolaldi. This has greatly afflicted the French, showing them very clearly that they continue to support the passage to Flanders not so much for the profit which they make out of it, as because of their partiality for the interests of Spain.

The Master of the Ceremonies called upon me two days ago. As if from himself he approached the subject of my visiting this new Spanish ambassador. He said he thought I should obtain every satisfaction I desired in dealing with him. I saw quite well that the motive was not the real one, but suggested by the one who has an interest in this affair. Observing the rules of decorum and courtesy I told him that for my part I was ready

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to embrace every opportunity of corresponding with him, and thus seal by the communication between ministers the good relations existing between our princes, if I was sure that he would treat me with the proper forms. He then began more openly to ask me particulars of my claims. In order to remove all pretexts for dispute and make myself clearly understood I told him that I claimed nothing more than was reasonably my due, and what was granted without dispute by the ambassadors of France, leaving out the inferior ones, and everywhere and always, namely the title of "Excellency," precedence in their houses, reception in the proper place, and accompaniment to the coach. If the Spanish ambassador would agree to these conditions I should not be slow to show him the effects of my good will in everything. The Master of the Ceremonies expressed his belief that the Spanish ambassador would do by me as the French had done, and he would undertake to assure me about it for his part when he had another opportunity of seeing me.

Acknowledges State despatches of 27th June.

Oxford, the 6th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

40. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Court seems deeply displeased and not a little ashamed at the news brought last week of the return to Holland of eighty barques laden with a most abundant quantity of fish, as if the Dutch made mock of the severe and threatening protests made to them and had triumphed to the shame of England more over the glory than over the booty they brought home. Everyone, therefore seems to be waiting with the utmost impatience to hear what the squadron recently sent to the North may have been able to do against the rest of them and if it were not for the question of reputation they would like to send the remainder of the fleet also. Many, however, believe that all these demonstrations are only a show designed to please the Spaniards, that they have studiously covered their connivance with coldness and delay and are thoroughly satisfied that the fishermen have performed their operations without hindrance, and indeed if one examines the matter closely and trusts the evidence of actions, one may clearly see that nothing has been done against them but what they wished, and there has decidedly been no lack either of time or opportunity for doing what they threatened. But I will let the truth take care of itself and refer myself to what happens in the future.

Orders have been sent to the English resident at Hamburg to let Oxestern know that if Arundel's mission fails they will not wait any longer to take such vigorous resolutions as are required. He is also to persuade Oxestern to make terms with the emperor, promising Sweden every assistance from England, on the understanding that Oxestern shall befriend the Palatine in return. Thus they wish this to be the principal object of such conference, although for other ends they keep it secret, as it is certain that

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the peace of Germany only is what they build their surest hopes upon at present for reinstating the Palatine, as they consider the operations for a general peace insecure.

They do not attach much importance to the legate's going to the conference,* as they consider that the difficulties will be all but insuperable. Arundel speaks very soberly of his negotiations with Cæsar, so far, or else is indulging in a very elaborate deception (*ovvero con falacia molto artificiosa*). The ministers here, in their conversation on the subject, carry their reserve to the most extreme limit. This is the most conclusive indication that they are very far from satisfied as benefits and advantages which are received or expected are generally made public with abundant particulars even before the time.

An extraordinary courier has reached the new Spanish ambassador, sent so they say, by his father on private affairs. If it is for anything else there is no possibility of finding out, as he still maintains his incognito and it is not known when he intends to appear in public.

Nothing more has been said about his visit to me. Meanwhile I have received with very great satisfaction your Excellencies' instructions on the subject. I will let the French ambassadors know in confidence that these overtures receive their impulse from Spain and not from the republic.

Sig. Giorgio Coneo, sent by the pope to establish an ordinary residence at this Court, arrived these last days† and on Sunday Panzani went with him to kiss the hands of both their Majesties. They received him with the greatest courtesy and it was particularly observed that the king seemed extraordinarily pleased at his arrival. This has much perturbed the lords and leading ministers, who fear this novel and free revival of confidential relations with the Holy See will in the end give rise to divisions and bitter hatred which will serve to turn utterly upside down the quiet of the people and the repose of the realm.

This individual will find great schemes, aiming at the most profound alterations in the government, sketched out by Panzani. If he has the wit and good fortune to carry these through to the end for which they have been begun, he may hope to leave an immortal name here. Although I have tried hard, I have not yet been able to obtain all the information about these transactions that I could wish, as they have been conducted with the most secret circumspection; but I hope soon to get to the bottom of them and I shall then be able to supply your Excellencies with authentic information.

The Mayor of London has decided the case of the Persian merchant after the forms of justice which I expected, and condemned him to pay one per cent. for the carriage of his money.

*Marco Ginetti, Cardinal deacon of S. Maria Nova, sent by the pope to the conference at Cologne.

†Conn embarked at Dieppe on Saturday 26 July, landed at Rye on the 27th, posted to London on the 28th, and went on to Windsor because of the plague. Conn to Barberini from Tansworth, the 29th July, 1636, P.R.O. *Rome Transcripts*, Ser. II., 124.

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This sentence, far from all reason since by the laws he ought either to pay all or nothing, was not even expected by the interested merchants themselves, and has rendered them so insolent and overbearing that it is impossible to describe adequately their lawless behaviour. As a specimen of the rest it suffices for your Excellencies to know that the moment the sentence was pronounced, of their own authority, without the intervention of the master, they opened the chests, inspected and weighed the reals, paying themselves and only then, after they had satisfied themselves did they permit the money to reach the hands of the Persian. Although greatly perturbed by these improper proceedings, he had voluntarily given up his claims and petition against the effects of the English merchant Gotoard, both because his loss only amounts to a small sum, and also because he hopes to find an easy way of satisfying himself in Persia. With regard to Richard Gotoard, who not only behaved so improperly to me but also showed scant respect for the Court, the mayor had an order from his Majesty to have him arrested, so that he might be punished severely and made to repent his temerity. But he, either foreseeing his misfortunes or warned by some one who ought not, as I believe, has unexpectedly left the kingdom and they say he has gone to Venice where his brother Michael is. I give your Excellencies these particulars so that if he arrives you may take such steps as you think proper.

His Majesty had thought of staying in this place some time, to enjoy the quiet, the air and the pleasant situation, which certainly may be called one of the best in the kingdom, indeed he had commanded a stay for ten days when unfortunately the plague was discovered yesterday evening in the house of a merchant where some gentlemen and pages of the Prince Palatine were lodging, when he immediately changed his plans and set out this morning at the break of day, I will follow him as I have already done for 2½ months, but I ask the state to consider the burden thus thrown upon me. I need double the number of horses and there is the greatest scarcity everywhere this year.

Salisbury, the 13th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

41. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

These last months his Majesty issued an ample patent in favour of Sir William Mansfelt, who has the monopoly for making all sorts of glass in this realm, confirming the old privilege granted many years ago by the late King James, whereby the importation of foreign glass and crystals is absolutely forbidden from any place soever, upon pain of loss of the goods and other more severe penalties. A clause at the end, however, declares that the crystals and other important kinds of Murano work may be imported by this knight only, and no one else, for the use of the Court and the houses of the nobility, either for his own private

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profit or at his pleasure.*

A few days ago I accidentally had notice of this affair, and perceived that they were trying to keep me in the dark about it, because when I sent to the printer in London for a copy of the patent, he pretended not to have one and caused me great difficulty in obtaining one. Having noted the tenor of this patent and thinking it injurious to Venice because of the small quantity of Murano work that could be disposed of in this kingdom in the future upon such restricted conditions, I seized an opportunity of seeing the Secretary Windebank. I pointed out how much this patent where it concerns the trade of Murano would prejudice the interests of the subjects of the republic as well as those of his Majesty, because countless experiments had shown that the crystal material in particular did not succeed anywhere else than in Murano. To permit its free importation, as before, does not, on the one hand, hurt Mansfelt, who can only manufacture coarse glass, while on the other his Majesty may profit greatly by the duties. I told him that since in the general prohibition of foreign glass they found it necessary to make a special reservation for that which comes from Venice, I thought, for the reason given above, that the patent itself might well be altered in that particular, granting to all the privilege which is there conceded to Mansfelt alone. With that restriction, such work might in a short time become scarce in England, so much so that it would fetch excessive prices and the Court itself might run short and those houses which are accustomed to use it freely. Secretary replied that Mansfelt's monopoly could not be modified, as he pays the king a handsome annual bonus for it. Moreover, being a wealthy man, he alone would import as much Murano glass as many others could do together, and as he enjoyed considerable gain from the disposal of such merchandise, it was not likely that he would neglect the privilege. I replied that he probably made more profit from his own glass works, and certainly with less trouble and risk, so it was reasonable to expect that he would import as little foreign stuff as he could, both to compel everyone to use his own, and to sell the few that he has from Venice at more than he would a quantity, owing to their rarity, than if they remained common as they are now. I asked him to represent all this to the king, as he promised to do and let me know the result.

Instead of this he sent me this same Mansfelt who, while expressing the greatest devotion to the republic and her interests, assured me that not only in his own interests, which were great, but in order not to interrupt a trade which had prospered for so long, he would not fail to act so that your Excellencies should be perfectly satisfied with him. He promised and swore to me that he alone would import more Murano work in a year than had come in three before he obtained the privilege. He added that if his actions did not bear out his words he would willingly

*This refers to the proclamation of the $\frac{14}{24}$ October, 1635, prohibiting the importation of foreign glass. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1635, page 429 ; Steele: *Proclamations*, Vol. I., page 204, No. 1707.

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abandon all defence and not only allow his patent to be altered as your Excellencies wished but have it annulled altogether.

I made him believe that I had instructions to ask his Majesty directly in the name of the state for this alteration, and after long hesitation I pretended to yield so far to his steadfast and specious promises as to agree to put off the application until the Signory repeated the order. Thereupon Mansfelt said he would repeat his assurances on the word of a gentleman of honour, and he declared at the same time that by interrupting the trade of Antwerp and France through the powers which he holds, that of Murano, remaining alone, must of necessity be greatly benefited.

I thought it well to act thus, while awaiting instructions, and I thought I should thus compel Mansfelt to put the matter on a proper footing. I did not think it advisable to speak about it to the king, because I had no instructions about the wishes of the state, and in order not to receive a repulse, which would put a stop to a more favourable management of the affair, which you may decide upon. Meanwhile I would only venture to remind you that this is a question in which his Majesty will derive great profit from the continuation of the privilege unaltered, and so any one who tries to get it modified must use great tact, as it is difficult to make him agree to anything which may be of the slightest prejudice to him, even in appearance only.

Salisbury, the 13th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 14. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Zante. Venetian Archives.

42. Stefano Capello, Venetian Proveditore of Zante, to the Doge and Senate.

The plague has carried off Simon Vetcombe* among other Englishmen at Patras. This has deprived me of the opportunity of taking proceedings against him as I had resolved to do the next time that he came here, about the oil sold by pirates to il Valapano and by him to this Englishman, according to my information.

Zante, the 4th August, 1636, old style.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

43. That the ambassador of the king of Great Britain be sommoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

We have considered the memorial presented by your lordship on behalf of the English merchants and have decided that without altering the laws we will write to our representatives at Zante and Cephalonia for the relief of those merchants. We tell you this to show our regard for his Majesty and our desire to show favour to his subjects. The merchant Obson will profit by our disposition and the merchant Hider may advance his claims without meeting with any difficulty, while we will favour despatch in the matter.

*Simon Whetcombe, a member of the Levant Co. *See* the preceding Vol. of this *Calendar*, page 48. His death is referred to in a minute of the Company's Court Book of 29 July, 1637. *S. P. For. Archives*, Vol. 149.

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That the Five Savii alla Mercanzia give effect to the decision of the 9th May last touching the merchant Obson, and that fresh letters be sent to Cephalonia on the same subject.

Ayes, 109. Noes, 1. Neutral, 8.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

44. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The Polish ambassador has instructions to combine with the Earl of Arundel, if necessary, about negotiations for peace. It is true that he has not yet conferred with the Englishman. The earl, having encountered difficulties about the Palatinate, proposes to go to Prague to confer with the Elector of Saxony and get him to urge the emperor to restore that province. It is not known what pledge the English ambassador holds to enforce such offices or what the result is likely to be. Some of the ministers suggested a marriage between the Prince Palatine and his Majesty's daughter* as a means of settling the dispute, assigning them not the Lower Palatinate but the Duchy of Wirtemberg after the duke's death. But this would give offence to Saxony, so the union is unlikely to win the confidence of England. They say that this point also will be discussed in the electoral diet.

Vienna, the 16th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16. Senato, Deliberazioni. Venetian Archives.

45. In Pregadi, on the 16th August, 1636.†

The English ambassador having made strong representations in the Collegio for the relief of the English merchants dwelling in our islands of Zante and Cephalonia from the burdens and extortions inflicted upon them by the customers and others, and it being the desire of this Council that those merchants shall have such relief and every facility, it be resolved :

(1) in response to the first complaint about weighing, that our Rectors at Zante and Cephalonia, if they discover that the customers are unduly delaying the weighing and sealing of the goods to be laded, be instructed to warn the customers to assist at the weighing etc. without delay, subject to such penalties as the Rectors may think proper. The Rectors may also depute a sufficient person to assist at these proceedings with the other officials who ordinarily take part.

(2) the issue of licences to lade currants at other ports than those of Argostoli and Val d'Alessandria is not permissible, and the Rectors shall publish severe penalties against those who venture to issue such licences.

(3) to avoid delay, when three or more ships are lading at the same time, the Rectors may depute officials, satisfactory to the customers to assist at the lading, but the charge must not

*Cæcilia Renata, his younger daughter, afterwards queen of Poland.

†A copy of this decision in Italian is among the state papers. *S.P. For. Venice*, Vol. 38.

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fall on the state.

(4) the Rectors shall find some fit and sufficient person in the neighbouring parts or in the Turkish dominions for testing the weights and measures. The Five Savii shall see if there is any one suitable to go to these Islands for this purpose.

(5) the Rectors shall take steps to secure the safe transport of the money of the customs from Argostoli to the Chamber.

(6) this Council confirms the decision of Antonio Pisani, Proveditore General of the three Islands, of the 17th April 1632, that in the islands of Zante and Cephalonia creditors shall have liberty to obtain sentence upon their debts, have them entered and exacted, and they shall also be free to remove unjust charges or gratuities (*magnarie*) even though they pass under the name of presents.

(7) for the protection of the merchants our Rectors are to take steps to restrain those who slander, contemn or ill treat the English living there, or who venture to molest them in deed or word.

That a copy of this decree be sent to the Rectors of Zante and Cephalonia and another to the magistracy of the Five Savii della Mercanzia, and registered there, as also in the chanceries at Zante and Cephalonia.

Ayes, 109. Noes, 1. Neutral, 8.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

46. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On leaving Salisbury with the confusion reported, his Majesty betook himself to a small village only fifteen miles away, where he took the house of a gentleman. Although it was very small for his requirements, he decided to wait for the queen and assemble all his household there to take up the thread of the interrupted progress. Here in the mean time one of the gentleman of the Prince Palatine, who lodged at Salisbury in the infected merchant's house, died after a few hours of suffering, with more than one symptom of the plague, and so, soon after, did one of his Majesty's guards, of the same sickness. These unexpected events have so discomposed the Court that they have practically abandoned their baggage and transferred themselves to this place whither the plague has not yet penetrated.* It is thought that they will stay here some days, and if they do not change their minds they will also divide the households, for less confusion and greater safety, the king taking one way and the queen another for the rest of the journey.

On Sunday, the day after the above mishap and the first here, they did not hold the usual council, for lack of those who take part. Knowing that his Majesty had no occupation of any kind after dinner, and that he was walking almost alone in a garden,

*This move to Bradford was thus on the 17th August N.S. It is remarkable that letters of Coke of this date give the impression that the king was at Rufford Abbey in Nottinghamshire on that day. Hist. MSS. Comm. 3*rd Report* page 73, *Strafford Letters*, Vol. ii., pages 24, 25.

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I seized the opportunity to see him. I met him in that garden which at that hour was open to all, as if by chance. After approaching and making a reverence I told him how sorry I was to hear of the dangerous event at his house, and how glad I was to see that his Majesty, the queen and the principal lords who follow them had come away safe and sound. The king thanked me graciously and invited me to continue the walk with him. He began to speak of events in Italy and asked me to tell him the latest particulars. I gladly seized the opportunity, making use of the information that had reached me a few hours before in the public despatch of the 18th ult. I told him of the rumours that the forces of the allies had taken Varese, an important place on Lake Maggiore, as a pass and for trade, which would be a great advantage to them. They expected Rohan to join them, and it was said that the Swiss would let him pass by connivance. I also told him what else I considered worth his notice.

As regards Rohan his Majesty told me that it appeared by his letters that his intentions were different as it was thought better for the safety of the valley, which is so important, that he should remain to assist in person. He asked me about the number of troops your Excellencies are maintaining at present and what would be the final direction of your resolutions, considering the agitations of the province. I answered him that your forces were adequate and that you intended them for the safeguarding of your dominions, and to preserve such tranquillity for your subjects as present times allowed, in the hope that the establishment of a good general peace would soon give Christendom the repose for which it has sighed so many years. The republic's views, said his Majesty, have always been most prudent, and afford an example to any one who wishes to govern a state well, and there is no reason to doubt that she will in the present case take the course which is most beneficial to the interests of the public weal. I assured him that all your efforts were directed to that end and he took the right view. I responded modestly to his praise and commended his own glorious government. He interrupted me and changed the subject to pleasant and general topics, hunting, pictures and the like, in which he takes the greatest delight. I responded and he detained me for a full hour, treating me with much more friendliness and confidence than is usual with him.

I would not lose the opportunity of finding out if possible his views upon present circumstances. Going a long way round about I tried to get him to talk about the interests of the Palatine and the disputes beginning with the French and Dutch about the sea, in order to find out his real sentiments as far as possible. But he, who is generally disposed to speak soberly where he himself is concerned, fenced cleverly with all my leading questions, and in general terms expressed his desire to see the cause of his nephews properly adjusted, and for the rest a like desire to live neighbourly with all, provided his jurisdiction and the privileges of the realm were not prejudiced. Here he could not refrain from saying that the Dutch arrogate to themselves rather more authority

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than they ought, and that they were not strong enough to maintain their vast pretensions, which they may imagine to be easy and incontestable. At this point, without giving me time to reply he entered upon more familiar conversation, and when that was ended to his satisfaction he gave me an opening for taking leave, which I did.

From what I could observe in his expression of these ideas, I thought I could easily perceive his agitation about the matter of the fisheries, and so conclude on solid grounds that his ships have resolute orders to proceed against the Dutch in the way they announce.

After I had left his Majesty in the garden and as I was about to enter my coach, the Earl of Holland accosted me and told me in his Majesty's name that if I liked to join him on the following day in a hunt arranged in the neighbouring forests he would be glad to see me. He added that if I decided to go, I could come to his quarters on the day and he himself would escort me to follow the king. I could not refuse the kindness offered me and pretended to appreciate it as a singular favour, asking him to convey my humble thanks to his Majesty and tell him that I should be ready at any time to serve him the next day. I did so and I shall never be able to speak without blushing of the great kindness and courtesy I received. After the hunt was over and I had accompanied the king to his quarters and thanked him suitably, as a climax to the honours shown to me, he presented me with a stag, and deer from the best of the bag. I made a suitable response to this last favour, always with a view to encourage confidential relations, for the service of your Excellencies, and for the same purpose I have thought it my duty to send a full account of these events.

Bradford, the 19th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

47. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Master of the Ceremonies called on me late last evening to tell what he had done with the Spanish ambassador, who expressed his willingness to grant all that was demanded, but he would not make a bargain or bind himself to any precise form of procedure. I am of opinion that he has orders from his Court to make all these concessions, but that he tries to conceal this and wants to make it more a courtesy than an obligation; nevertheless these first acts show clearly that what he wishes to make appear his own kindness is express instructions from the Court which he could not disobey.

Meanwhile his proceedings here continue to be observed with jealousy, and even with displeasure. His close relations with the Imperial minister Radolti, who himself never appears at Court are regarded with dislike, as if all agreement between them meant nothing but the planning of artificial delays to cause all vigorous resolutions taken here to fall through.

Nothing has been heard of Arundel since the courier was sent

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back. They say at Court and it is printed in the Gazettes of France, that he has gone on a trip to Hungary, a thing that fills the ministers here with disgust, as they consider their reputation is being wasted as well as time. Some think that immediately after the first overtures, seeing that a positive reply was delayed, he ought to have come away, especially as it was known that Bavaria was inexorable and so no reliance could be placed on the good intentions expressed by the emperor, whose own interests compel him not to alienate Bavaria, and consequently to neglect those of the Palatine, and with things as they are, these last cannot be adjusted without that prince suffering considerable harm. On the other hand, considering the expense in which any resolution on the part of England would involve her, it is considered less dangerous to temporise, until the peace of Germany matures, of which they do not lose hope, when they may expect the advantage which they could not promise themselves to obtain from the uncertain issue of arms, without much trouble. With this aim they are working hard to cultivate the Swedish party, as the enclosed paper, presented by Avery, the English Agent at Hamburg, to Oxestern, serves to show. It contains many particulars which I need not weary you by recounting. Neither will I remark about the point concerning the general peace, differing from the desire for a special one in the empire. The well informed intimate, who favoured me with this copy, promised me the Chancellor's reply as well. which I shall at once forward.

The French ambassadors are full of suspicion and also tossed in the perplexities of others. They would like to convince them that an adjustment of the Palatine's affairs with the Austrians is impossible, and it is all hopeless for him unless they make a way by arms. Here they seem to listen and to heed them, although they do not really, their only object in treating with them being to make the other side jealous. But these devices have by now become so old and worn that they not only pass without remark, but have almost become comic, and go to show that the chief preoccupations and the present turn of affairs in Christendom do not look to this quarter for regulation.

As already reported, they are making ready the twenty picked merchantmen which are to reinforce the fleet now at sea. The merchants have now presented a petition setting forth their unbearable burdens and the great loss to trade, so that their despatch may be stayed. If this is not done at once, it serves at least to unsettle the king, who is still undecided what to do, considering on one side the loss occasioned by the diminution of trade and on the other the need which he considers he has of these same ships.

They have no news yet of the squadron sent to meet the Dutch fishing boats. All are eager to know what happens and they do not like the delay at all. On the other hand it seems to afford great encouragement to the Dutch. At first they were dismayed by the unexpected decision, but now they hope that a continuance of the past connivance will secure their interests, and I should be inclined to agree with this view if the serious remarks made to

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me by his Majesty on the subject did not induce me to think the contrary.

Bradford, the 19th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure.

48. Proposal of the British Agent to the Chancellor of Sweden, dated at Stralsund, the 3rd day of June, 1636.*

[*Latin ; 5 pages.*]

Aug. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

49. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Secretary Bottiglier has taken the answer to the English ambassador Leicester about the ship *Pearl*, that although it was adjudged lawful booty, his Majesty is willing to give it up with everything therein, as a favour to the king of Great Britain. The ambassador says he does not know if his king will accept this, indicating that England claims the quashing of the sentence as unjust. Nothing further has been done about the barque captured and detained at Calais.†

Paris, the 19th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

50. The Senate's decision of the 16th inst. having been read to the English Ambassador, he spoke to the following effect :

The reply read to me conforms with the friendship my king professes with your republic. I thank your Serenity, but the reply is general, and I should like particulars, and also to see it, so as to compare it with the articles of the memorial which I presented. The interest of the merchants is great, and I undertook to make the representation because I knew the case to be not only just but advantageous to his Majesty's subjects and to those of your Serenity. I therefore beg you to give me a full reply and satisfaction.

The doge replied, our republic values his Majesty's friendship most highly and that is the reason of the present decision, as the Senate's object was to secure the advantage of his Majesty's subjects and our own in trade.

The ambassador also returned thanks for what was said to him about the merchant Obson. He added that Hider would have liked a magistracy to be declared to which he could apply for his affairs, and the ambassador again asked the doge for this satisfaction. The doge said, the Senate thought it would be better for Hider to take his affair before the ordinary magistrates, as the business might prove long with magistrates especially delegated, who would have no other business, would not meet often and now one, now another would be absent from the city. The ordinary magistracy, which is that of the Five Savii, meets

*Copies of this paper are preserved at the Public Record Office, *State Papers, Foreign. Sweden.*

†The *Miniken.*

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daily, and can therefore deal with his claims more expeditiously. Nevertheless the ambassador persisted that Hider would prefer to have a special magistracy, the doge repeating his answer. To his request for the decision about the English merchants they told him that the parties might have a copy in the chancery. With this the ambassador took leave, and went into the hall of the Pregadi to take with his own hand a copy of the office, and then departed.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 21. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

51. The Ambassador of Great Britain came into the Collegio and expressed himself to the following effect:

Your Serenity's last reply to me about the English merchants could not have been more satisfactory, and I again thank you in the name of my king. I am sure that he will be pleased with what has been done for his subject. In many of the articles of the memorial your Serenity has indeed shown that you desire the safety and convenience of the merchants, but in others I note that the mature consideration required by the business has not been given. I now come to draw attention to this, so that complete satisfaction may be given, as otherwise your Serenity's interests will suffer. I could say much on the subject, if I was not afraid of wearying you, and it is the less necessary because I will leave a fresh memorial for consideration, asking your Serenity to avoid all discontent for your own service, and as a testimony of the good relations which I will always endeavour to cherish. He then handed the memorial to his Serenity.

The doge replied, in the answer given by the Senate the matter was deeply considered, with especial regard, saving our laws, to do everything possible for the English merchants. As we have so often told you, we desire the merchants to be well treated, and to have every possible advantage, for the sake of our mutual trade. Everything possible has been done in this business, and your lordship will recognise our desire to continue our good relations with his Majesty. If there is anything in this new memorial, these Signors will see and do what is proper.

The ambassador said he was sure of the good feeling of the republic, and he begged them again to take the affair in hand so that the merchants might be completely satisfied. He added, with regard to the other merchants I do not see that there is any more to say about Obson, as I consider his affair settled. Hider's misfortunes and present miseries compel me to ask your Serenity that his case may be considered again, as he declares himself injured in many ways and he will not be satisfied except by having special judges. For him, then, I present this memorial, which I should like to be read, so that some decision to satisfy him may be taken. This memorial was handed in and also read.* After the reading the doge said, We see that Hider claims to have suffered injury in his sentences, and some wrong. It is easy to appeal to the superior magistrates, who can give

*The memorial is not in the *filza* under this date.

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him the relief he desires. That was the meaning of the Senate's reply, but they will deliberate upon this also. The ambassador begged again for consideration upon both affairs. He then took leave and departed.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

52. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

There is an extraordinary stir among the people at the arrest of the Admiral of the fishing fleet by the English, as it strikes them in their most sensitive part. Three hundred sailors at Rotterdam would have smashed the houses and magazines of the English merchants if the magistrates had not intervened. The English disclaim any idea of interfering with the fishermen. They say that the Admiral was released soon after, as they only wanted to talk with him. Of this the States have no certainty, but they are greatly offended and have ordered Joachimi to set out without delay in order to find out the intentions of the king and to make a remonstrance. They have at the same time ordered their Admiral to sail with all the fleet of 32 very large ships, though they announce the number as fifty. The Princess Palatine says that the king will not trouble them as he knows quite well that any offence given to the Dutch will only encourage the Austrians. The Resident says he is amazed that their High Mightinesses do not speak and endeavour by negotiation to remove suspicion and avoid the danger altogether, since they may rest assured that they will receive every courtesy and kindness from the king. From this it is thought that England would like to choose commissioners to make such progress as may be possible and to make a show of granting the rest, or at least to hold in suspense the affair, already deeply committed by the declarations and announcements made, while held back on the other hand from taking definite action both by their desire not to prejudice the interests of the king's nephews and in particular of not losing their quiet. The States do not look on it in this light and say that they are as much masters of the sea as the English and that they will not submit to arbitration that which most certainly belongs to them.

The Hague, the 21st August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

53. To the Ambassador in England.

We enclose a copy of our reply to the English ambassador about the English merchants. The ambassador has made a fresh exposition, of which a copy is attached. This contains matters to which we cannot agree. We hope however that we shall be able to convince him. We have sent you full particulars so that you may be able to speak if the subject is raised.

Ayes, 91. Noes, 1. Neutral, 7.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 27.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

54. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

While they are impatiently waiting to hear that the Earl of Arundel has returned to the emperor and resumed his negotiations with the vigour that has been enjoined upon him, and which is so long in appearing, his Majesty unexpectedly decided to assemble the Council. He clearly set forth to them his views, both about his hopes from the emperor, and how he wished to hear the opinion of each of them upon what was most expedient to do to save his own reputation and with it the cause of the Palatine, binding them to the most absolute secrecy of all that took place at that council. When he came out, without anything being decided, and withdrew alone to a cabinet it was observed that he remained there almost two hours writing. In that time he drew up and sealed, entirely by himself, a long despatch. When he came out of the cabinet he handed it to one of his secretaries and directed him to take it to the Earl of Arundel in Germany with all speed, without speaking about it to anyone.

It is impossible to find out what was decided in respect to their discussion, and consequently what was written, as he did not even communicate it to any of the ministers. This extraordinarily secret action has greatly disquieted the Court, but the agitation of the Prince Palatine is incomparably greater, because hitherto he has always been kept in the dark not only about this, but about every other important step.

On the following day the king wrote another letter in the same manner to the Earl of Leicester in France, which has added not a little to the material for discussion and speculation.* It is said that the king, disgusted at the behaviour of the Austrians, whom he perceives to be wasting his time and doing nothing, has sent vigorous orders to Arundel to protest and depart, and to Leicester, on the other hand, to reopen some negotiations which may be carried through without difficulty. But what he said subsequently to the Ambassador Seneterre, who spoke to him at length about such affairs, as I shall relate in detail, seems to leave little credit for such an opinion, so one must await the event, of which your Excellencies will hear from the Ambassador Contarini in France and the Resident Ballarino in Germany before I can supply authentic information.

It is asserted that secret and urgent orders had been sent previously to Leicester, desiring him to devote himself adroitly to two very important affairs, one to introduce with proper reserve a proposal for a marriage between the Prince Palatine and Monsieur's daughter,† or at least to ascertain thoroughly how they would welcome it ; the other to find out what negotiations may be on foot for a marriage between the King of Poland and the Princess Maria, daughter of the Duke of

*Roe refers to the king writing privately to both Arundel and Leicester, but he says that the two letters were both written on the same day, Sunday 24 July—3 August, at Apthorpe. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1636—7, page 83.

†Anne Marie Louise, duchess of Montpensier, aged 9 years at this date.

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Mantua,* of which they are very jealous here and mean to upset it at all costs ; my informant can speak with certainty because he has handled these affairs. I learn from the same source that their chief efforts here in the interests of that prince are directed to obtaining a good marriage for him, so that if he does not prove more fortunate, he will be able, with his matrimonial revenues, to pass his life in a manner befitting his birth ; and they do this because they see clearly that nothing much can be expected in other ways ; the electoral vote is too difficult to obtain, and that part of his dominions which might be restored by some composition is so wasted and harassed that it would prove a drain rather than a benefit, at least at first. and in this way they hope to escape the burdens which they see would be inevitable becausc of his weakness. I am giving the Ambassador Contarini full particulars of this, so that he may be able to discover the essence of these transactions, and that he may inform your Excellencies and supply me with the illumination with which he is always most liberal.

When they were expecting to hear the results of Gordon's operations to reopen the question of marrying the Palatine princess to the king there, news has come that he has fallen sick on the road, with little hope of recovering soon. The report of this hasty messenger may do more harm than good to the business. They will wait for further news of Gordon and then decide what they consider best in accordance with it.

Letters from the Earl of Northumberland have reached the king this week. He reports having fallen in with some Dutch fishing boats and having made them contribute a tenth of the catch which they were taking home. This has filled the Court with joy, as they were anxiously waiting for something of the kind about the lordship of the sea, while it has caused corresponding sorrow to the Ambassador Beveren. He raises his lamentations to the skies, and complains that the promise which his Majesty gave him at Windsor has been broken, when he said that his fleet would treat the Dutch in the most friendly fashion, and assured him that no act of hostility or violence should be committed against them or what belonged to them.

He went yesterday to make the strongest remonstrances to the Secretary Coke. He told him frankly that this unfortunate incident would give the impetus to greater mischief, because the Dutch people would certainly not tolerate any yoke of vassalage, and being hot by nature, they would assuredly take some dangerous measures, after deliberating upon the consequences arising out of such an affair. He spoke in the same manner and even more haughtily at another meeting, and I myself heard himself say in the presence of many that the Princess Palatine, who with her children and household had received such good treatment for such a long time at the Hague, where she had been very popular, will not be so welcome henceforward, because those

*Maria Gonzaga, daughter of Charles I., duke of Mantua. She ultimately became the second wife of Uladislaus IV., in 1646. Hübner : *Genealogische Tabellen*, Nos. 96, 307.

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who know least about affairs and who form the majority, will be persuaded that she is able but not willing to persuade her brother to treat them more gently. Such impressions are difficult to eradicate from the minds of those who only consider what is useful and convenient, and who cannot endure to be molested without cause. But here they let his words fall without attention and propose to go on as their interests require. From this your Excellencies can see how much importance may be attached to what his Majesty said to me on the subject, and how very far wrong were those who maintained that the great fishery which passed to Holland would certainly be carried on, protected by connivance from this quarter (*s'haveria sicuramente far coperta della connivenza di questa parte.*)

The Court divided at the beginning of this week,* the queen withdrawing to Ombi, a private place of hers, far from habitation. The king has decided to move from here tomorrow, but not yet where he will go, the plague, which spreads its roots in every direction, having entirely upset the arrangements for the progress. In London more than 800 die per week at present of this scourge, and it increases considerably every day.

The ship "*Fior Dorato*" has arrived. As soon as I heard I sent for the case with the pocket pistols which your Excellencies are sending to be consigned to the King of Persia's merchant. As the outside was in good condition my people thought proper to open it to see how the pocket pistols had fared within, and so that the merchant should see what had been consigned to him. They found them somewhat rusted and the cock of one broken in the middle, we cannot see how, unless it had a blow when being packed. Owing to this accident I resolved to keep it by me, until your Excellencies have sent me another cock of the same size as the broken one enclosed, with the utmost speed, although I do not think the time will he short, as the merchant cannot leave this kingdom for three months and more.

Acknowledges Senate's letters of 25th ult.

Bradford, the 27th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

55. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Sennecterre, having received a courier the day before yesterday, at once asked audience of the king, without giving time to the ambassador Poyne, who was lodged at a very great distance, to accompany him. The king granted it at once. So soon as he came out of the king's chamber, without his having seen any of the ministers, either before or after, Sennecterre communicated the rest of his interview to Poyne, and then they

*The 27 August was a Wednesday, so that "this week" began on the 24th. This is difficult to square with the information sent by Salvetti on the 11 August, "Tutto il corpo della Corte si e ritirato a Hombi nella provincia di Nortanton per fermarvisi un gran pezzo . . . Il Re ha lasciato quivi la Regina e se n'e passato piu avanti alla caccia del settentrione, con pensier di ritornar da lei fra 15 giorni." Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.*, 27962.

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jointly sent off the courier, who only remained here one day and one night. From various sources, including a conversation with Sennecterre himself, I have found out that with a large embrace, in which he may be said to have included all the current affairs of Europe, he represented to his Majesty the unsettled state in which the affairs of France now are, owing to the changes of fortune, and showing by very evident reasons how closely these are bound up with the interests of this crown, he laboured to persuade him to throw aside ambiguity henceforward and resolve courageously to take the course which he showed to be the most proper and opportune for the common welfare and the special advantage of the Palatine. He pointed out in the first place the insuperbable power of the House of Austria ; that the more it was agitated and resisted the stronger and more vigorous it rose up ; he instanced the little that it had been possible to do against it in Italy in a long while and with great efforts. On the other hand he showed the successes of the Spaniards in Picardy ; the hopes they have of advancing into the heart of France and the appearance that the Dutch will move late and perhaps inopportunely to make the necessary diversion. By joining the affairs of Germany and making them appear much nearer the last extremity than they really are, he arrived at the centre of his purpose, concluding that it was the most serious interest of England not to allow the good fortune of the Austrians to go so far ; that it will be too late afterwards to think of overthrowing them once they have laid their foundations so solidly as all these evidences give grounds for fearing.

He then entered into the most minute details about the interests of the Palatines, and here, with all the force of reason and art he made the final effort to make it clear that without a union between this crown, France and the States of Holland, every attempt to recover the Palatinate would be thrown away. He did not forget to support this cause by referring to the useless waste of time by the Earl of Arundel at the Imperial Court, saying that they were trying to make him forget serious affairs which were in his charge by the splendour of the most sumptuous banquets, and the enjoyment of pleasures and the chase. He drew a parallel between the little that they allow to be done by these arts and the absence of any negotiations by Radolti here ; with a third disadvantage which clearly arises from the backwardness of the Spanish ambassador here, from which he readily drew the conclusion that the Spaniards have no other object than to consume away every attempt for the restitution of the Palatinate, partly by arms and partly by time. They are on the high road to achieve this result, and there is no guarantee that when they are strong and powerful they will agree to what was not forced from them when they were weak and languishing.

He alluded to the approaching congress at Cologne for the negotiation of a general peace. He only touched upon its merits, but in a very penetrating way. He pointed out that his king, while things continue to go on in this way, would have good cause to hasten to conclude it, without showing himself sticklish for

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anything but what directly concerned the interests of his own kingdom, in order to come to an end ; as alone he could not and at the sole risk of his own he ought not to undertake the direction of what really should concern him less than England, whose reputation is concerned through the blood relationship.

In this way, by the force of his arguments, some suave and others sharp, he tried to induce his Majesty to make some resolute and generous declaration, pressing him then for some categorical reply. But the king does nothing and decides nothing except after the most mature and weighty consultation. He confined himself to a few generalities, expressing his intense desire to co-operate for the common service and for that of the Most Christian in particular, which he said he valued as much as his own, owing to the very close interest he had always shown himself willing to take in the affairs of the princes, his nephews. He said he would never show a lack of vigour in supporting them reasonably, and he would labour for them without sparing anything, as his reputation demanded. When the ambassador pressed him again by repeating the arguments above, insisting especially upon the calculated delays of the Austrians, the king replied easily that there was time for everything, and prudence required that they should act according to occasion and without confusion. They were now treating with the emperor to obtain the reinstatement of the Palatines without fuss. He had employed one of the leading men of the realm for this. Here on the other hand there was a Spanish ambassador who was to treat of these matters, and while these affairs are pending it is not possible to change them so hurriedly without betraying scant acquaintance with them. He had, through his ambassadors, made known his real intentions sufficiently in France. These certainly did not deviate from the strait way of justice, and if they had met with more credit, something good might at this moment have been resolved ; and that in the mean time his king did not know what to resolve, and the others could not be blamed if they waited for their own convenience to do so.

The ambassador made further remarks and the king replied, all to the same effect as the above. These form a curious dialogue, but they settled nothing. Thus things remain as they were before, the noise of this despatch and this long interview will have served for nothing but to make the Spaniards uneasy, and possibly hasten Ognate to explain his instructions. The ministers here gladly use them to rouse him ; thus they contrive that somewhat sharp moves shall reach his ears, as they can by no means tolerate such a long delay. It is said in particular that they have intimated to him by a third party the dissatisfaction they feel, hinting that he might very easily pass as a private individual if he has no intention except to see the country for his own pleasure. Such ideas, however, are the result of passion and have little to do with the substance. He has excused his delay after his own fashion, and has tried to some extent to obtain his Majesty's approval in his discharge, whom it is necessary for the ambassador to please, but it does not follow that the king would

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not have heard him very gladly before he had gone so far in his progress. I have thought it my duty to inform the Senate of this.

Bradford, the 27th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

56. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Agents of England took leave several days ago to return home. Two packets have reached me from your Serenity. In that of the 19th July, I note what you say about the negotiations of the Earl of Arundel. In this connection I may refer to what the Ambassador Leicester communicated to me in confidence, that if the Austrians and Bavaria will agree to restore to the Palatine his dominions, namely the Upper and Lower Palatinate with a promise to let him have the electoral dignity after Bavaria's death, he believes that England will rest satisfied ; he knew for certain that they had made proposals to him to restore everything provided the King of Great Britain would be the friend of the friends and enemy of the enemies of the House of Austria, but his Majesty would never agree to such a proposal. This ambassador is not conducting any negotiations here on the subject because he has not more precise commissions than in the past.

Paris, the 29th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Senato. Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

57. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The English are treating the Admiral of the fishing fleet well and have finally persuaded him to pay a florin the *lastro* for seven fishing boats arrested, the others having fled. The fishermen paid this willingly, without any regard for the prejudice done to the liberty which these States claim to enjoy at sea or for the dignity of their country. After this the English granted them passports, so that with the king's fleet divided into three squadrons, they should receive no further molestation, with offers of assistance and every courtesy. The English then released the Admiral, who sent a report to the States yesterday. The States display the bitterness and disgust which they feel strongly both against the English and against their own Admiral. They protest that they would never agree to this if the conditions were different, and if the truces were arranged with the Spaniards their High Mightinesses would be all of one mind in having recourse to arms and beginning war against England. Everyone says as much quite freely.

The fleet was to have sailed two days ago, to escort the Ambassador Joachimi to England. It is to go off Dunkirk. If the fishermen get back to sea they will be frequently visited and assisted by twelve ships of war, and if the English appear with the intention of carrying into practice what they began to

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do with the Admiral, it is certain that very great disorders will ensue.

The Hague, the 29th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

58. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

Duke Bernard has sent a gentleman to England to ask help and permission to raise levies in particular. He is here waiting to confer with the Landgrave of Hesse.*

The Hague, the 29th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

59. Piero Foscarini, Venetian Bailo at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The captain and purser of an English ship have been in great danger of their lives. When they left the port and neared Scutari they fired ten guns, although it was night. The Sultan has forbidden any sort of firing after sunset and was greatly incensed. He sent a galley after them and would have had them hanged. However the English ambassador succeeded in getting them off, representing that they were ignorant of the law and only wished to show honour to his Majesty.

The Vigne of Pera, the 30th August, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia. Risposte. Venetian Archives.

60. In response to the instruction of the Senate upon the new memorial presented by the English Ambassador, we are of opinion that in the matter of lading at all the ports, the original decision was based upon the laws; but seeing that lading is clearly not practicable at two ports only, this question is a proper one for decision by the Senate; at the same time the ships should not be released from the presence of the customers at the lading.

In the matter of exporting food for use on the ships free of the new duty, we think this may be allowed, especially as Hider is interested in the new duty. We consider reasonable the proposal that the captains of ships shall be required to give pledges against smuggling by their sailors.

On the question of the exemption of Londons, half Londons and tin from the new impost, we find that some four or five years ago a warehouse was newly established in the Morea with cases of English goods, a quantity of cloth has been brought by English ships, which afterwards lade currants, oil and other goods for the West. Other ships go first to Zante and Cephalonia to unlade Londons and then go on to the Morea with the rest, so that a very small quantity of these goods goes to the islands. It is difficult to estimate how far this injures the trade in Venetian cloth. We find also that Hider proposes to divert the trade

*The gentleman was Ponickau, who had negotiated the agreement with France for the duke in the preceding year. The princess Palatine announced his coming to Sir Thomas Roe on the $\frac{15}{25}$ August. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1636—7, pages 94, 435.

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and ships from Patras and the Morea, and to destroy, if possible, the houses newly established there. This would be a great advantage to the state, as the oil taken by the English from the Morea would of necessity come to the Venetian dominions, and pay duty, without reckoning other profits. But we do not feel competent to form a judgment on this question.

Dated at the office, the 2nd September, 1636.

MARIN CONTARINI
ISEPPO CIURAN
LUNARDO FOSCOLO
GIROLAMO LANDO, knight
} Savii.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

61. FRANCESCO MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral of the fishing fleet reports that the English seized five boats and compelled them to pay a florin per *lastro* or the equivalent in fish. They then gave them passports to fish in the king's waters for a year, confirming the lordship claimed, to which they say the Dutch have tacitly consented. The report has caused an extraordinary sensation and greatly increased the bitter feeling as they perceive that the English seize every opportunity for pushing their claims. On the following day the States informed the Prince and asked his advice. Meanwhile there is a loud buzzing especially among the people of Holland, who are more interested in the fisheries than the rest, to the effect that they must on no account pass over this injury, without showing due resentment, that to put up with this innovation is equivalent to accepting the caprices of the English and the manifest loss of the liberty which these Provinces claim at sea as their absolute right. The Prince, however, will probably assuage their heat, and if they do not take some rash step at the outset, it is thought that they will appoint commissioners to enquire into the subject. This with no intention of giving way, but only in order to gain time, in the hope that the king may relax his claims, or that some change in circumstances may help them to uphold their rights.

The Princess Palatine is very distressed and labours to persuade them that the state is not attacked and that it concerns the fishermen only as individuals. She points out with a sigh that every slight disturbance tends in the first instance to prejudice the interests of her House. But she received a reply full of heat and passion, it being openly asserted that no circumstance was more likely to constrain these Provinces to accept a disadvantageous truce than the proceedings of England and a persistence in the course adopted.

The fleet sailed ten days ago, with orders to lower sails if it meets with a superior force and not to run any risks on this account. Some say that they ought not to refuse this slight honour to the English, on the ground of friendship; but

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if the ill feeling continues to grow it will increase on this point as well and their High Mightinesses mean to uphold with punctuality that liberty at sea which reason and force may be able to concede to them.

The Hague, the 4th September, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

62. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has been considerably stirred against some of his leading ministers, and has already shown his resentment. He has ordered the Secretary Windebank to remain in retirement in a country house of his until further order, and they say that Lord Cottington has received a similar command. The reason for this sharpness really depends upon essentials, as everyone freely acknowledges, because his Majesty commanded that the last money which arrived here from Spain to be transported to Flanders should be seized for outstanding debts of his, and he sealed the order for this with his own hand. They say that Windebank and Cottington, being aware of this, forestalled the royal commissions by their own, and obliged the captain of the ship to present himself immediately at Dunkirk with the money, as he certainly did, without losing time. The strong feeling which had struck root in his Majesty's mind through other similar incidents could no longer remain hidden upon this occasion, as the offence was too sensible and public. Thus it is not thought that his severity will end here, as the king has let it be understood that he knows full well that besides these two there are others in his Council who receive a yearly pension from the Spaniards, and that he will also be able to find a way to make them repent bitterly.*

It was this condition of mistrust which induced him to write in person to the ambassadors in Germany and France, and that is also the reason why he keeps the substance of his despatches so secret, as it seems that he no longer trusts anyone, even in the most minute things.

If these two ministers remain in disgrace, the French hope that their affairs will profit greatly, because not only the sympathies but the overt acts of those two were always devoted to helping the Spanish side. However they have such favours and so many connections (favori e dipendenze tali) that their fall will be no such

*The money referred to is the 2 million francs brought over from Spain by the *Victory*, Capt. Stewart, with the Count of Oñate (No. 28 at page 24 above). Correr had already stated that this sum was seized for old debts (No.35 at page 33 above), but was subsequently released to Oñate (No. 39 at page 37 above). According to Sir Thomas Roe, order was issued on Sunday 20 July, N.S. for the money to be landed at the Tower, but on the Tuesday following, while the king was at Bagshot hunting, Windebank and Capt. Stowart conspired to get the ship away to Dunkirk to unlade there. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636–7, page 70. On Thursday the 24th Capt. Stewart showed Northumberland a letter requiring him to suffer Stewart to transport the money and persons to Dunkirk, and so the earl sent the *Victory* across. *Ibid.* page 62. By August 11 the whole affair appeared to have blown over. *Ibid.* page 83. The house to which Windebank was confined was at Haines hill in the parish of Hurst, co. Buckingham. Roe did not know whether he had gone there in fear or for the season. *Ibid.* page 99.

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easy thing, although their power will be diminished, as they certainly will not soon recover their former influence with the king. Accordingly everyone is awaiting the issue of this affair with great anxiety, as it is believed that the greatest deliberations will take their direction in accordance therewith.

Owing to this disturbance, it is believed, his Majesty would not be present at the Council this week, and it is thought that he will not attend the present one either, as he can conceal the reason which keeps him away under colour of the numerous diversions which the students of the Colleges here will give him.

The Secretary of Prince Tomaso has been here a week, sighing for an audience, which has been put off from day to day under various pretexts. He says that he brings secret orders from his master to treat with his Majesty.* Thesc have not transpired, but they seem to attach such slight importance to him personally at the Court that he can have but scant hopes of a successful issue to his negotiations.

The Spanish victories in Picardy and the reverses of the French, now that all fear of their fleet is dispelled by the news of its entering Toulon, begin to cause regret to the ministers here, and unless the emperor comes to a more favourable decision about the Palatine, there is every likelihood that the French will achieve the end they aim at, as what previously might have depended on inclination alone has now become practically a necessity. The ambassadors lose no time and make the most of circumstances, always in conjunction with the Dutch ambassador extraordinary, whose vigilance in everything certainly has no peer. The adroitness of the Ambassador Joachimi, who has arrived in Holland this week, and his prudent advice will prove wonderfully opportune in the present circumstances.

No further news has arrived of the fleet. The Dutch are fishing at present in the middle of the sea, and so they no longer have occasion here to molest them while they need not fear molestation. But this does not cause any diminution in the bitterness over past events, and they continue to speak with the customary heat.

The merchant ships which were to go to sea in the king's service, have been allowed to go free at the instance of the interested partics. The other ten of his Majesty, which were being fitted out, are supplied with everything and only need captains to command them ;† as the nomination of these is delayed so long and the season is so far advanced, it is thought that they will not sail at all.

*Un nommé Silvio domestique du Prince Thomas est venu icy demander des vaisseaux pour passer la Princesse de Carignan d'Espagne à Dunkerque. Senneterre to Bouthillier the 4th Sept. 1636. P.R.O. *Paris Transcripts*. Capt. Carteret of the *Happy Entrance* refers to this visitor as sent by the Queen Mother and Cardinal Infant for the purpose stated, and says that his ship is the only one available. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636–7, page 81.

†Their names are given in a memorandum of the 18 July, as the *Dreadnought, Rainbow, Antelope, Vanguard, St. Dennis, St.George, Swiftsure, Constant Reformation*, and the Third and Eighth Lions Whelps. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636–7, page 55.

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Sir [John] Finett came to see me the day before yesterday, and told me that now his Majesty will be somewhat nearer the city the Spanish ambassador thinks of performing his first public functions. The ambassador had again confirmed his desire to correspond with the Venetian minister, and charged Finett to assure me that I should receive from him every satisfaction that I could desire. He added that if you had sent an ambassador extraordinary to the emperor about the diet, as he understood you would, his father would treat him in the same way, as he also wished to restore the friendly relations which existed previously. I made a suitable response to this fresh office, and without committing myself told him that I would lose no opportunity of giving effect to our mutual goodwill.

His Majesty has again arrived here with the intention of staying some time, both because the air is good and the plague has not yet made itself felt, and to please the students of the Colleges, who entertain him with various kinds of virtuous recreations. He will pass from here to the place which will be considered best for health ; but he will not go anywhere without extreme inconvenience to the Court, as the country is ruined everywhere by an excessive drought, causing the greatest suffering to everything and making the miserable weakness of the country people general, while even the purses of the greatest find it insupportable. Everyone declares that there is no memory of such a misfortune in England, whose usually damp climate is so changed that the trees and the land are despoiled of their verdure as if it were a most severe winter.

Rossi, who was secretary of the Ambassador Michiel in Holland arrived here the day before yesterday. He told me that he had the cipher and I made him hand it over at once. I am keeping it myself as my secretary is in indifferent health and I know of no one else to whom I can trust it.

Oxford, the 5th September, 1636.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 10. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

63. After consideration of the memorial presented by the English Ambassador and the remarks of the Five Savii alla Mercanzia, it is resolved :

That the duty on currants shall be put up to auction by the Five Savii alla Mercanzia, precisely in accordance with the offers made by the merchant Henry Hyde for the present contract, and under the conditions and obligations expressed in the usual articles of the farm.

That under the present contract, for the lading of currants, the islanders of Zante and Cephalonia and the English merchants may use other ports as well as those of Argostoli and Val d'Alessandria, which those merchants and islanders consider more convenient for lading, and better for their interests, but the customers or their agents and other public officials must be present.

That in conformity with the representations made, those who

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lade at Cephalonia shall have one day's expectation (*faccino stalia d'un giorno*) in the port of Argostoli, and those of Zante shall have a day at Zante, for the necessary enquiries.* That if smuggling is discovered the smugglers shall be punished. That the captains of ships shall give sureties in the chambers there for the sailors, for any misdeeds which they may commit.

That Londons and half Londons may be brought to the two islands, and those which are disposed of there shall pay the duty of the new custom, and those which leave them to be taken to the Morea, shall not pay the new custom, up to 150 pieces.

Ayes, 100. Noes, 4. Neutral, 16.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

64. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Arundel has written to the Princess Palatine that he is waiting for his answer and is working for the best. But everyone laughs at this, perceiving the devices of the Austrians and Spaniards to increase ill feeling and to persuade England to unite with them. But so far nothing has been decided and they will wait to hear the advice of the Prince and the report of Joachimi. The Princess Palatine says that she is impatiently awaiting news from England which she expects to be excellent, but this is considered a device to stop any decision here. Yet she spoke to me very seriously on the subject and expressed great hopes.

Beveren reports that in reply to his remonstrances about the fishermen he was told that they had paid willingly, without any force being used. The king expressed his desire for friendly relations with these Provinces. Beveren adds that the king could not speak with greater kindness, but that the mischief lies in the heart of the ministers who bear no good will to this state, because they are all in the pay of the Austrians. The letters have done nothing to soothe public feeling. Their High Mightinesses say that the king speaks in this way because he wants to avoid trouble not because he has any intention of adjusting the matter or of abandoning his pretentions in the smallest degree. They hope through Joachimi's negotiations to find some way of avoiding a collision.

The Hague, the 11th September, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

65. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The moment Joachimi landed, without Beveren knowing all about it, he went straight to Court by order of his masters, and told the king how deeply the Dutch felt the attack on their fishing

*The meaning of this phrase is given in a memorandum of Fielding on these concessions preserved in the *State Papers, Venice*, at the end of Vol. 38. The text of the decision, in Italian, is preserved in the same volume.

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busses, without regard for his royal promise, making the fishermen contribute a great part of the fruits of their labours, as if it were a toll. They did not know why they should be subjected to this new and transcendent charge and had ordered him to ask his Majesty to agree to nominate someone with whom he could confer upon the merits of the affair, so that he might send them definite information, in order to decide the matter as speedily as possible and free the Dutch of this tax. He further besought his Majesty that since the question was a matter for negotiation, he would be pleased, during the time that arguments were being advanced on one side and the other, to order that no further steps should be taken in the rigorous measures already instituted, so that the business might be settled in a friendly way without noise or cause for further offence. The king at once understood that the aim of this office was present delay so that they might quietly enjoy the benefit of time for the second fishing, adroitly seized upon the point and made the delay turn to his own advantage. He said he did not think there was any need for discussion as the reasons for his authority were perfectly clear. But he would not refuse any satisfaction to the States, whom he had always considered good neighbours and friends and so he would consent to receive the present request in writing, so that it might be duly considered. Joachimi could only answer that when the paper was presented he hoped that he would have a reply at once. In this way the matter has been shelved and as the original orders are still in force, the fishermen will certainly be compelled to continue their contributions if the king's ships encounter them.

The ships have returned to the Downs, having left six ships only to cruise together where they may be required. It is said that these also will very shortly be compelled to betake themselves to these waters, as like the others they lack everything required for living.* The ambassador will urge the despatch of the affair with no less pressure because he has orders to return to Holland at once, to report orally what he had done.

The Secretary of Prince Tomaso was introduced to audience of the king last week. He asked permission to enlist some Scotch recruits. They practically refused this by an ambiguous answer to the effect that they wished it postponed, so he seems inclined to depart at once.

The Spanish ambassador still keeps hidden, careless about the displeasure of the Court, which increases daily. It is said that he has brought 300,000 francs with him, and that before explaining his business he wishes to pave his way with them. He certainly has some very special visits and frequent and most secret meetings are held in the house of Nicolaldi. That minister has been declared secretary of the Cardinal Infant, and

*The fleet returned to the Downs on the 22 Aug.—1 Sept. and remained there until the 16–26 September. Northumberland's Journal *S.P. Dom.* Vol. CCCXLIII., No. 72. The ships to continue at sea were the *St. Andrew, Unicorn, Bonaventure, Garland, Swallow* and Tenth Whelp, with the *Swan* frigate. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636–7, page 146.

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when Ognate takes up his ministry the other will go forthwith to his new one.

Both the French ambassadors had a long audience of the king this day. It is supposed to relate to the alliance, especially as new and most specious offers have been made to Leicester in Paris of which I hope to find out particulars. The king is most anxious for news of Picardy and also of Italy. He enquires almost weekly of me about that province through the Secretary Coke.

The king went last week to Oxford with the intention of proceeding thence to Windsor or some other place nearer the city but on hearing that the plague is making considerable progress not only there but in all the villages and other places around, he decided to resume his turn at a considerable distance still. He arrived the day before yesterday here at Southampton.

Yesterday when out on his usual pleasures of the chase he came near losing his life. He was following a stag at full speed when he unexpectedly came upon a deep bog, which was disguised by being covered with fresh grass. He plunged so deeply into this that his horse was completely submerged, while only his head and the top of his shoulders remained above ground. He was in danger of being swallowed up also, if those at hand had not rescued him by their agility and at the risk of their lives. The horse remained dead on the spot, but the king, undismayed as if no accident had occurred, changed his clothes with the first person he met, at once mounted another horse and decided to continue the chase.

Some of the foreign ministers here have gone to-day to congratulate him on his escape from so great a danger, and I shall not fail to do the same.

Acknowledges Senate's letters of 31st July and 8th ult.

Southampton, the 12th September, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia, Venetian Archives.

66. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

With the commisions from England of which your Serenity will have heard, the Earl of Leicester has met the commissioners Bullion and the younger Botillier, to whom he has made proposals of a new co-operation in the interests of the Palatinate. They have replied asking for a declared union with his Majesty against the Spaniards, promising that they will do what he desires; but as he has not authority to go so far he has sent a courier to that Court, representing that there are strong arguments for taking such a step; and now he is waiting for the reply.

Paris, the 16th September, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia, Venetian Archives.

67. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

An idea prevails just now that things may look up, and especially if they succeed in winning over and uniting England with themselves, then the Cardinal may be ready to try his fortune

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for another year, with the aim, if it be any way possible, to keep Lorraine for himself in a treaty of peace, as a monument of his services, a thing he now perceives he cannot realise.

Paris, the 16th September, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

68. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Arundel came here three weeks ago to see the emperor. In spite of his insistence for a definite reply about the Palatinate, he has had no luck, as with their advantages in the present campaign, and because they attach more importance to pleasing Bavaria than to good relations with England, the ministers only try to keep up the ambassador's hopes with fair words, in order to delay any move of that sovereign against the House of Austria. I found his Excellency greatly disturbed and dissatisfied. He spoke unwillingly on the subject, but told me with much bitterness that they make a great mistake here if they build on their present success, as nothing is more inconstant than the fortune of war, and they may regret their refusal to listen to proposals for an accomodation. He told me of what had befallen one of his principal gentlemen and to his esquire on their way out to him, who were bound to a tree by assassins, robbed and murdered.* He has again spoken strongly to the bishop, threatening what England will do, especially if the Diet confirms Bavaria in possession of the electoral vote. He declared that this would never be tolerated. The bishop replied that they would not be disturbed by threats. They could not shut their eyes to the harm the Palatine had done in Germany. The Ambassador had offended the Duke of Bavaria by refusing to see him and calling him an enemy. This closed the way to negotiation.

The Count of Ognat has exchanged visits with Arundel and intimated that the matter can easily be settled. I learn that he postulated that the Catholic was ready to yield that part of the Palatinate which he holds if Bavaria will do the same and if England will give suitable satisfaction. But it is clear that these offices are performed in concert with Bavaria, in spite of the apparent breach between the duke and Spanish ministers. The Count says that with the arrival of his son in England the aspect of things will change, and England will be glad to continue to enjoy the advantage of trade with Spain, the interruption of

*I cannot but acquaint your honour with a disastrous accident that hath befallen me. On Friday last was sevennight, the $\frac{2}{12}$ August, I sent Mr. Lampleigh, a gentleman of mine, with Mr. Smith Trompetter, his Majesty's servant, for his better security unto Noremberge to take order that certain goods I had left there might be conveyed with other merchandise of that town sent to the mart to Frankfort who on the last taking post horse at Norembergh to return hither, after they were come some two Dutch miles from Norembergh and had shifted horses at the next stage, passing through a wood they were (as it seemeth) set upon and both of them with their guide slain, as we verily believe ; for all three post horses are found, but of the men we can hear no news. Arundel to Coke rom Ratisbon, the 30 August—9 Sept. *S.P. Foreign, Germany, Empire.*

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which would hurt them seriously. As a matter of fact this frankness of the Spaniards as well as that of the Imperialists rather inclines one to believe that they have more probably good grounds for thinking that they have penetrated the essential intentions of the English ministers, most of whom they have captured by heavy pensions to serve the Catholic's will. It is also believed here by many that they supply detailed information about what is transacted in the most intimate cabinets at that Court.

Confronted by such difficulties, which he may not have foreseen when he started on his mission, the English ambassador circulates reports that he will depart from here suddenly, without taking leave, in order to make an oral report to his King. But this is considered a device to win him some satisfaction.

Ratisbon, the 16th September, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

69. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I went to congratulate the king on his escape. With his face full of kindness he told me he was particularly gratified by what I said, as he was as sure of the affection of your Excellencies as that he always considered your interests with affectionate regard. I meant to take leave immediately after the compliments, as I was warned that he had other important occupations, but with his usual kindness he detained me, and asked me about events in Italy. From the account I gave him I observed that he would have liked the arms of the allies to be more advantageously situated but he said nothing except out of curiosity, and so I did not think it advisable to enter into particulars. These sentiments, which are not devoid of jealousy, together with the scant satisfaction it is thought he will get at present from the Austrians for the Palatine, give great encouragement to the judgments which have been formed about his propensity to unite with France, although other circumstances which I shall relate below provide material for believing the contrary.

In order to discover what the instructions to Leicester were I went this week to pump the two French ambassadors. Contrary to my expectation, I found them entirely in the dark. Sennecterre, however adroitly pressed, skilfully evaded speaking about them, but the ordinary Ambassador Poyne, who has always opened out to me with the greatest confidence upon all the principal affairs, told me, though he begged me not to speak about it, that by letters from his private friends he had some distant knowledge of this matter, but from the Court no advice of any kind had reached either him or M. de Sennecterre. The queen in speaking with Sennecterre gave him some hint about it, and although taken by surprise, he covered his ignorance by his address, in order not to give offence in showing by it how little they think of these projects in France since they leave their ambassadors without information. He added that they had

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written jointly about this, complaining of their neglecting to give them proper notice of such an important matter. To convince me of the truth he wished to show me the copy of the letter which they wrote about this to the Secretary Bottiglier. He also promised to show me the reply with the particulars which will be sent to them about the affair. With respect to the last audience of the king, he vowed that it related to a levy of Irishmen, which they had been very strictly ordered to request, and that his Majesty had given him good hopes that he would grant it. I thanked him suitably.

Although these advances are by no means disagreeable, nothing has been settled about them, nor, according to report, have they even been discussed, and to judge by appearances, the Privy Council, which meets but rarely, will not discuss them until the king's return to Hampton Court ; a proof of how little they wish to settle anything, since as the negotiations for a general peace are so nearly ready to begin, they would not waste such precious time if they really meant to do anything.

The Palatine does his best to urge this alliance, and two days ago he made very strong representations to the king how present circumstances made it imperative not to wait any longer for Cæsar's decisions about Arundel's negotiations, since it is clear that he is losing his pains over the business as so many others have done, because if the operations for a general peace proceed, as seems likely, he does not see how that peace can benefit his fortunes in the least with things remaining in their present state, unless the king makes a vigorous demonstration. He also referred to his desire to go away together with his brother, as now he has reached his majority and become a man he thinks that he is losing reputation by wasting time in idleness. The king tried to console him with words full of gentleness, expressing as usual a great desire to see his affairs satisfactorily concluded ; but the prince wants deeds, and is very ill satisfied with words, and is always lamenting his unhappy state, his utterances being almost desperate.

The news from France this week is by no means unsatisfactory, as it brings assurances that the king there is very strong in the field and there is every indication that he will soon recover what was lost. The Baron du Bech, who was governor of la Capella, and the Sieur de Socurt, who commanded at Corbie, have taken refuge at this Court. They are both in London and would like to come to the Court to present themselves to the king, for the purpose of justifying their actions to him and to make him see that it was not the crime of failure but the fear of being punished when innocent which compelled them to take this desperate step.* So far his Majesty has not given ear

*Réné du Bec II, marquis de Vardes, governor of la Capelle capitulated to the invading Spaniards at the beginning of July. Maximilian de Bellefourière, Seigneur d' Ittre et de Soyecourt, governor of Corbie and Lieutenant General of the Province, surrendered Corbie on the 15th August. Both officers were accused of treason and cowardice and condemned in their absence, to be quartered. Le Vassor : *Hist. de Louis XIII.*, Vol. XIV., pages 357, 373, 374. Bazin : *Hist. de France sous Louis XIII.*, Vol. III., pages 216, 218. Père Anselme : *Hist. Gen. de la Maison Royale de France* Vol. II., page 87, Vol. VIII., page 737.

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to their instances, and it is not thought very likely that he will listen to them because he agrees with the general opinion that they seriously failed to do their duty and so it is not thought that he will give this affront to France.

As was agreed, Joachimi has made his demands in writing about having commissioners appointed him upon the present differences at sea. The written reply states that the king observes with deep regret that the States are so audacious as to call him to a conference to discuss a matter which legitimately belongs to the right of the crown. He laments that they, who have always been so well treated by England and by his house in particular, should be the first to call in question what so many princes quietly accord to him. He says that if they do not agree to fish and contribute, they shall contribute and not fish, and here he inserts threats and severe protestations, in short the paper is full of serious and far reaching points. As these admit of no opening to the ambassador to reply, he has taken leave and is waiting for an opportunity to cross, to take back this unlucky issue to his negotiations. Meanwhile he has received word that the fishermen have almost all withdrawn, although they were making their second fishing no longer off the coasts but in the middle of the sea. They are full of the bitterness which the loss of that advantage almost always means to that nation. For this emergency his Majesty has ordered that the whole fleet shall be provided immediately with everything, as he seems absolutely determined to uphold his pretensions in the most rigorous manner. This occasion shows clearly enough to what disorders these bitter feelings may give rise, and one fears that we shall quickly see the results, as the Dutch seem quite determined not to submit to the burden.

Acknowledges the Senate's letters of the 22nd ult.

Southampton, the 18th September, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

70. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I should ere now have sent your Excellencies a clearer account of the proceedings of the papal ministers here, if their secrecy and circumspection had not deprived me of the means of doing so. I have already reported Panzani's labours for bringing about an adjustment between the regular and secular religious here, and his plans for establishing over them the authority of a bishop, on whom the entire direction of ecclesiastical affairs should impartially depend. He has tried all he knew in order that the Bishop of Chalcedon,* who formerly exercised such functions here with scant success, should be freely reinstated with the assent of the state. As this plan failed, he turned to another, asking permission for an *ad libitum*, without naming anybody. His operations have proceeded through the means of the queen's confessor, in this way he has been allowed to meet her quite

*Richard Smith,

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often and has succeeded so far as to dispose her to undertake the direction of the affair.

Accordingly, with her customary tact, she has broached the matter to the king opportunely upon several occasions, pointing out to him how advantageous it would be if the licence which the religious sometimes take from not having a superior over them, could be decently restrained without scandal by the authority of a bishop. She was told that to permit a chief to the Roman ecclesiastics would mean granting the use of that religion freely, which amounted to nothing more or less than encouraging civil discords the one thing that disturbs the peace of states. However, as the queen added prayers to her arguments, it appears that the king at length intimated that if the pope will consent to remove the severe censure fulminated against the Catholics who take the oath to him, he also will shut his eyes to the stay here of a bishop who has authority over them, provided he does not exceed the limits of modesty and exercises merely his legitimate functions. But this suggestion does not please the pope, who would like the Catholics to be altogether released from the oath of fealty. Although he recognises the difficulty of the affair and that it involves equally grave consequences, yet he perseveres in trying to attain his end by gentle means. To this end he has sent Cuneo here, whom, as a secular and a subject of this crown, he considers the most suitable and least suspect for the conduct of such a weighty matter. Yet Panzani has orders from Cardinal Barberino not to leave and they talk of another competent person being sent here shortly, so that they may render better service in conjunction and that the multiplicity may tend to establish by degrees that jurisdiction which they hope to achieve by use, since it is impossible in any other way.

But the projects of the Court of Rome do not stop here, and they are directing their present attention to higher aims. His Holiness entertains the idea of rendering his name glorious to posterity by a work at once great, charitable and pious in fine *to bring the king himself over to the Roman faith.* The foundations of this machinery have been laid very wide, and signs of progress become constantly more apparent (*i fondamenti di questa machina sono stati gettati ben lontani, et sempre piu pare i segni dell' avanzamento si vadino apparenti.*)

No nation is made more of at Rome just now than the English, where in the past the subjects of this crown went about incognito and at great danger. Here, again, the priests have never had so much liberty, and whereas in the past the Catholics could only hear mass at the embassies, with great risk of being arrested when they came out, now the chapels of the queen and of the ambassadors are not only frequented with freedom, but anyone who wishes a celebration in his own house can avoid the danger of the penalty with very slight circumspection. *This is all due to the connivance of the ruler, and indicates if not a leaning to the rites of the Roman Church at least an absence of aversion.* Coneo has brought many presents of reliquaries adorned with jewels of great price to offer to the queen in the name of his

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Holiness and Cardinal Barberino. He has already presented some, including a cross of diamonds arranged in the shape of bees, of very considerable value.* This one in particular she showed to the king, telling him who had presented it to her. He looked at it carefully and when giving it back to her said " Is it possible, my heart, that the pope has given you this ? " She said he had, and the king went on " I am very glad of it, because *I shall change the opinion I have hitherto held that the priests of Rome are always ready to take, but never give anything away* (*egli la osservo diligentemente et nel restituirgliela le disse Possibile mio cuore che il Papa ve l'habbia donata ? Affermo ella che si, et egli riprese, ne son molto contento perche mutero quel concetto che ho tenuto sin hora che i Preti di Roma sempre volontieri piglino ma mai donino cosa alcuna*).

Those present noticed that his Majesty uttered this jest with a very straight face, without a smile. This is considered very remarkable, because they give the words " I shall change my opinion " a much more extensive and profound meaning. But in the opinion of the wisest these things are rather desirable than within reach, and even if the good disposition they talk about exists, only a long succession of years can bring the truth to light.

This is the main substance which I have been able to extract in this ticklish matter, I give it to your Excellencies in the same terms as it reached me, in discharge of my duty, and so that you may be able to give it such mature consideration as you consider advisable.

Southampton, the 18th September, 1636.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

71. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

Twenty four Spanish ships have arrived at Dunkirk with 4000 men and a million florins. The French say they were escorted by five English ships. The Princess Palatine denies this and says that such reports are only designed to stir up ill feeling between England and the States. She induced the Count of Colemberg to assure the States in the Assembly that the announcement was false. She laments the behaviour of the French and says that England has not united with them because she could not trust them.

The English say that a single royal ship made the whole Spanish fleet lower its sails. The Spaniards did not at first seem inclined to do this, but when the English ship fired they at once complied.† The English boast of this and say that reason

*" L'altro giorno presentai alla Maesta sua la corona di Calambuco dell' Eccellenza Vestra, con un altra di Agata e uno di corno di bufalo curiosa, lavorata colle sue medaglie di cammei." Conn to Cardinal Barberino the 18th August 1636. P.R.O. *Rome Transcripts.* Series II., Vol. 17. Bees were the device of the Barberini family.

† " 22 Aug. Passing by the South Foreland before noon we anchored at the Downs where we understood of the arrival of the Spanish fleet at Dunkirk, consisting of 26 sail ; who in the sight of Calais did their duties to H.M. ship the *Happy Entrance*, commanded by Capt. Carteret, though they used many evasions to shift it." Northumberland's Journal. *S.P. Dom.*, Vol. CCCXLIII., No. 72.

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and not fear prevailed. The Dutch fleet also lowered its sails on meeting an English squadron.

Joachimi will himself bring back the replies about the fishermen. The Prince urges the utmost prudence, in view of the exhaustion of the Provinces and the risks of war. A member of the government remarked to me that if the English carry off this ransom from the fishermen without noise, as they have begun, and treat them with gentleness, it may be that the States will shut their eyes and pass over the wrong until such time as their present difficulties are over, when they may be in a position to make England recognise the liberty which these Provinces claim at sea, and the power they possess.

The Earl of Arundel has written this week to the Princess Palatine that the ambassador of Poland is negotiating a marriage between his master and Cæsar's daughter. Some think that this is to move the Palatine family by jealousy. But the Princess Palatine says that it is to unite that king with the Austrians, not to render them more yielding here, or to try and achieve the impossible with a rush. She declares that the king may rest assured and she knows full well with the utmost certainty that he was disposed to some other match, that all other interests, no matter how important, would not suffice to alter her steadfast determination to adhere to the reformed faith.

The Hague, the 18th September, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

72. To the Ambassador in England.

Approval of his action with Finet, the Master of the Ceremonies, to which there is nothing to add. Enclose advices of Italy. Rossi, secretary of the ambassador at the Hague has announced his intention of going to England, taking the cipher with him. To take all steps necessary for the recovery of this and to send it back forthwith to the Hague. To employ the Secretary Zonca for this.

Ayes, 107. Noes, 2. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

73. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Before the young Bottiglier left for Monsieur's army he went to assure the Earl of Leicester that they would issue satisfactory orders for the observance of the capitulations with England about trade on the coasts of France. Since then the courier sent by the earl to Court has arrived and the earl has seen Buglion to whom he has made proposals for an alliance by order of his king, which have been sent by Buglion to the Cardinal. *These things are kept most secret, but from what one can gather England is unwilling to declare herself against the Austrians, but the ambassador asserts that if the French will behave straightforwardly (caminar di buon piede), we shall soon see something good established, not only advantageous for the Palatine house, but for all the Princes*

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of Germany, as his king desires the establishment of all.
Paris, the 23rd September, 1636.
[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 24. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

74. That by an ordinary of the ducal chancery the following be read to the Ambassador of the King of Great Britain in his house :

In response to your new office on behalf of the English merchants, and to confirm the benevolent disposition of the republic in the interests of trade we regret that it is impossible to appoint a special judge for the case of Laurence Hyder owing to the numerous and varied heads of his demands. We can only repeat that Hyder should carry his case before the proper magistrates, and if there is any difficulty he shall have the protection of the state and prompt despatch.
Ayes, 90. Noes, 0. Neutral, 2.
Not given in time.
[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

75. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Joachimi took leave of his Majesty last Monday. Before he left for the coast I saw him twice. I noticed that he was all in a fluster and deeply agitated. He told me that it wrung his heart, after he had the good fortune to maintain for the twelve years that he had been ambassador, good relations between this crown and his masters, he should have to serve as the instrument of a quarrel with it in the end, by taking back such pernicious and unpleasant things. He assured me repeatedly that if the English continued their present proceedings they would not only incite but would force the States to make some pernicious agreement with the Spaniards, because their too harassed fortunes certainly could not long resist so many and such serious blows. He said that French pressure alone had induced the Prince of Orange to take the field this year, and the disorder of internal affairs did not allow of such heavy expenditure, without any provocation from the enemy. Their excessive penury would force them to take some decisive steps unless their friends came to their aid. *He knew that the Ambassador Lir was to ask your Excellencies for assistance before he left for France. He had not heard the result. He begged me to represent the difficulties they are in and the trouble which is being prepared for them in this quarter. To cut matters short I told him that your Excellencies had no need of incitement to show your friendly disposition towards the States, and you had shown this by deeds. Circumstances were now different and heavy expenditure nearer home did not allow you to do what you would desire to do if conditions were more favourable.* I observed from the eager manner in which he spoke that the office was premeditated, and was the more sure of it when he told me that he had been present in the Assembly when the subject was last discussed.

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Their proceedings at this Court are always much the same, as they continue to deliberate much and decide upon little. With regard to the matter of the offensive and defensive alliance again proposed to the Ambassador Leicester in France, they have decided after various discussions, to answer that his Majesty will always be ready to embrace it if the conditions, which are general, are restricted to what concerns the restoration of the liberty of Germany only. By this form they aim at reaching the desired end that the Palatine and the Duke of Lorraine shall achieve the restoration of their states. But I imagine that France will not embrace this condition, because they well know that the aims of England do not coincide with their interests in this particular. Thus we have clear confirmation of what I have always guessed, that their plans here are always confined to the peace of Germany only, because they do not think, a general one will be altogether to their advantage; but before very long circumstances will make this point more certain.

There is a whisper at Court that the Earl of Arundel will be returning soon, without anything being arranged; but they let nothing be known definitely, so I cannot be absolutely certain.

The fleet has completely replenished its provisions, and has sailed from the Downs divided into two squadrons. The commander, with sixteen ships, will steer towards the Dutch fishermen, who are understood to have assembled and to have begun their second fishing. The rest, under the Vice Admiral have gone off towards Ireland, where they hear that some Turkish pirates have landed and not only done much harm to the country, but they fell in with and attacked one of the king's ships, which would have been lost had not two Dutch ones come to its rescue.

The Secretary Windebank has been permitted to return to Court, the king's indignation against him being assuaged but not extinguished. The Secretary Coke has instructions to draw up the process about the violent transport of the money of the Spaniards to Flanders, as his Majesty seems determined to know exactly how the affair happened.

The courier is prevented from crossing this week by strong contrary winds.

Westcourt, the 24th September, 1636.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 25. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

76. I, Thadeo Vico, went by your Serenity's command to the house of the English ambassador. I found his Excellency coming down the stairs to go for a little recreation. When he saw me, I made a reverence and told him that I had come to communicate a public office, which I asked to him hear, either then or when he returned, whichever might be more convenient. He said he did not wish to give me more trouble, and while speaking he mounted the stairs. I followed and he brought me to his ordinary room of audience. There I took the sheet given me by the secretary Suriano and read it all to him distinctly. He listened with a most gratified expression and then said, Your lordship will allow me to take a copy. I said he

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was the master. He sat down, making me sit also and cover, and he copied the office in his own hand. That done he rose and said, You will thank his Serenity and their Excellencies warmly; they are constantly heaping favours upon me, both for merchants and in other matters. I will perform my duty in person at the earliest opportunity. He added, The Collegio did not meet to-day, but the Grand Council? I said, Yes. Then he said, the Collegio will meet tomorrow and Saturday to which I said Yes also. I will come, he said, to pay my duty to his Serenity. I then took leave, and he accompanied me to the staircase door in the portico. On the way he told me that he and all his gentlemen and household had been ill four or five days from having eaten white mushrooms. They were afraid they were poisoned, and he in particular had been so ill that he thought he was going to die. I expressed my regret at this accident, and said I was doubly glad that God had preserved him because of his great merits. He also said he was glad he had recovered, because he could serve his Serenity with his customary zeal, and so I departed.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

77. To the Ambassador in England.

We enclose a copy of the office read to the English ambassador and of his reply, which will enable you to discuss the matter and to explain the reasons for the action taken.

Ayes, 90. Noes, 0. Neutral, 2.

Not given in time.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Senato, Secreta. Capitano delle Galeasse. Venetian Archives.

78. Piero Mocenigo, Captain of the Great Galleys, to the Doge and Senate.

On my return from Zante I fell in with an English ship, at which I fired the usual shot of assurance, without ball. He replied with a similar shot but without vailing his topsail as he should have done as a sign of respect for this flag. To uphold the dignity of the flag I fired another gun, also without ball, and to this he responded in the same manner as before. This satisfied me altogether about the position. Knowing the excessive audacity of the people of that nation I made ready all my artillery and then, to intimidate him I directed the chief gunner to fire a culverin with ball, but with express instructions not to hurt him. He did this and fired a shot which fell just under the prow. When they saw this they not only lowered their topsail but sent a boat with a Venetian merchant on board, who told me that the ship was named the *Seven Stars*, from Venice for Zante, with forty guns. He said that the captain had met ships flying the Venetian flag, but none had fired a shot. I told him that the action I had taken was necessary, but if proper respect was shown I would not be more severe than others.

From the galeasse at Corfu, the 28th September, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 1.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

79. The Ambassador of Great Britain came into the Collegio and spoke as follows :

I was much gratified by the last deliberation which your Serenity had read to me, seeing the appreciation of my efforts for trade, which is so much to the advantage of states and subjects, as shown by the mutual relations which have always been encouraged by England. The Collegio has recognised this, and hence the good order has resulted, to the advantage of trade. His majesty, who professes such regard for the interests of the republic will appreciate this.

The doge replied, We have every disposition to increase trade and afford facilities to merchants, following the example of our ancestors. We are very glad that you are satisfied with the deliberation. We shall always be ready to contribute to all that is of mutual advantage for the increase of trade in our islands, and for the good treatment of his Majesty's subjects there and everywhere.

The ambassador said, I am fortunate in receiving so many favours during my service. I had thought of recommending this conduct of the trade to the discretion and good intentions of Henry Hider, a merchant and gentleman by birth, who could thereby act with safety and advantage. He has many rivals and enemies, who stand in the way of his advancement, and he deserves the protection of your Serenity, who might write letters and send orders to your representatives to protect him, as he certainly deserves the public favour.

The doge said, We know Hider as a worthy man who has brought much advantage to our state by his trading. Now that he has taken up the duty of the new impost and for other matters which may be raised by his consuls, he may need the protection of the state, which will certainly be afforded to him and we are especially anxious to gratify you in all circumstances.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

80. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

This week the Council has been exclusively occupied with the Palatine's affairs, owing to the arrival of another courier from the Earl of Arundel. He reports the very scant satisfaction received from the emperor, and the impossibility of doing anything by negotiation, as owing to their private interests the Austrians cannot bring themselves to render England the satisfaction which she claims, although by soothing treatment and fair words they try to make her believe the contrary. The courier was sent back to the earl yesterday with all diligence. From what I gather he takes very highflown commissions to speak in determined fashion, express their deep resentment, and, if appearances do not change, to depart with every indication of their wrath and mischievous intentions here. To assist his negotiations they have told him of the new negotiations for an alliance with France, averring the great inclination of the king

1636. to effect it, although in reality they may be thinking of anything rather.

I am told on good authority that the declarations on this subject sent to the Earl of Leicester last week were intended to include the Duke of Lorraine particularly in the specified re-establishment of all the oppressed princes of Germany. They attach great importance to this here and seem to think as much of it as of the Palatinate. But the French, for reasons which they perhaps keep concealed, seem to detest the very mention of the restitution of those states, and make it clearly understood that even if they consent to the alliance on terms more agreeable to the King of Great Britain, it will only be on the understanding that the Duke of Lorraine is excluded from every treaty, as one whom they claim to treat not as a prince of the empire but as a natural subject of that crown. Even if both sides were more inclined to make this alliance than they are, these difficulties, in the common belief, would always prevent it coming to pass, and if they succeed here in their efforts made in conjunction with the King of Denmark and perhaps of Poland also, to bring about the desired composition in Germany, they certainly will not trouble any more about an alliance with France, especially when their present reasons for keeping the Austrians jealous by such proceedings have ceased. But everything must depend upon the result of Arundel's negotiations, as he has charge of these transactions, and until this be known all is vague.

The Secretary of the Ambassador Hasteyn in Spain has arrived here* with some business about the above matter. That is the pretext, but he has really come to obtain money on account of his salary, as he has received nothing since he left here. A few days will show if there is really anything more.

Although the French ambassadors have repeated their requests for Irish levies, they have not been able to get anything beyond fair words. Their serious transactions are confined to this at present, as they have not yet had any order to intervene in the matter of the alliance. This excites the belief that the new move from France on the subject was engineered by them secretly, in the hope of obtaining *some advantage over the Spaniards from the noise of it.* Such is the most general opinion, and everything goes to confirm the conviction that these treaties will not go beyond words.

They have been discussing the question of sending a competent minister to the congress at Cologne, but nothing has been decided. It is thought that when it has assembled they may send the Earl of Arundel there, not as sent expressly, but on his way back to England. The French are watching this closely because they have always believed that England would not like the general peace. For themselves they are very willing and almost anxious, the Ambassador Sennecterre expressing great pleasure to me that your Excellencies had decided to send an ambassador and thus facilitate the result by your good offices.

*Richard Fanshawe.

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They seem to think little more here about the marriage of the Palatine princess to the King of Poland. They consider the question of religion insuperable and imagine that the king's sentiments have changed. Gordon writes that he will set out for Danzig although he has not entirely recovered from his indisposition. The result of his negotiations will be awaited and they will be guided by events. They would also like to see the younger brother married, and for an advantageous match they have in view Mademoiselle d'Orleans, although the Ambassador Leicester does not hold forth much hope. There are those, however, who think it better to obtain one with the emperor's second daughter* on any terms, as it is imagined that he may have devoted some attention to the subject, but both projects seem confronted by too great difficulties.

The fleet is at sea, distributed as announced. Strong in munitions and men the commander proceeded towards the North with the design of disturbing the fishing of the Dutch. They have no news yet of the event, but word has come that the Turkish pirates who raided Ireland, as reported, at the mere report of the Vice Admiral coming against them, departed at once from those shores. If this be really the case the Vice-Admiral will take his squadron to join the commander, as they fear a vigorous resistance from the Dutch fleet.

A gentleman of the Cari family, who had been for a long time under restraint at home by his relations because of a certain melancholy humour, broke out recently into a new and most furious frenzy, and unexpectedly took the post to London, telling some one that he was going to Court to kill the king, not doubting that when he had achieved this he would be master of England.† He was at once followed and seized on the way before his Majesty had word of it. When the queen was informed she was in the greatest agitation for two days, and would not reassure herself of the king's safety before he had gone in person to Oatlands, where she was living apart. He did this the more readily because she is known to be again enceinte with some indisposition and more trouble than she is accustomed to experience, and he was afraid that she might be in some danger.

I have your Serenity's letters of the 5th September with the instructions about my intercourse with the Spanish ambassador. At a time when they had almost given up thinking about his affairs his first public audience has been fixed for the day after tomorrow. The Earl of Dorset will accompany him to this, without there being any preceding public function. In spite of his specious declarations to me, which I wrote about, he has not made me any intimation in the usual way, so that I might send my coach, and I have taken no notice of it. When he has seen the king I will send to pay my respects, if I find he is of the same mind.

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*Cecilia Renata.

†Rochester Carr, brother of Sir Robert Carr of Lincolnshire, a gentleman of the bedehamber. *Court and Times of Charles I.*, Vol. II., page 250.

1636.

I have also received the account of the reception in Venetian territory given to the Cardinal Legate on his way to Cologne.* Meanwhile I must not forget to inform you that Panzani and Coneo have jointly carried this news to the Court, commending and amplifying upon what your Excellencies have done, and announcing that as a result the friendly relations between his Holiness and the republic are completely restored.

Westcourt, the 2nd October, 1636.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 2. Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

81. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

News has come of Arundel's stout reply to the emperor's proposals. The Princess Palatine is greatly relieved, seeing the mask removed ; and she expects a declaration from England which is bound a thousand times over to take up arms if Cæsar does not give satisfaction. The Court here is amazed at Cæsar's speaking so plainly, but they think it due to the necessity of appeasing the jealousy of Bavaria. They feel sure that England does not intend to precipitate matters and that there will still be time to resume the negotiations with their subtleties, when occasion calls for it.

The Hague, the 2nd October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Rettori. Venetian Archives.

82. To the Proveditore in Terra Ferma.

You will show every confidence with Colonel Duglas, it being the desire of the state that everything shall be done to satisfy him, and you will try to keep him grateful and content.

Ayes, 70. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

83. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

They are apprehensive here of trouble with the Turks, and this may put a stop to their progress in France. The Earl of Arundel has seized the opportunity to renew his instances with the emperor about the Palatine family. He has announced his firm intention to leave at once if he does not receive satisfaction, in which case England would not put up with the affront. Yet the reply seems to have been general as usual. Thus it was noticed that his Excellency left the emperor's chamber with a very red face, and the moment he had descended the stairs and mounted his coach he directed his people to write to Nurenberg to secure quarters. Two days later he sent a courier to the king. It is supposed, to ask permission to leave. As the business touched the emperor closely and the Count of Ognat even more, they informed Arundel that they were writing to his king, offering the portion of the Lower Palatinate held by the Spaniards, and this would not bar the way to further claims.

*The legate was Cardinal Ginetti. *See* Nani : *Hist. de la Republica Veneta*, page 312.

1636.

Two letters have been sent to England by the same courier, one from Cæsar, the other from Ognat.

The Earl of Arundel expresses his deep dissatisfaction ; but on the other hand he has had long conferences with Ognat, so that many consider his announcements an artifice, although nothing substantial has been done. Thus when Bavaria left here he told the nuncio positively that he had not given and would not give any satisfaction to England, and nothing would be done in the Diet to his prejudice ; of this he had a promise. The Dutch deputy here was refused an interview with the duke. He fears some agreement which will engage England to help Spain against the States. Arundel has always refused to discuss the subject with him, and has steadily evaded it. This minister told me that he would not visit Arundel again, as he only showed him pictures and galleries, and he saw that the earl was hiding something to the prejudice of the States.

Ratisbon, the 7th October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

84. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The ambassador extraordinary of England has sent his secretary* to that country : he states that it is about his private affairs, but one may conclude that he has received some reply to his negotiations, which he is trying to keep hidden. He offers excuses that his king cannot easily declare himself against the Austrians, they must be content here with what is proposed and take what they can. He lets it be generally understood that they must not press so much for this declaration, but allow a little time, because he hopes they will obtain their intent. He will pledge his honour and his life that the king of Great Britain will do something great, but they must not rush the matter and it is necessary to remove all shadows and jealousies. Here, however, one of the ministers has intimated that without an open declaration from England there is no appearance that his Majesty will commit himself any further.

They have proposed to the Polish ambassador, who is leaving soon, either Mlle. de Bourbon, daughter of the Prince of Conde, or the Princess Maria, daughter of the Duke of Mantua as a wife for his king. His Majesty and the ministers incline more to the latter than the former. The ambassador says that his king will soon decide on one of these marriages as that with the Palatine Princess is broken off.

Paris, the 7th October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya, Venetian Archives.

85. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

Joachimi reports that the king will not argue about the sovereignty of the sea, but he expresses his friendly disposition to the Provinces. The English Resident argues that the pro-

*James Battyer.

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tection of England is worth more than the tax levied on the fishermen. Since these letters were received the States have announced their intention to increase the fleet, but no steps have been taken and they are acting with great deliberation in the matter. Joachimi reports that they have hopes of an alliance with France and these States, which would divert these Provinces from negotiations for a truce.

The Hague, the 9th October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

86. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

As arranged beforehand, the Spanish ambassador, accompanied by the Earl of Dorset went to have his first public audience at Oatlands of both their Majesties, who received him graciously in the same room. In terms of pure compliment he expressed how much his king valued the friendship of and good relations with this crown, and the particular merits of the present monarch. He spoke in Spanish, employing as interpreter an English Jesuit who usually lives in the house of the Resident Nicolaldi, and very well known at Court. It displeased the king that he should bring to his face to such a public function one who by the laws of the realm is declared a rebel against the crown, and he intimated his sentiments somewhat strongly. The ambassador said nothing further about having another private audience, although his Majesty informed him by a third party that he intended to stay all this week at Oatlands so as to cause him less inconvenience if he wished to set forth any part of his commissions. *This hanging back, in addition to the prolonged incognito and the scandal of the Jesuit will have not only utterly discredited this minister but will serve to increase the bitterness against the House of Austria because of the Palatinate, which increases daily. They feel perfectly sure that in Spain as in Germany the Austrians merely aim at diverting England by compliments from those vigorous resolutions which they recognise she ought to take against them.*

I received no official intimation either about his entry, which I only heard of three days beforehand, or of the audience. When I asked the Master of the Ceremonies for the reason he told me that when he was arranging with the ambassador about the number of coaches to accompany him, he asked him expressly and repeatedly if he wished mine to be invited, and he made no answer. Knowing that our relations had only been sketched out he had not wished to take any steps on his own account which might have equally offended us both. I remonstrated with him for not having informed me of this in time. He apologised on the same grounds and because of the distance, assuring me that he had not found the ambassador at all anxious that I should be informed of his affairs.

In order to escape from this ambiguous position I sent my secretary on the morning of Monday last, the day after the audience at Oatlands to the ambassador's house at Chelsea to inform him how anxious I was to show him respect and how

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much I regretted not being informed of his entry and first audience so that I might have paid the usual compliments. Before hearing the secretary Ognate insisted on his covering and taking a seat. He then said, you may tell the ambassador that I fully appreciate his courtesy. I need no further evidence that the negligence of the one who arranged such functions, the practice which has now passed into oblivion and the present disturbance of the plague are the things which have prevented me from enjoying the effects before. I thank the ambassador with all my heart. Assure him of my full response and ask him not to put himself out to come and see me, as in times of so much distress good relations can be maintained even without visits. When the secretary, who always called me, "Excellency," told him that I intended to visit him, he repeated that he was eager above all things for friendly relations with the ministers of your Serenity and with me in particular, but he asked me not to trouble to come and see him, as at such times confidential relations could be maintained even at a distance. Thus the interview ended, at which he never called the republic "most serene" or me "Excellency," and as he showed so little desire to see me I infer that there is no indication, from his past behaviour of the resumption of these relations with him.

I am unable to decide whether this is his fault or due to a revocation of orders. I can see clearly that if he has the orders which your Excellencies heard had been given to him in Spain, he thinks very little of them, since on the one hand he allures by specious promises, while he draws back on the other. It is incredible that he will make objection because I did not send to meet him at his entry, because in addition to his refusing to answer Finet, it was impossible, after he had been here incognito for three months, for any one more than thirty leagues away to know or divine when the humour seized him to appear in public; and even if I had known it would not have been decorous to go without an invitation from the proper quarter. In the mean time, if the secretary's visit is acknowledged I mean to let him know through Finet that I hoped to meet with a better response, in order to hear what excuses he will make, and so that he may see that if he expected to deceive he is himself deceived.

Bagshot, the 10th October, 1636.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 10. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

87. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Another courier reached the Court this week from the Earl of Arundel with despatches dated the 14th ult. So far as can be discovered they are full of regret and give no hope of a good result. They also intimate some notable offence recently received from the emperor, which they do not want to become known here. The earl adds that unless the courier whom he is expecting brings orders to the contrary he proposes to take leave entirely, and to come home to England without further delay. They have not decided to send him any further response from here, indeed they

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believe that the resolution with which they have already written to him will suffice to confirm him in his present frame of mind, a thing which the ministers here, in the end, make a show of desiring.

Meanwhile they are thinking more than ever about the alliance with France, but with advantage and without being obliged to spend, a very essential point in these days. The French observe and resist this, as they see how present circumstances are making it necessary for England to unite with them.

With respect to including the Duke of Lorraine among the oppressed princes of Germany, now they see that the French will not listen to it, while they anticipate some idea in that quarter to grant the restitution of Lorraine by a special treaty, to avoid being forced to it by a general peace, the English now intimate that they will treat without raising this point, and that they are ready to negotiate a defensive and offensive alliance about the Palatinate alone. But the French mean otherwise and declare that they want an alliance not confined to terms which suit England only, but general and embracing the interests of both crowns against the House of Austria, with the obligation that neither side shall make peace before the Palatine is completely reinstated, promising further to give him the title of elector and to obtain for him the electoral vote.

Both the ambassadors here speak this way, although they profess not to be informed, as the matter no longer rests in their hands but in those of the Earl of Leicester. They cannot deny that Lorraine may be restored by a special treaty. They justify it saying that when peace is made the places there, now deposited in the hands of the Most Christian, may be restored by him without further dispute. The interests of the queen mother likewise may be determined by a special agreement. They mutter things which go to show the propensity of the French to make peace. When divulged at this Court these cause trouble and it becomes ever more manifest that such a peace would not please them. A little space should suffice to make clear to what end all this topsy turvy state of affairs is tending, and so the effect of this alliance, should it ever take place, ought very speedily to become public property, and sooner than I can send word of it to your Excellencies, as the whole of the transactions have taken place in France without the ambassadors here having any hand in it, as I have remarked before.

When these ambassadors recently informed his Majesty of the sailing of their king's fleet for the Mediterranean, they told him that when passing through the Strait they fell in with three Turkish pirates. They captured these and released fifty English whom they found on board, providing them with money and a passage to return to England. They certainly enlarged somewhat, using the incident as evidence of their king's good will. His Majesty replied that he had already heard the news and rejoiced at it, because it will prove to the world that the King of France is the enemy and not the abettor, as many have believed, of those people, who harass the repose of Christendom with their barbarities,

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Some boxes of reals, which must be worth about a million francs, arrived at Dover two days ago, to be transported to Flanders, and have been seized at once by his Majesty's order. People feel sure that he will pay the debts he claims therewith, as he would have done so with the others if they had not been taken away by trickery. The Ambassador Ognat has not spoken about the matter yet and the Court is curious to see the result.

With respect to the glass monopoly of Sir [Robert] Mansfelt, I note the state's wish to allow time for proving the value of his offers about importing Murano crystals here. I shall keep a look out to see what come, but as my efforts may not avail to prevent me being defrauded by the interested parties, I ask your Excellencies to direct the masters of furnaces to provide you at such time as you think fit with definite information as to what work is sent or sold for this realm, so that you may have solid grounds for forming an opinion on the subject.

The Persian merchant still remains here waiting for an opportunity for his passage. They have never been able to find Richard Gatwood, who behaved so abominably to me over his money. Everyone declares that he has gone to Venice. If he is there, he will be in the power of your Excellencies, whereas he has been able to escape the punishment that was designed for him here.

The Senate's decision of the 10th August to the advantage of the English merchants trading at Zante and Cephalonia has reached me in the public despatches of the 12th September. I will use it to show how eager you are to give satisfaction to his Majesty and for the benefit of the state's service.

Bagshot, the 10th October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12. Senato Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

88. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday I had occasion to see his Eminence. Among other things he spoke in the usual way about the treaties with England, showing little hope. He spoke highly of the Earl of Leicester, as an accomplished nobleman and well intentioned.

Amiens, the 12th October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Zante. Venetian Archives.

89. Stefano Capello, Venetian Proveditore at Zante, to the Doge and Senate.

Describes the damage done by the earthquake on the last day of the past month.

Zante, the 5th October, 1636, old style.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 17. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

90. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Court has been full this week of violent clamour and denunciation against the House of Austria, due chiefly to the scant satisfaction received from the emperor in the negotiations

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of the Earl of Arundel. Very frequent consultations have been held since his last letters, and it is supposed that orders have been sent him to come away without taking leave of the emperor. The noise, however, will be greater than the results, as it is unquestionable that even if the necessity for his leaving had been more urgent, secret orders would have reached him not to leave Germany, but to stop at Frankfort on the plea of indisposition, in order to see what effect this move will produce, and seize such advantage as circumstances may supply. There was some question of making him halt at Cologne, on the pretext of sickness, to superintend the general pacification, but as he had no ambassadorial credentials and so would not have been admitted to the congress, independently of the difficulties he must have encountered in treating with the Cardinal Legate, they gave up this plan and he will remain at Frankfort or some where else.

To smoothe matters the Imperial minister Radolti presented the king yesterday with a letter from the emperor, expressing his readiness to bring the affairs of the Palatine to completion. It appears that his Majesty received both the office and the letter with scant gratification. Many of the Court believe that they were written in England, as no couriers have reached either him or the Spanish ambassador who could have brought it in such a short time.

There is talk of raising troops and augmenting the fleet by 50 sail, but neither can be carried out for lack of funds. With the same object they announce that the negotiations for an alliance with the Most Christian are nearly completed, indeed practically settled, they declare, seizing the occasion of the arrival in Court of the Earl of Leicester's secretary,* who was really despatched by him last week for this affair. What he brought that is really substantial is not allowed to transpire, but it is quite certain that it does not yet include the needed conclusion, indeed it brings some augmentation of difficult and painful disputes.

The French ambassadors press for permission to raise levies in Ireland and receive fair promises, but nothing is done. They say that if the agreement between the two crowns is established, all these realms will be open to them to raise as many men as they wish.

The Earl of Northumberland is returning to these waters, having avoided an encounter with the Dutch fishermen, because, seeing that they were assisted by a number of well armed ships, he would not take the risk. He is to come in person to Court to give his Majesty an oral account of the matter and receive new commissions for the future. This withdrawal has displeased everybody, as they would have liked him to attempt the encounter, but the advanced season may not have permitted fresh enterprises.

The Ambassador Ognati has not chosen to perform any office for the release of the money seized, because he avoids meeting in private conference not only his Majesty but any of his ministers,

*James Baityer.

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and he has seen very few of rank as yet, while he has never yet asked a special audience for anything else. The king certainly does not like it, and I know he has complained bitterly. The Prince Palatine also is much hurt by his proceedings, because he has not only discontinued those signs of respect which Nicolaldi began, but has not even performed any complimentary office with him. He has not called on me or in any way acknowledge the compliment I paid him twelve days ago. I have not been able to see the Master of the Ceremonies since. When I have the opportunity I shall tell him what a difference there is between the offers he made me in the ambassador's name and his behaviour, so that he may find out the reason for it and inform me, as he assures me he will do with sincerity.

Two young sons of the Landgrave of Hesse, who arrived in this realm from Holland a few days ago, went yesterday to kiss their Majesties hands. They were received with special honours and also received presents by the king's command.*

The Secretary Zonca, though in indifferent health, will lose no time in taking the cipher to the Ambassador Michiel in Holland.

Windsor, the 17th October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20. Senato. Secreta. Dispacci. Ceffalonia. Venetian Archives.

91. Andrea Malipiero, Venetian Proveditore of Cephalonia, to the Doge and Senate.

Destruction caused by the earthquake. Scarcely a house left standing. The currants on which the unhappy inhabitants might have depended to some extent for relief are spoiled by the rain under the ruined store houses, and at present nothing can be got for them. So all the inhabitants are reduced to extreme misery and are certain to die of hunger, as no corn at all is left, of any sort.

Cephalonia, the 10th October, 1636, old style.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

92. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The English fleet of sixteen ships has been off these coasts and exacted the toll from the fishermen under threats of force. There is a great outcry here against Admiral Dorp for not carrying out his instructions. The States sent for the Prince to come at once to the Hague. The excitement has been very great in the whole government. Many talk of an appeal to arms, as matters have gone too far. But no decision has been taken and they will wait for the report of Joachimi and the advice of the Prince, who is trying to soothe them because of the existing circumstances. The people of Holland in particular insist that they must not

*Christian and Ernest, brothers, not sons, of William V., landgrave of Hesse Cassel, aged respectively 14 and 13. The landgrave sent them over to live in England for some time and to study at Oxford. Hubner : *Genealogische Tabellen* No. 209. *Cal. S.P. Dom* 1636–7, page 115 ; *Court and Times of Charles I.*, Vol. II., page 256 ; Clarke : *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, Vol. IV., page 56.

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delay any longer to conclude the truces, in order to break openly with England. They would like to make overtures for this purpose and resume the negotiations.

The Spaniards will find these Provinces more disposed to peace than the French, owing to their differences with the French and the dispute with England about the sovereignty of the sea. By encouraging these the Spaniards can force the Dutch to accept what terms they please. The Austrians profit greatly by a situation which relieves them of the fear of trouble on the score of the Palatinate. Arundel reports his refusal to re-open negotiations. Beveren reports that the Prince Palatine is very happy as he feels sure that the king will support him with all his power. An alliance with these Provinces is suggested if they will admit the English sovereignty of the sea.

Two Dutch ships have rescued an English one chased by pirates.

The Hague, the 23rd October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

93. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After a whole week's discussion in the royal Council about the Palatine's interests, Leicester's secretary has been sent back to Paris charged to establish, not a general offensive and defensive alliance, as projected, but a special agreement, whereby the French arms shall receive considerable assistance to continue the war. But it will not amount to an open declaration of war from this quarter on the House of Austria, as they consider that they must on no account come to an open rupture with it. The king considers the matter as good as settled since nothing but the approval of the Most Christian is required for establishing it. Now that the difficulties about the Duke of Lorraine are removed, which alone stood in the way upon other occasions, he hopes and indeed feels certain that this approval will be given promptly. The conditions of the treaty are still kept secret, and more so by the French ambassadors than by the ministers here. One of the latter, in conversation, even intimated to me in a superficial fashion that if the agreement is accepted not only the English fleet but a certain number of troops, to be paid by the king here, will be at the service of France until the end of the war. France will have liberty to raise levies throughout Great Britain, for which she will pay herself, and similarly she will be able to dispose of ships and sailors to her satisfaction upon paying for their services. England will also give a certain amount of ammunition to France, and the King of France will have liberty to take as much as he pleases, at his own cost. On her side France is to espouse the cause of the Palatine wholeheartedly, until some equitable arrangement is reached. No peace is to be made without the assent of Great Britain. Meanwhile the ambassadors of France in London and elsewhere are to concede the title of elector. I have been informed from another quarter that at the present moment they are devoting

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more attention than ever to this point. They foresee from the procedure of the Ambassador Ognat that the Spaniards do not intend to follow along the road that Nicolaldi started. In this matter I will copy the example of the French ambassadors.

There remains yet another point to decide upon which there are various opinions. This is whether the command of the troops which they are bound to contribute in fulfilment of the treaty, as well as of those troops which the Most Christian might grant for the same purpose, should be confided to the Palatine personally. They are debating this point while the prince, in the most venturesome spirit, not only asks for this but that they shall recognise here that by this means his name may render more considerable and more valid the rights of his Majesty, since his armies will be placed under the command of his nephew who is the party interested, to whom help cannot be refused. On the other hand it is pointed out that if they mean to uphold the dignity of the prince in this way it will not be proper to let him take the field without an independent and considerable command. The troops to be contributed from here will not suffice and it is not possible to depend greatly on those to be assigned in France. Accordingly it would be more appropriate for these forces to be led by French commanders than that the person of the Palatine should be committed without the direction of a formal army, and without the means to perform of himself operations befitting his dignity and courage, to signalise his name and win that prestige in the eyes of the world that would be abundantly helpful and opportune for the interests of his House. The decision of this question will have to be made here, as the French show no sign of captiousness on the subject. This is utterly at variance with the policy hitherto pursued by England. The ablest politicians consider this step a necessity, owing to which, seeing the progress that the general peace may make, they see themselves compelled, beyond repair, either to make up their minds to give up the Palatine's interests altogether, or to uphold them by some way that seems best. Thus on the one hand an open breach with the House of Austria is considered not only dangerous but difficult to keep up for long without the help of parliament, of which they will not hear a word, while on the other hand they know that to trust the promises of the Austrians means voluntarily to go on for ever and to perdition, they thought it best to adopt this third course, as from either of two events considerable advantage may arise ; because if peace ensues, it cannot, by the terms of this treaty, be other than advantageous for the Palatine, while if it is not, the same reasons hold as before, because nothing will be lost, and they will continue to enjoy the advantages of sea trade which the war between France and Spain at present brings them.

Probably to counterbalance all this the Spanish ambassador has at last asked for an audience, which will be appointed for him the day after tomorrow. The Court awaits the issue with curiosity, because they believe that he has been roused to ask for it more by these necessities than to set forth any other substantial commission.

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He has never shown any sign of appreciation of the office I performed with him. This is so contrary to the usual custom in all Courts, that it confirms my idea that he only wanted to entice me to take some step that would give him an advantage in his claims. I spoke somewhat sharply about it to Sir John Finet, who before the event told me that the ambassador had expressed pleasure at my sending to visit him and stated that he meant to respond. To this Finet answered: I tell you with all sincerity he is not a man from whom much can be expected. I am sorry from the bottom of my heart that I meddled in the matter. I have been a devoted servant of the republic for many years and should be sorry to be an instrument of offence to it. But this man with his impassibility and subtlety might deceive anyone. He promises liberally and performs only what he considers to his advantage. His Majesty is by no means pleased with him and the Prince Palatine already dislikes him exceedingly. I assured Finet how much I appreciated his good intentions and ask him to keep me advised of what happened. This he promised to do. It is therefore clear that the ample offers of this minister were only a flash which vanished almost as soon as seen; and he will refuse to move a step unless stringent orders reach him from Spain. I will wait for what time may bring.

The king, with a small suite, is to proceed to Theobalds, with the intention of passing next week at Newmarket to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. The Council will be held here, where some of the principal ministers are staying. I also intend to stay until his Majesty returns and decides to take some other route, unless the plague in London chance to diminish; but there is very little sign of this, as more than two thousand persons are dying per week at present.

Zonca left for Holland on Saturday in last week. As the wind was favourable I hope that he has arrived by now.

I have received this week the state despatches of the 26th ult. with the office read to the Ambassador Fildin about the merchants trading at the islands of Zante and Cephalonia.

Windsor, the 24th October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

94. To the Ambassador in England.

The ordinary brought none of your letters, only duplicates. We hear from Vienna that the Spanish Ambassador Ognat has procured for the Cardinal of Savoy the protection of Germany, which was sustained by the late Cardinal Diatrestain. Their object is to detach the House of Savoy from France as much as possible. We shall wait to hear from you what they say about it in England.

Ayes, 91. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

95. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Because of the instructions sent to me on the 27th ult. I thought it best to see the Cardinal. After speaking of other matters I referred to the treaties with England. He said that M. de Bullion was negotiating with the Ambassador Leicester, and if there was anything essential he would have sent to him. I remarked that the Ambassador Corraro was advised that the ambassador had received instructions to introduce the question of restoring Lorraine into the treaties. He replied, They spoke some time ago about when we should restore it. We shall do so freely, but not by treaties. By doing little the English want us to do much. At this point he commended the good intentions of the Ambassador Leicester and remarked that there were many Hispanophiles in England.

Amiens, the 26th October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

96. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Capuchin, Father Joseph, has never returned to Court, but is staying at Paris to negotiate with the ambassador extraordinary of England. Various messengers have passed to and fro between there and this city to the Cardinal, and I find that although they keep this business very secret, they are agreed upon the principal point of a defensive and offensive league between the two crowns against the House of Austria until the Prince Palatine is restored to his dominions and electoral dignity, that France has demanded money of the English to continue the war, and the Swedes, Dutch and other powers will be invited to enter this confederation. Nothing more is said about the restoration of Lorraine, but some articles still remain which are not yet quite decided, and for them the ambassador has sent to England.

Amiens, the 26th October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

97. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The States announce that they do not desire an alliance with England but they want a truce as they are tired of war. This is all artifice, to set off against the king's announcement of the alliance with France, and in the hope of inducing England to change her cards and desire an alliance with them. This is what they really want, as a blockade of Flanders would compel the Spaniards to come to terms. Yet there are some, in the Assembly of Holland in particular, who would agree to a truce tomorrow, without considering the advantages to be derived from union with England.

The Princess Palatine told me about Arundel's recall. She seems to believe firmly that the king will declare himself and she

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expressed the hope that he will make a protest in the name of the Prince Palatine, declaring the election of the king of the Romans invalid if the prince is not admitted to the Diet with power to elect.

The Hague, the 30th October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

98. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Court here is intent on what France may resolve with respect to what was agreed here about the establishment of the treaty with that crown. If this step does not come first, since it must be the principle they do not think of making any further decision, for or against, in the matter of the Prince Palatine taking the field. They are only awaiting the reply to be sent by the Earl of Leicester. The French ambassadors here will not utter a syllable about the details of the project, and behave as if they knew nothing about it. The ministers here also seem reluctant to confirm what they divulged on the subject last week. Thus doubts are entertained as to whether the king intends to pay any English contingent until the end of the war, and the ministers here seem reluctant to confirm what they stated last week. They declare themselves very ill pleased with the choice offered in France to the Ambasador Zavaschi for the marriage of his king, either of the daughter of the Prince of Conde or of the Princess Maria of Mantua, saying that it was the secret intrigues of the French which prevented the marriage of the Palatine princess. Despite this bitter event, which is felt the more because of its intrinsic importance, permission has been given this week to several captains sent here by the Chancellor Oxestern to raise recruits in Scotland and Ireland, whereas in the past they have scarcely listened to their requests. A general census has been ordered in the realm of all persons capable of bearing arms, and when that is finished, as it will be in a few days, his Majesty has ordered the lists to be brought to him at once They do not often show so much activity and so it makes men believe that they have some considerable designs in mind.

With matters in this state his Majesty has left the Council here and a great part of his household to go to Newmarket, and on the first day of this week he proceeded to Theobalds. There for the first time he received the Spanish ambassador in private audience. His very diffuse office was all directed to persuade the king to prolong the Earl of Arundel's stay at the imperial Court. He apologised for the causes of offence of which the earl complained, by the difficulty of the present times, without entering into particulars, and he blamed the earl's too hot temper, in his reception and interpretation of the replies of the emperor and his ministers, which had always been full of respect and full of good will. He said the earl had allowed himself to be carried away rather towards the way of destruction than that of moderation and duty. He advanced many arguments, and with transparent artifice made it appear that the House of Austria

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was entirely disposed to satisfy this crown. Yet he could not hide the reasons which had induced him to perform this office, although he tried not to betray that he knew anything of the negotiations which are on foot with France.

The king replied in general terms and so soberly as to show the little value he attached to the office, as after such a long time they expected to hear something more lively and sincere, and proposals with some solid substance. In spite of all this it is believed, though not known for certain, that the instructions to the Earl of Arundel will be confirmed only to go away from the Court, but not to leave Germany, to wait and see what turn the present negotiations with France take, and then he will have more solid ground for arranging the rest.

The sympathies of the ministers here on the question of the diet of Ratisbon are evidently at variance. The majority of them, who cannot conceal their personal predilection for the success of the House of Austria, have noted with sorrow the protests of the Elector of Treves and the reluctance of others to take part personally.

The Earl of Northumberland arrived at Court the day before yesterday, leaving his fleet distributed along the most convenient places of the coast. He reported to his Majesty that he had fallen in with some other Dutch fishing boats and made them contribute almost a tenth part of their catch, as well as to take from him a licence to continue their fishing, in writing. This is worth more for the establishment of the jurisdiction which they claim, and therefore has given the more satisfaction to the general. It has also won credit and reputation for Northumberland himself, since it was reported that in alarm at the preparations of the Dutch he had avoided trying conclusions with them ; but it is also true that these boats were not convoyed by the Dutch fleet but were accompanied by two armed vessels only when he happened to fall in with them. His commissions having been carried out, he has retired to one of his country houses, to wait for his Majesty to renew them. Many think, however, that with the season so far advanced if no greater emergencies arise, the Vice Admiral will remain in charge of the whole fleet, as if there is need he may be chosen to command it, as a person of riper experience.

Now that time has consumed almost all the contributions that were raised with so much trouble for this fleet, they will have to think of a new way of providing for it, if they want to keep it at sea any longer. The orders already issued for the collection of the new imposts encounter insuperable obstacles in their execution. For this purpose they propose to augment the impositions upon all merchandise which enters or leaves the realm, but even if these bring in the large revenue that they hope, they will not be sufficient or soon enough to be devoted to this purpose. It is decreed that every horse which in future is taken from the realm shall pay a duty of 5*l.* sterling to the king, besides the usual charge to obtain the licence. They say this is rather to prevent the measures taken by the French to take

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over a considerable number to France, than for any profit that may be obtained.

The sons of the Landgrave of Hesse have more than once received various refreshments in his Majesty's name. They have now gone away from the Court and it is thought that they will soon leave the kingdom. The ministers of the pope here proceed with great deliberation in their secret transactions. They have not yet been able to obtain any permission for the bishop. They keep near the queen both living in the same house, and at present they merely keep up frequent intercourse with her confessor. Coneo has more than once visited the ambassadors of France and Spain here, but he has not yet appeared at my house. I really cannot ascertain the cause of this behaviour of his because Panzani always kept up the most open correspondence with me.

I have the state despatches of the 3rd inst. with the thanks of the English ambassador and Signor Giustinian's despatch about the orders sent to the Court of Ognat. So far as that individual is concerned, his actions do not correspond with his professions and he has never thanked me for the compliment I paid him. The French ambassadors seem to await the issue of this affair with great curiosity. They were very pleased to learn from me that the first move came from the Spanish ministers. Sir John Finet has not said anything further to me and I have not thought it worth while to remind him.

I will carry out the orders of the Council of Ten about Rossi, who is still here.

Windsor, the 31st October, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 1. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

99. To the Ambassador in England.

We enclose a copy of a letter from the Captain of the Great Galleys about an English ship, for information and so that you may be able to reply if the subject is brought up. We also enclose a request of the English ambassador for the exemption of his wine from duty. We consider this claim unjustified but have directed the magistrates to observe the ordinary use with ambassadors of crowned heads. The secretary has not returned to repeat the demand. This is for information, to be used only if provoked.

Ayes, 108. Noes, 1. Neutral, 6.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 1. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

100. Request made in the Collegio by the secretary of the English ambassador with a paper asking that the wine for his house should not have to pay duty, stating that his predecessors never had paid any duty. The magistracy of the Revisers and Regulators of the Customs and the Proveditori of the Customs were directed to reply, who replied unfavourably, if he should return to repeat the request, but he did not do so. The paper, reply and what the secretary said are enclosed in the

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letter written to the English ambassador on the 1st of November, being sent to him in copies for his information.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 4. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

101. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Leicester returned from England a few days ago, and a courier also came who was sent back at once. The earl goes about saying that they are agreed as to the end but not thoroughly about the means, and he sees it is difficult to make an adjustment between two great crowns like these, because one who is at peace wishes to enjoy it and seems reluctant to take up war. They keep the particulars of the negotiations very secret, but I am assured on the authority of one who professes to know that the principal point of an offensive and defensive alliance is practically settled.

Amiens, the 4th November, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 4. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

102. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The long and frequent conferences of Arundel with the king, the emperor and the Count of Ognat convince me that they are making the greatest efforts through the interposition of England for an agreement with the French, which shall comprise the affairs of the Palatinate and of the Duke of Lorraine. In spite of the obstacles it is certain that the emperor and the king will do what they can for an adjustment. The question of the Palatinate seemed to be all undone these last days, but now it is being revived more than ever, but very secretly and the emperor himself is mediator. The cession is suggested of the part of the Lower Palatinate which is held by the Spaniards, on condition that England will help against the Dutch and others; and that the part held by Bavaria shall also be ceded, shutting out all further claims; the vote to go to the Palatine if the Bavarian line dies out. But Bavaria remains obdurate and Arundel says he will leave in a few days, as permission has reached him. Outwardly he expresses dissatisfaction with this Court, but it is not really so and the thread of the negotiations always remains in being. Teller will stay here to conduct it and if some opening presents itself for an easy and quick settlement, it is possible that some other ambassador of that crown will come to arrange it.

Ratisbon, the 4th November, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

103. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Nothing of importance has occurred this week, the king being absent, and no replies have come from the Earl of Leicester. The French ambassadors say that the arrangement is approaching a conclusion, though they do not give any particulars. The

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Palatine has told the Dutch ambassador, with whom he frequently confers, that he hoped very soon to see his affairs prosperously launched; not by way of a composition with the emperor, from whom he did not believe that anything of a friendly character could ever be obtained, although he is just now making a show of willingness to restore to him that part of his dominions which is held by the Spaniards in the Lower Palatinate, but by means of a good alliance between this crown and the most Christian. The Palatine's secretary, Curtius, confirmed this to me this morning. He assured me that his Majesty considered the matter as settled. However this may be, a few days should decide the question, since the carrying into effect of the things agreed must of necessity be public. Curtius asked me if the letter he gave me for your Serenity had arrived and if there was any answer, as the prince would like to know. I told him the letter had arrived and had gratified your Serenity, who always entertained a high esteem for that House. I said that no answer had reached me but I would let him have it as soon as it did. So he left me and seemed satisfied.

They have not yet received news of the arrival of the Ambassador Joachimi in Holland. They are waiting with impatience to hear how the States will have taken the replies given here about the matter of the fishermen. The fleet, at any rate, will not give them any more trouble this year, as it has almost all withdrawn to the Downs and a great part has come into the River.

Nothing more is said about the affair of the Secretary Windebank, and he claims to have entirely recovered the royal favour. He certainly frequents the Court with great freedom, and both within the Council and without exercises the duties of his office with the same liberty as before.

I have shown the decision of the Senate of the 1st August last about the export from Venice of the oils of Apulia for this kingdom, forwarded to me by the Proveditori for Oil, to more than one of the merchants here, who are accustomed to deal in that commodity. I have urged them strongly to take up the matter, pointing out the very great advantage that they will receive particularly in the exemption from the duty. Some of them seemed ready to make the experiment, and although they raise objections about the long quarantine which their ships have to make in Venetian ports for reasons of public health, yet once they have begun the trade I hope that they will give it an excellent start, especially as the last decisions in their favour in the matter of the currants seem to have increased their inclination to carry on every kind of trade with the Venetian state.

I have received the state despatch of the 10th ult. I do not know what to say about the attitude of the Spanish ministers. The ambassador here shows no sign of responding to my office. The day before yesterday he intimated to a confidant of mine that to go any further he needed instructions from Spain. I do not think him sincere, even if the orders from the Catholic

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arrive. Nicolaldi has never been to see me, though his quality as Resident does not require him to be so punctilious. In the mean time I will maintain the dignity of the state.

Windsor, the 7th November, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

104. Anzolo Correr, Venetian ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Begs that his successor may be chosen to give him breathing space and enable him to serve the state better, as the time prescribed by the laws for service in that embassy has now passed.

Windsor, the 7th November, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

105. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Before the despatch of the last courier the Ambassador Leicester sent another to England. He has received a reply that the courier will very speedily be sent back with a favourable answer, so they consider the matter as good as settled here. *I hear that among the other articles there is one that the war shall be continued not only until the Prince Palatine is restored to his dominions and electoral dignity, but until the other princes of Germany have returned to the peaceful possession of their states. England is to abandon the Duke of Lorraine and in exchange France will give up Bavaria. Four weeks after the treaty has been concluded and ratified they will invite your Serenity to enter the confederation.*

Paris, the 11th November, 1636.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 13. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

106. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Joachimi has made his report about the fisheries to the Assembly, on the lines already indicated. The English claim that the fishermen pay willingly to have the protection, but their admiral protests that the English threatened force if the contribution was not paid. This question touches the feelings of the whole ministry here in their most sensitive part, and they protest unanimously with all their might that they will not pass over the injury. The prince says the same though he states that present circumstances oblige the Provinces to proceed with deliberation. Meanwhile the fishing season is over for this year.

The Prince Palatine gives his mother great hopes that the king will declare himself. He also reports the activities of Ognat who, we hear independently, is bribing the ministers, so the Princess is torn between hopes and fears.

The Hague, the 13th November, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

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Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

107. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Results have shown in the end that the ministers here did not announce such specious particulars about the projected alliance with France without some secret artful purpose ; because, as they themselves can hardly deny, they hoped thereby to compel the Spanish ambassador to make a counter move and explain the most secret part of his instructions, if he had any for the adjustment of the affairs of the Palatine ; but since they have discovered that he either has no orders, or will not make them known, on the arrival of another courier from the Earl of Leicester, with more moderate proposals and more advantageous for them here, after his Majesty had first made some alterations, they sent back orders to him and gave him power to conclude.

The principal articles in the later form are known, although not to an absolute certainty. The King of Great Britain will promise to maintain his fleet to defend and secure the ports of the Most Christian on the Ocean. With the same he will prevent food, munitions of war, money and soldiers from entering any port of the King of Spain. He will not permit the Catholic to make any levies in his realms during the present war, but will grant one to the Most Christian of 6000 infantry, and will cause it to be reinforced with recruits from time to time as required. On the other side it shall be declared that France is bound never to make peace unless the emperor and the King of Spain have restored to the Prince Palatine full possession of all his dominions, or unless they consent here to some other just arrangement. There is a more secret article about the electoral dignity and the French ministers giving the Prince the title of Elector in the meantime ; but as I have only succeeded with great difficulty in finding out what I know, so I have not been able to learn the rest, as no one will speak freely from fear that the aspect of affairs may still change. Thus I have noticed the French ambassadors so reserved that one might almost say they suspected me, especially as upon other occasions M. de Poygne has always been accustomed to make me a most confidential communication with every courtesy.

If the agreements are stipulated as above it is claimed that the affairs of the Palatine will be benefited with slight inconvenience to England, and with almost the certainty of an excellent accomodation, a matter to which they devoted their chief attention here, *since they recognise that present circumstances do not permit them to undertake great things, the treasury being very exhausted, and it is most difficult to replenish it except by parliament.* Although the French may not be much strengthened by the arrangement, yet it yields them three important advantages, it prevents the transport of money and troops to Flanders, which generally go there on English ships or protected by them ; they can rest satisfied that this crown will not make an alliance with the Spaniards, and it will be a great convenience for them to take troops from these realms, over which they have always encountered the most serious difficulties in the past, even if the guarding

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of the ports and the stopping of the ships taking munitions etc. from Spain to Flanders are not carried out by his Majesty's fleet with the punctuality required by the articles, because *unless it is commanded by the Palatine himself there is no serious indication that others will take the superiority which they claim at sea so much to heart as to take action to prevent its realisation* (perche se non fosse dal medesimo Palatino condotta, non v'e gran apparenza che altri ne possino prendere a cuore tanto il pensiero et la superiorita che si pretende mantenere sopra il mare dovendo apportare molte cause di diversione per trascurarne gli effetti). The treaty is to be concluded in France, since their final decisions on the subject have been taken here and they are only waiting for the stipulations. I have sent the information to the Ambassador Contarini.

In consequence of this all idea of sending any one to the congress at Cologne has vanished utterly. They would not wish to say anything about the Prince Palatine taking the field if he himself did not keep the matter alive by his repeated instances to have a force to himself. They give him every consolation in words, but before they come to the achievement of his desires more than one difficulty will have to be overcome.

Panzani, having obtained permission from the pope to return to Rome, came to see me the day before yesterday. He expressed especial devotion to your Excellencies and I made a suitable response. He leaves the direction of his principal operations in the hands of Mr. George Coneo, his successor, who is a Scot and a secular. He will have freer entry everywhere and with less observation. He will continue to try and obtain a position of ever greater favour for the Catholic faith, always covered by the authority of the queen who really seems to devote herself with enthusiasm to this matter. He has never performed any office of confidence with me, and I am consequently perplexed about it, because he deals with the other ambassadors with complete freedom. I have tried through my informant to find out if he by chance had any instructions from Rome not to keep up correspondence with me, but he has never consented to express himself clearly. But I fancy that his actions speak sufficiently of themselves to give this credit.

I have got a gentleman of my household to ask Sir [John] Finet if he had found out any thing about what I had said to him upon the behaviour of the Ambassador Ognat to me. He replied that he had not discovered any more than he had reported to me, but that he should see him on the following day and would send me word of what he got out of him. Accordingly, after two days he sent me the enclosed letter, which I forward to your Serenity as I received it, so that you may consider the contents. You will observe that he wants to introduce a new fashion in the compliments customarily exchanged between foreign ministers, claiming, perhaps as a mark of the difference which he has already said he wished to make between his king and the republic, that he is not bound to respond to the office which I performed with him through the secretary, and as for the

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title which he gave me, he pretends that he does not remember. These are traits which very vividly show his unfriendly disposition in this affair, and how he aims, if he can, at gaining some advantage over your Serenity's ministers, in which he will certainly find himself mistaken.

Zonca has got back from Holland after leaving the cipher with the Ambassador Michiel.

Windsor, the 14th November, 1636.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosure.

108. Letter to the Ambassador from Sir John Finet.

In fulfilment of my duty and your service I was at the Spanish ambassador's the other day, and asked him, as tactfully as possible, the question your gentleman gave me touching his intention to return the visit you made him by your secretary, and to give you the proper title, which your secretary noticed he only gave you by third person. He replied briefly that he remembered nothing about the title, and he did not think it the duty of the last comer to return by his servant the visit which the first comer had made by his. For the rest he was your servant etc. In a word I scarcely find him disposed to correspond with your Excellency yet. What time may produce is uncertain.

Chiswick, the 31st October, old style, 1636.

Signed : Jean Finet.

[*French.*]

Endorsed : A monseigneur Angelo Coraro, Ambr. pour la Serenissme Republique de Venise pres sa Matie. à Charter House ou la part ou il sera.

Nov. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

109. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Arundel set out for home unexpectedly, very early this morning, after having a long audience of the emperor yesterday evening. Amid various reports nothing certain can be ascertained except that nothing has been settled in the matters about which he treated.

Ratisbon, the 19th November, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

110. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Resident, seeing the lengths to which the affair of the fisheries has gone, has informed the government that although his king will not discuss the question of the sovereignty of the sea, yet he desires to do what is pleasing to the States, and if they considered that the tax is too heavy he will be pleased to appoint commissioners to adjust the matter. He received a sharp reply ; but he told them that if they would gratify his king in this matter they would receive complete satisfaction. The Prince told him with a smile that he felt absolutely certain that whenever these Provinces might chance to arrange a truce

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England would alter her plans. There seems to be no middle term. The point is not the amount of the contribution, but the liberty claimed by the Provinces. They are absolutely opposed to the sovereignty claimed by the king. Thus it is certain they will contemplate a war, as fierce as it will be difficult, in order to settle the matter.

The Hague, the 20th November, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Archives. Venetian

111. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The ministers are exclusively occupied in providing funds for the fleet in the event of the agreement with France obliging England to scour the narrow seas even in the winter, for although no ratification has been received from the Earl of Leicester the matter is expected to have the desired end so that nothing requisite may be found wanting. Yet the difficulties in collecting the ordinary imposts become constantly greater, excuses of not being able or not being obliged being offered in defence. Moreover as it seems that only the counties adjacent to the sea are bound to contribute for the guarding thereof, the others claim that they went beyond their duty in the voluntary payment to which they have submitted in the last two years, and when it is a question of employing the ships in the service of foreign princes they declare that they cannot be compelled to make any payment, and if the king wishes to make war or assist his friends he must of necessity have recourse to parliament, from which every one of his predecessors always received abundant supplies of all the money that they needed for the maintenance or service of the state. Thus those whose only study is to find opportunities for reopening the doors of parliament which they grieve to see closed so long because they cannot exercise their authority over the innovations which they do not like, encourage to the utmost the reluctance of the people, and make the noise of their complaints reach the king's ears even more loudly than is really the case, all in order to force him to a decision which they know it is hopeless to expect he will ever take of his own accord. But his Majesty's intentions are very different, and if the service and reputation of the crown, the sole stimulus which has led him to the present resolution, are not sufficient to justify the contributions which he demands, he intends to break down all obstruction, by the example of the past and the exercise of his royal authority, and make the way clear, not only for this but for future occasions, to obtain all the assistance which he may need for the requirements of the state. To this effect very strong orders have been issued to all the officials of the realm to compel all, without distinction, to make payment of the portions which they owe, and to chastise those who will not do so, or who go about proclaiming their objections with improper opinions. By this means and by the recent increase of the customs they hope very quickly to collect a considerable sum of money, so that they

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can immediately begin to use it, even if the need becomes pressing.

The ministers are now paying much greater attention than usual to the events of foreign Courts. They are awaiting the issue of events at Corbie* and of the affairs of Picardy with some anxiety. They certainly do not want to hear of any further successes of the Spaniards in that quarter. The diet of Ratisbon is not expected to end very soon, and doubts are entertained whether the election of a King of the Romans will result satisfactorily. Many rejoice as this is considered favourable for the negotiations of England, as she may probably obtain better terms.

While the affairs of Germany are subject to such great fluctuations and now the Swedes have gained so great an advantage over the Imperialists and Saxons, they do not seem so anxious for a general peace in the empire as they have been in the past, but rather desire a universal settlement whereby, always without the necessity for constant expense, the interests of the Palatine may be adjusted. I have good grounds for saying this, and his Majesty's own words bear it out, as he told me that they desired this union and a happy issue to the congress at Cologne for the repose of Christendom. I seized the opportunity to commend his intentions and thought fit to tell him of the decision of your Excellencies to send thither the Cavalier Pesari. I noticed that his Majesty was very pleased and he expressed his appreciation of the interposition of the republic in so grave a matter, as her intentions and operations, so he said, had always shown her most anxious for the quiet of Christendom. He said he was glad a minister of such great merit was to be employed, and from what he knew of him he was sure the greatest advantages might be anticipated for the public weal.†

Although things have undergone such a great change, there still seems to be a wish to send an English minister of eminence to Cologne, as they think it would be detrimental to their reputation for such important negotiations to be conducted without the presence of a representative of the King of Great Britain, although there are so many difficulties in the way that it is thought it will fall through in the end.

Meanwhile the Earl of Arundel continues to display his deep dissatisfaction in most numerous despatches, but he never says he has left the Court, although the free permission to do so has certainly reached him. So far as the scant satisfaction he has received from Cæsar is concerned, they would like him gone, but on the other hand, with respect to the advantage for the negotiations with France, they are glad of his staying and they will not send him further instructions until that affair is settled.

Rossi late Secretary to the Ambassador Michiel has left here

*Taken by the Spaniards on the 15th August. The king in person went to recover it, on the 2nd October, and it surrendered to the Count of Soissons on the 14th November. Bazin : *Hist. de France sous Louis XIII.*, Vol. III., pp. 218–221.

†Zuane Pesaro, chosen to represent Venice at the congress at Cologne, had been ambassador in England from Sept. 1624 to June 1626. Nani : *Hist. Veneta* p. 312 ; Vols. XVIII., XIX. of this *Calendar*.

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for Venice this morning to submit himself to the judgment of the Council of Ten.

The state despatches of the 25th ult. have just arrived by the ordinary of Antwerp. I am unable to understand how my letters have gone astray.

Hampton, the 21st November, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21. Consiglio di X. Lettere di Ambasciatori Venetian Archives.

112. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Council of Ten.

Immediately I received the decision of the Council of Ten against Giovanni Battista Rosso, notary extraordinary of the chancery, of the 16th October last, I instructed him to present himself a prisoner, within the space of two months, to answer upon that decision.

Hampton, the 21st November, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure.

113. Copy of Sentence pronounced by the Council of Ten on the 16th October against Giovanni Battista Rosso, that he present himself to prison, to answer the charge of abandoning his post as secretary to the Ambassador Michiel at the Hague and proceeding to England, taking the cipher with him, and of uttering indecent expressions against the ambassador and his duties.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

114. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The two couriers sent by the ambassadors have arrived from England. They have already made their final propositions to Bullion and are waiting for the reply for the conclusion of the treaty. It is not thought that they will delay long before giving this now the Cardinal has arrived, as they were only waiting for him to put the final touches to the affair. I have in addition that France will be obliged to keep up a certain number of troops for the service of Germany and England to keep a certain number of ships at sea until the end of the war. An agent of that crown who has remained here* will take the treaty to England to be signed, as there are certain matters to adjust concerning navigation, the other essential points being settled.

Paris, the 25th November, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

115. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The sudden departure of the Earl of Arundel has given rise to much discussion. What is certain is that he had long and secret conference as reported, with the emperor, the king and the Count of Ognat. The last in spite of his indisposition, received

*Réné Augier.

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him several times. All of them showed an exceptional desire to settle the difficulty. His Majesty went so far as to suggest the cession of Heidelberg, Frankenthal and other places. Commendatore Griffoni, minister of the Grand Duke, took part in the conferences, to help further a reconciliation between Lorraine and France and with the hope of a marriage between the Palatine and the Grand Duke's sister. The bishop and the other commissioners went to the house of the Earl of Arundel by the emperor's command to offer these concessions, on three conditions: (1) to grant troops or money to the Spaniards, as they may please, or at least an alliance against those who disturb the peace of the empire; thus seeking help against the Swedes. (2) The Palatine family to renounce all claims against the Duke of Bavaria. (3) The Palatine family to abandon all thought of the electoral vote while the Bavarian line lasts. When Arundel heard this last point I understand that he was greatly stirred and rose in great wrath from his seat saying that this was not the way to an agreement but to a rupture.

The Count of Verdeinbergh told me the particulars. He said he was sure from the reports of Radolti from England that it was not the desire of that crown that the matter should be dealt with with so much warmth. That was entirely due to the excessive devotion of the Earl of Arundel to the Princess Palatine. In this way the meeting broke up and on the following day his Excellency, having decided to go, he asked for audience of the emperor and king for his final leave taking. The former was indisposed and asked Arundel to wait a little. The ambassador consented and went to audience on Tuesday evening, leaving on the following morning. He halted at Nurenberg where Colonel Lessel* went to present him with a diamond worth 2000 crowns, and to resume negotiations. But so far we do not hear of his receiving any reply, except that the king, his master, had not given him power to conclude the matter in a form of that character; but it might be possible to propose some easy mode of setting up the Duke of Lorraine again, if he received the satisfaction he desired in other respects. He would report everything, and with Teller remaining at this Court in the capacity of Resident, the business will not be abandoned and Teller will await the orders which will be sent to him from home. The earl expressed his intention to confer with the Princess Palatine and hear her views, reporting afterwards to his king.

The ministers here, though they do not express themselves openly, fear a rupture. The Spaniards maintain the contrary, especially Father Chiroga† and the Count of Ognat. They assured the emperor that with the disagreement between parliament and the king the English will not commit themselves to open war or to money contributions, and still less to loss of trade with Spain, to uphold princes who have no interests and connections with that kingdom. They assert that the very worst

*Colonel Walter Leslie. Arundel to Coke $\frac{18}{23}$ Nov. *S.P. For. Germany, Empire*, Vol. 10.

†Diego de Quiroga, a Capuchin friar, confessor of the Queen of Hungary.

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they have to fear is secret help and encouragement to the French and the Swedes against the emperor, with money and troops, and the Queen Mother may encourage this. So far they do not know what to decide and they will wait with curiosity to hear what steps that Court will take. Their fears are fed by reports spread by Arundel that the King of England is taking steps to increase his forces, and the French party and the Dutch minister as well encourage the belief in an alliance between France, Sweden and Holland against the Catholic which will be concluded so soon as the news of this rupture has arrived.

Ratisbon, the 25th November, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

116. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Arundel writes that he is remaining at the Imperial Court, being detained by the pressure and specious promises of the King of Hungary. He says the ministers there seem much more disposed than usual to give every possible satisfaction to England for a final adjustment of the Palatine's affairs. He says they offer the whole of that portion of the Lower Palatinate at present occupied by the Spaniards, and that they will find suitable means for satisfying Bavaria for restoring the part which he holds, such as giving him another part of the states to hold in exchange for life. The Council discusses this and desires Arundel not to leave Vienna for the moment, but to urge the instant performance of these promises, and to pass over in silence the claims to the electoral vote, if he sees that after Bavaria's death they cannot without great difficulty arrange for it to return to the Palatine House. It is pretended that once this most essential point has been determined, it may be possible if the subject is not referred to, to proceed subsequently with the rest under more favourable conditions in accordance with the nature of the terms and circumstances.

There is no doubt but that the offers of the Austrians are merely the result of exceeding sagacity, to prevent the establishment of the agreement with France, as the grievances of the Duke of Bavaria against that crown are too well known as well as his resolute declaration that he will not, for such an accomodation, consent to any terms soever. But here they think it no bad thing to keep up these pretences, because the detention of the earl in Germany serves as an incitement to the French to conclude the agreement more speedily, while by keeping the negotiations with the Austrians warm they are always at liberty to conclude, even if the treaties with the Most Christian are arranged. The reason for the anxiety to close with France is said not to proceed from care for the Palatine, but their principal object is to make them approve of the coasts and ports of France being guarded by their fleet, so that without opposition from their forces they may continue more freely to exercise the authority over the sea which they claim, and establish a precedent

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for use in the future for the better establishment of that claim not only against the crown of France, but to put a stop to their disputes with the Dutch, who, they think, would submit more readily to the contributions for the fisheries when they undertake a more open arbitrament over these waters. These are not the views of idle persons but come from the lips of those who speak seriously and with the best authority. Facts also bear it out, as the terms of the articles clearly show that they do not aim at binding themselves to anything but this essential point.

Nevertheless the Palatine seeks to take the field with an independent force, although the difficulties are great. The affair has been frequently discussed in the Council with great secrecy. It has been suggested that the king shall give him an independent force of 10,000 men, to effect a junction with those of the Landgrave of Hesse or of Duke Bernard, to render him independent of the French. The Ambassador Sennecterre, in talking of this told me that provided the troops crossed the sea they would be well pleased in France and would not raise objections about such insignificant matters.

He regrets that such affairs which are difficult and lengthy in negotiation, are more often than not painful and difficult in fulfilment, and to tell the truth there is no sign at present of their approaching fulfilment.

Not even last week's despatches from the Earl of Leicester contained any ratification of the French alliance, and those of this week have not yet arrived. His Majesty has remarked publicly that he has done all he could on his side ; his ambassadors are not waiting for any further commissions from him, and they have sufficient powers to conclude. He will not be to blame if the delay causes harm to the common cause, but it will all be due to the over subtle circumspection of the French.

The Ambassador Contarini informs me that among the articles is one to invite your Excellencies to join within four weeks of the ratification. I know there was a clause by which the allies of each crown were to be informed and might even be included, but I cannot find anything about the republic in particular. The difference probably arises because the article to include the colleagues was only left among the other articles from consideration for the French, as the English ministers made difficulties about accepting it, and intimated, indeed, that the king would like the treaty to remain simply between the two crowns. The Dutch ambassador confirmed this to me yesterday and said that his masters would be ill pleased at having only four weeks to decide, as it was known that matters of great moment could not be decided by the Provinces in a short time.

He asked me earnestly if your Excellencies had sent your ambassador to Cologne, or if he would go soon. I said I had no news of his starting, and thought it would be decided by a perfect accord between those who were principals in the assembly. He remarked that the States had not yet decided to send a delegate, and if they do not declare their intention to take part as a member there they certainly will not send. He then began to lament

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the scant respect which they show here for his masters, especially the violence shown to the fishermen. He assured me that the Spaniards urge them more than ever to make a particular agreement. I seized the opportunity to urge him not to abandon his intention of restoring cordial relations between this crown and his masters, which would bring him glory and a reputation that would never fade. He assured me that he was most anxious to achieve this and he appreciated my confidence. I consider him a most well disposed minister, and he only needs better fortune to show the fruits of his diligent zeal.

The Austrian ministers here and notably the Spanish ambassador, to the amazement of the whole Court, are not moved a whit by these close negotiations with the Most Christian, but continue in their usual retirement and affect to despise them. His majesty takes this very ill and it makes him desire a speedy conclusion the more eagerly. The Ambassador Ognat does not take advantage either of the opportunity to foment the quarrel with the Dutch, and he has never once asked for audience since the first occasion when he saw his Majesty in private.

I am in the same position towards him as before. He has not made a sign of any intention to reopen relations with the ministers of your Excellencies.

Dolce left for Holland more than a fortnight ago to serve the Ambassador Michiel. I have just heard from him that though he embarked on a Dutch man of war he has not yet had a favourable wind.

Hampton, the 28th November, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 29. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

117. With regard to the request of Angelo Correr that a successor may be chosen and as he has to go to the French Court:

Resolved that an ambassador to the king of Great Britain be chosen in his place, to serve, under the penalties prescribed in the case of refusal, with the usual instructions.

He shall have for his expenses 300 ducats in gold a month, for which he need render no account.

For horses, trappings and coffers, 300 ducats of lire 6, soldi 4 each, and a donation of 1000 ducats in gold.

For all expenses, except those for couriers and letters, 100 crowns a month of lire 7.

To the secretary for his equipment, 100 ducats and to two couriers, accompanying the ambassador, 20 ducats each.

For the salary and table expenses of the chaplain and interpreter, 186 ducats a year and 100 ducats a year respectively.

For the interpreter an addition of 100 ducats yearly.

Ayes, 130. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

118. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The matter of the fishermen has been taken up again, and they show themselves more and more embittered against England and correspondingly disposed to proceed to a rupture and to

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take steps to carry this into effect with all speed. The States General try to point out how inauspicious existing circumstances are for such rash action. The Prince also went to the Assembly of the States of Holland two days ago and spoke to them at length. He pointed out they must avoid precipitous action and not encourage the Spaniards to risk another war. Taxes could not be increased. But when a truce is arranged conditions may be better and they would be able to uphold their liberty at sea. He was listened to with great attention. In reply it was urged that the Provinces had fought for liberty against the Spaniards and should do the same against England. They could cut down expenses on land, as the Spaniards were kept busy with the French. The result is awaited with curiosity. But even if the states of Holland decided on a rash step it is not thought that the States General would agree, as they would rather do anything than spend money and would suffer any injury rather than engage in a new war before the struggle with the Spaniards is ended.

The Hague, the 4th December, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

119. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

No further ratification has come from France. They seem to resent this here and criticise the slowness of the French in the matter, calling it calculated indifference, in order to obtain better terms. An impartial observer can easily see that the Most Christian merely for the sake of a few levies from this kingdom and the promised defence of his Ocean ports, which is the utmost he can expect from the terms, cannot agree to bind himself to maintain the war for the satisfaction of the English and not to embrace an honourable peace unless the interests of the Palatine house are accomodated to the satisfaction of the King of Great Britain. Besides the slight advantage to France, one must also consider the consequence of permitting the English to be arbiters over these seas, and affording them an opportunity of grasping the lordship which they claim, a point to which they have devoted so much attention in France and upon which they declared last year that they would not always abandon themselves to the present connivance. However the ministers here do not take it in this way, but pretend that the French raise difficulties about stipulating the present articles because they do not wish to prejudice their conventions with the Duke of Bavaria ; and also, perhaps, intent on adjusting matters by private treaties with the queen mother and the Duke of Lorraine, so as not to have opposition at the congress of Cologne from such great obstacles to the conclusion of peace on their side they think it more advantageous for them to keep England occupied with negotiations for a long while, than to cause the establishment of the agreements with so little profit to themselves. At all events, the very considerable disturbances which may arise from the unexpected departure of Monsieur and the Count of

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Soissons,* about which they do not yet know all the particulars, though it excites much comment, give good reason for believing that great changes may ensue, and meanwhile those who look on cannot help feeling perplexed about future events.

I am assured that most strenuous remonstrances have been made to the councillors and secretaries of the Prince Palatine here, because they have awakened his ideas of having an army, and they have rebuked them for encouraging him in the urgent instances which he makes for it. This suffices to show that all the discussions on the subject were mere artifice, and that they do not mean to do anything. So after all the Palatine will have this additional mortification to his princely character. Meanwhile he shows great impatience at remaining idle here, and his countenance really betrays the most acute sense of shame, as he never takes part without blushing at any conference where the present agitations of the world are discussed. His brother, on the other hand, finds all his delight in the amenities of the Court, and in particular passes his time by amusing himself in the society of the ladies (*nella giocondita delle conversazione delle dame*) without any preoccupations besides what his own youthful inclinations at present supply him.

They have heard with general dissatisfaction and to the extreme mortification of the Palatine, of the departure from France of the Polish ambassador with portraits of the two princesses of Bourbon and Mantua, as they conclude that the marriage of the Palatine princess with that king is considered impossible. The ministers here now seem sorry that the ambassador was dealt with so severely here, and possibly they wish the matter was in its original position.

The Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, who remained at Plymouth with five or six sail, still keeps at sea. They do not know the reason for this, as he had orders to withdraw with the others.

One hears of no real preparations, but only the noise of orders, for renewing the provisions for the fleet, and nothing is said as to who will command it, if it puts to sea. The contributions, moreover are only raised slowly, as many still maintain obstinately that they cannot be compelled to make them.

The state despatches of the 1st and 6th November have arrived together.

I see no sign of the Spanish ambassador taking steps to correspond with the numerous assurances received from Spain and elsewhere.

A report has just reached me, based on something said by the queen, that Monsieur and the Count of Soissons are about to arrive in this kingdom; but lack of time prevents me from confirming this.

Hampton, the 5th December, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

*The two princes left Paris secretly on the 20th November, pretending to be afraid for their liberty or their lives. Monsieur retired to Blois while Soissons took refuge at Sedan. Bazin: *Hist. de France sous Louis XIII.*, Vol. III., pp. 227, 228.

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Dec. 9.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

120. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Leicester says that he is constantly meeting with obstacles and difficulties in his negotiations, and they do not make as much progress as he would like. The ministers here ought to accept what was offered them, because the rest will follow, referring to a declaration of open war against the House of Austria. Yet the influential personage who confided to me that a defensive and offensive alliance was arranged maintains, although certainly the ministers both here and in England make contrary announcement, that the affair has advanced so far that the few things which remain to be settled ought not reasonably to upset or break off the negotiations.

Paris, the 9th December, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya, Venetian Archives.

121. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

On the subject of the fisheries it is expected that orders will be sent to Joachimi to represent to England that with the ill feeling that exists no advantage will accrue to them from the action they have taken, and to intimate that these Provinces will endeavour to demonstrate their liberty at sea by other means, if offices and milder measures do not suffice to produce the result. They will continue on these lines, all the Provinces protesting that it will finally result in a breach.

There are various reports about Arundel's departure from Ratisbon. The Princess Palatine announces that he has left in high dudgeon, and that very soon we shall hear of a formal declaration by England. But others hold opposite views. The Ambassador Beveren writes that England's ardour to take up arms and join the French has greatly diminished, and there are reports about referring the matter to the Diet. Only a small number of people believed that England would declare herself, and very few credit it now after all these delays, as the Austrians, if given time, often work wonders, and possibly England does not mind being deceived.

The Hague, the 11th December, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

122. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Mutability and confusion reign in the foreign policy of the ministry here. This not only renders vain any judgment about the issue of things to come but leaves an equal uncertainty about the matters upon which they are actually engaged, so that it is impossible to draw any conclusion or make any forecast with anything solid to go upon. Thus it is stated that the Earl of Arundel has left the Imperial Court unexpectedly, in disgust, although those here most intimate with the government will not admit this. Although such action directly contravenes

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the decision recently taken in his Majesty's Council, yet it seems that some at least do not disapprove, indeed it looks as if this step has met with general applause and satisfaction. In the mean while they are about to send to him with all speed a courier with appropriate commissions, reviving once again the question, already so much discussed, of sending him to Cologne to superintend the interests of the Count Palatine. They are at the moment inclined to take this course, indeed they are all practically agreed upon it, and the question would be decided already were it not for some doubt as to the capacity in which they should send him there. In whatever way this point is decided, it is certain that the orders sent to him will be kept secret, in order that the announcement of this step may not give rise to some fresh imbroglio to delay the meeting of that assembly. They are anxious to see this realised and are displeased at the difficulties which the Austrians are raising about not wishing to treat with the Cardinal of Lyons.

The rumour about the sudden arrival of Monsieur and the Count of Soissons was false, but it supplied abundant material for conversation at the Court. The Earl of Leicester writes from Paris that owing to the stir caused at the Court there by the flight of these princes, he has not been able to make any effective progress with his negotiations. However he does not fail to hold out the brightest and most solid hopes of their conclusion in the near future. None the less, the ministers here are beginning at bottom to feel doubts about it, as they see full well that if the French thought it advisable to consent to the terms agreed they would not remain silent about the ratification to the prejudice of their own interests. But outwardly they affect to believe the exact opposite here.

The Dutch ambassador went to Court the day before yesterday and asked the king's leave to raise the usual recruits here ; but he was put off with ambiguous replies. He then approached the Secretary Coke, who told him that this was not a time to talk of such matters, but that in a fortnight, when the treaties with France had been stipulated, he also should receive every satisfaction. The ambassador retorted that such levies being an ancient concession on the part of England, had nothing at all to do with the treaties with France, and even less with the one in question. No notice whatever had been given to him or his masters. The secretary said that the door was open for the States to enter also, as it was reasonable they should. The ambassador then said, with some feeling, that they could not be forced or ordered by any one.

Without proceeding with the discussion or waiting for an answer he went forthwith to the apartments of the Prince Palatine. He told him that he had been sent as ambassador extraordinary to this Court on purpose to offer the services of his masters in any way that might serve his Highness's cause. After so many months they not only made no reply to his repeated overtures and proposals, but without giving him any intimation, as they ought, they were negotiating a special treaty with France

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for the same purpose. He had come again to confirm the disposition of his masters to do all in their power for his Highness's house, and begged him to say freely if he thought he had any cause for dissatisfaction with him, and if he might return to Holland with his full concurrence. The prince was surprised at his resolute tone and did his best to assure him of his deepest gratitude for all the benefits received by himself and his family from the States. With regard to the French alliance he said that it was not yet concluded, and in it, not only was a place reserved for the States, but they would be invited. The ambassador replied that he did not know with what good will or with what reputation the Provinces could take part in an affair which had been arranged without them and without regard for their rights. They were not treated like allies or in accordance with their agreements with the Most Christian, which stipulated that no particular alliance should be arranged without mutual consent. Dwelling on the resentment felt by the Dutch for this treatment, he said that the emperor, on behalf of the Spaniards had newly made considerable offers for a good agreement. They would never have been the first to violate their obligations, to their allies, but if others abandoned the game first and treated separately with those princes and of those affairs which they considered their interests, he did not think they could be blamed if, for their own advantage they entered into negotiations with the Spaniards, leaving an opening for the French to enter the treaty, as they might do, just as much as the French can make a separate alliance with England or others, leaving the Dutch free to come in if they like.

These outspoken remarks are sure to be taken to his Majesty by the Palatine, and as they contain such important matter the ambassador no less than anyone else is waiting attentively to see what reply they will give him as the prince of himself did not think fit to say any more.

In order to accelerate the collection of the taxes for the fleet, they are working with the solicitude reported. On the other hand the unwillingness of the people to contribute becomes more strongly felt. Not only the lower classes but the greatest lords are beginning to make themselves heard seriously, in expressing with great resolution, their intention to maintain, with the common laws, as they call them, their own jurisdictions and privileges. Accordingly the Earl of Dambi, moved as many believe by the incitement of many of the leading men of the realm as well as by his own inclinations, unexpectedly decided to write a letter to the king. While expressing his loyalty, as one who from his earliest childhood and during the life of the late king had the honour to be numbered among his most familiar servants, he took the liberty to represent to him the extent of the outcry of the people and the discontent of the great, and the scandals which seem imminent everywhere, because in a manner never before practised and repugnant to the fundamental laws of the realm, they proposed to continue to burden his subjects with impositions and extraordinary taxes, without caring about under-

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mining the prerogatives which their forefathers always and they themselves up to the present time had enjoyed in complete liberty. He went on that while everyone feels deeply injured by the present form of the contributions, no one will object to the contributions in themselves if they are levied in the proper manner. He ventured to assure his Majesty that he would find the greatest readiness in every one of his subjects to give not only their substance but their blood to please him. To unburden his conscience, as a mark of his devoted loyalty, to assure the peace of the realm and above all for the greatness of his Majesty he could not refrain from making these representations, feeling sure that he should best please him thus. He begs him to consider how good it will be to satisfy his subjects by summoning parliament, as he knows it will really be for his greater service. Such in brief are the principal contents of this letter. When it was presented to his Majesty at a time when he was conversing familiarly with a few persons in his chamber, he was seen suddenly to change colour when reading it, while his face hardened. Without saying a word he paced the room, giving every indication of being much moved and angered.

The incident is considered serious, but as it is still recent, one does not know what result it will produce. It is quite clear that it has not only been long premeditated, but is the outcome of the consultation and deliberation of the most powerful, not without evident encouragement from the Spaniards, who are very hopeful of forwarding their interests by this means in the present state of affairs. The whole Court has been fluttered by this, but everyone keeps his thoughts to himself, the matter being essentially too important, delicate and jealous. I know well how much attention it deserves and shall keep on the watch for what ensues, in order to inform your Excellencies.

With the ducal missives of the 14th November I have nothing but the pistol cock to be consigned to the Persian merchant, which shall be done when I have a convenient opportunity.

Westcourt, the 12th December, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

123. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors have been to audience of the king, whom they congratulated on the recovery of Corbie.* They also urged him somewhat to bring their negotiations to completion. They seem to have moved slowly in these here since they heard the Earl of Arundel was staying at Ratisbon.

I have drawn the attention of some of the ministers to the considerations sent me by your Serenity on the 15th ult. They replied that they know full well that the Count of Ognat rules in Germany more than the emperor himself and their interests would always be united with the House of Austria. The most that can be done will be to warn the electors not to rivet the fetters on their legs. The Earl

*On the 14th November.

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of Arundel, by his good disposition, may propose peace between the two crowns, but he has no authority for this, and all things are moving towards the peace negotiations at Cologne with their friends. These transactions showed that the Austrians had no desire for peace. To get a favourable one it was necessary that the parties should be practically equal.

Paris, the 16th December, 1636.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

124. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

We have seen the king working assiduously all this week in his most secret Council at the two affairs considered of importance, without giving time for his customary pleasures of the chase. One of these is the speech recently made by the Dutch ambassador to the Prince Palatine, and the other is the letter of the Earl of Dambi. As regards the former, nothing has yet been decided, although they have held frequent debates as to the reply which they should give to the ambassador. Not only so but the question has been raised as to whether it is better that the reply should be made to him directly by one of the ministers in his Majesty's name, or whether it may be more expedient and commit them less if the Palatine himself gives it to him, speaking as if on his own responsibility.

If the very vigorous protest made by the ambassador about the disposition of the Provinces to come to terms with the Spaniards if they are badly treated by their friends, did not arouse any particular alarm, it certainly did not weigh greatly with them, since it is well known that on other grounds also the Dutch cannot remain satisfied in the end with the procedure of England. However as that particular interest is always a very sensitive one, and to avoid supplying material for criticism under existing circumstances, they would like to give them at least a verbal satisfaction. More serious interests, of which your Excellencies shall hear below, do not admit the possibility of their affording it in deeds.

The second point, the letter of the Earl of Dambi, has been discussed at great length, and suggestions were made to deal with the matter severely.

To quiet to some extent those ardent spirits which seem to be moving very boldly towards disturbances and at the same time to stifle the lugubrious voices which have lamented because nothing has been done these last two years with such a numerous and expensive fleet, they have decided to set a report going that will fill the ears and satisfy the desires of the people, that they mean, even in the present season, to employ not only their naval forces but others as well for the service of the Palatine, whose cause is made that of the crown, for the sake of reputation, besides kinship, and that they will act with all vigour to secure the lordship of the sea, making all who wish to fish render such tribute as is considered proper. In conformity with this they will publish most clearly throughout the realm that all those who in

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the future intend to practise fishing in these seas must, before they begin, come here or send their accredited agent to England to take a written license from the magistrate appointed and submit to such obligations as shall be decided, otherwise, if they are found they shall be arrested and their goods confiscated as lawful booty. They expect to secure two results by these reports and decrees, one that the people, satisfied by the hope that their money will be usefully spent, will become less impatient with their present, impetuous clamours, and will become less insistent upon the calling of parliament ; the other, that the Dutch, aroused by the proclamation to produce their arguments, if they think of doing so, may produce them so speedily that they can be refuted by force or by connivance if they keep silence that will amount to an acceptation of the English claims as just, and a submission to the practice at a time when they may be at their greatest strength and so make it easier for them to put up with the burden of this acknowledgment and the hurt which is inflicted upon them.

In the mean time in order to establish their claims to this dominion more firmly and to increase the benefits for the satisfaction of their daily needs, they have begun to seize the ships which come through the Downs, a place claimed to be in the open sea, laden with all kinds of goods for all kinds of places, even if they have not touched at any port of the realm. They did this lately with an English ship which sailed recently from a port of Flanders for Spain, making it pay just as much for everything as if it had sailed directly from this kingdom*, and they intend to do the same with all others that they find in the future.

On this account also the Dutch claim to have received fresh injury, and the Dutch ambassador, backed by the whole nation, is preparing to make a complaint before the king. With respect to the proclamation about fishing he says he will say nothing for the present, as he is waiting for orders from Holland to do it with more effect, having sent an express thither with a careful account of what has happened.

Frequent letters and couriers come from France about the treaty, but all full of hopes only and never bringing the conclusion which they desire. Yet the ministers here keep on affirming that the matter will be concluded in a few days.

The Palatine, convinced that his hopes of an independent force are vain, has renounced them, and utterly discouraged by the news of the birth of a son to establish the line of the Duke of Bavaria†, has fallen sick or feigns to be ill, and not only does little but is seldom seen to leave his rooms.

They feel sure that the Earl of Arundel has left Ratisbon, but not Germany, indeed they think that he may stop some time of

*No doubt the *Sarah* of London, Thomas Gibbes master, which was laded at Dunkirk for San Lucar in Spain. It was known that Gibbes intended to evade payment of the duties, estimated at 2,000*l.* at least, and he was stopped in the channel by the TenthWhelp, Capt. Francis Smith, sent into Dover and imprisoned. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636–7, pages 138, 212, 345.

†Ferdinand Maria, born 31st October.

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his own accord at Cologne, even if they do not come to any more open decision. He wrote that very specious proposals had been made to him for the termination of his transactions, but only covertly and with no security that they would be clinched; the Duke of Bavaria was implacable, possibly in concert with Cæsar, and this made a favourable issue impossible. He also makes a passing reference to the renewal of the proposal being made to him for an alliance between this crown and the House of Austria, when satisfaction should be given reciprocally, with a request in particular for some assistance against the Dutch, but it does not seem that they have devoted more attention to this here than it deserves.

I have received this week the state despatches of the 15th ult. with the enclosure about the Spaniards granting equality of title ; but the Ambassador Ognat has not made any move.

Westcourt, the 19th December, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

125. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Bonica the favourite of Duke Bernard* has come here from England. He expresses himself as well pleased with that Monarch. He wished to join his master, but the duke wrote to him to stop because he himself would come here soon.

Paris, 23rd December, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

126. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

To day the Princess Palatine is expecting the Earl of Arundel. She says that he will leave without staying as the king will decide nothing before seeing him. She seems to think that everything will be arranged to the entire satisfaction of the prince, her son. The French say that the king will do nothing and that the negotiations in France are only meant to alarm the Austrians, and that his Majesty decided long ago to let his nephews drop if these means failed. The English try to represent the Spaniards as greatly alarmed. The general opinion is confirmed by the constitution of the crown of England, which must be on good terms with parliament to obtain money and from the policy of the present king, who wants to be absolute and does not wish to be dependent upon parliament. All agree that the best way to persuade the Austrians to peace would be for England to join in the blockade of Flanders.

The Hague, the 25th December, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

127. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Accompanied by a numerous following of merehants the Dutch ambassador appeared before his Majesty last Tuesday. He expressed the universal discontent of his countrymen at being

*Ponickau. *See* No. 58 at page 57 above.

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burdened with new and unaccustomed imposts on goods which happened to pass through these seas, even if they did not touch the shores of this kingdom. The king listened patiently and even accepted a paper with the case of the merchants, promising to take its contents into consideration and to give a speedy answer. He assured the ambassador of his goodwill towards the States. The step however is supposed to have produced but very small effect, because they are most determined to insist upon their lordship of the sea, from which they hope to obtain reputation and safety no less than very considerable profit. It is therefore vain to believe that with the field apparently free to England, all the neighbouring nations being in commotion, to gain without a struggle the place to which she aspires, that she will abandon her advance upon any consideration, as she knows full well that if she lost the present opportunity things are not likely to remain so easy always or with so little opposition.

One of the most important points still remains to be settled and that is the opposition of the King of Denmark, who has already let it be freely understood that when he has occasion to visit these waters he does not intend his flag to show obedience to the English, beyond the rule always observed at sea, whereby the weaker always honours the stronger; but they hope to find a way out of this by negotiations set in motion a long time ago. It is stated that there is a secret agreement with that sovereign that each shall honour the other equally, the English being recognised as superiors in the Ocean and the Danes in the Baltic. For this reason and no other it is considered that the King of Denmark has asked Cæsar for a patent of Admiral General over the whole Baltic sea, in order to enlarge the limits of his present dominion over it without opposition from the empire, partly by use, partly by authority and power, encouraged by England's example, cloaked under the appearance of a dependent jurisdiction, making everyone who wishes to navigate there, unconsciously subject to his absolute command. In order to remove the opposition of the Swedes to this suzerainty I am assured on good authority that very strong representations have been made from this quarter but I cannot find out if they have received an answer. From all these things your Excellencies can see without a doubt that all their attention at present is devoted to the sole object of the sovereignty of the sea, and if they carry on other negotiations besides, these only possess solidity in so far as they are closely related to this object.

They think that the Earl of Arundel will arrive here before long, impelled by a desire to return to his native land. Letters from the Hague of the 14th inst. relate that the Princess Palatine was expecting him at any moment; but as he has not even yet given notice here, I must refer to what you will hear from the spot. As it is supposed by this that the negotiations with the House of Austria are entirely broken off, they will devote all their energies, with their eyes on the pole star, to secure the pacific domination of the sea.

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For the establishment of the treaties with France they sent two days ago new and most urgent instructions to the Earl of Leicester, but the French either wish to make the most of the advantage offered them or think they can serve their interests better in another way, and they give no security for the conclusion yet. Here they are becoming very uneasy because, arguing from the exhaustion of both sides, they give great credit to the reports that secret negotiations are on foot between France and Spain, for a truce and possibly even a peace, and the latest news from Cologne of another serious defeat of the Saxons encourages the same belief, as it is known that the special affairs of the empire also call for some speedy adjustment.

The Vice Admiral Pennington having approached to enter the river with the six ships of his squadron, they have ordered him to proceed without delay towards the Barbary coasts in the hope that he may make some notable capture from the Turkish pirates. They announce this as his object, but actually they have no other aim, than to appease the people which continues to murmur because in spite of their paying for such a considerable fleet they continue to suffer such serious prejudice as was inflicted by these same Turks last summer in Ireland.

The plague, being confined by the very sharp cold, is beginning to lose the malignity with which for nine months on end it has troubled a great part of this kingdom. It is hoped that the country is entirely free, and in the city of London the deaths from it do not exceed some 200 a week. If this improvement continues the Court will make no further scruples about admitting intercourse with the city. Accordingly I expect to be among the first to return in order to escape from the expense, which has already proved insupportable for my poor unaided fortunes.

I consigned to the Persian merchant the two pocket pistols transmitted to me by your Serenity, to be handed by him as a gift to his king. I enclose his receipt as directed, signed with his own hand.

The state despatch of the 22nd ult., reached me by the ordinary of this week.

Westcourt, the 26th December, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure.

128. Laus Deo,. the 22nd December, 1636, at London.

Acknowledgment of receipt from Angelo Corraro, ambassador of Venice to the King of Great Britain, of two pocket pistols, with shagreen mounts, and on mountings of embroidered velvet, four stones and a mould for the balls, the whole to be consigned by me in the name of the most serene republic to the King of Persia, my master.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

129. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier arrived from England two days ago. I hear that he brings the consent of that king to the proposals put forward by the Imperialists and Spaniards to restore the Lower Palatinate

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to his nephew if England will induce France, by negotiation or by arms, to give up Lorraine. It is said that the English ministers have been conducting negotiations in France on the matter, and so it is possible to cherish greater hopes of an agreement.

Madrid, the 28th December, 1636.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Dec. 29. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

130. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The satisfaction felt at the election of the king of the Romans* is somewhat damped by fear of what England may do, although they expect that definite measures may be delayed. After the Earl of Arundel left the emperor, to keep up hope, entrusted the affair to the Elector of Mainz, and sent an express to Arundel, intimating his readiness for an adjustment and suggesting that Bavaria and the Palatine should hold the electorate jointly. But Arundel continued his journey and is now reported to be at the Hague.

Radolti has reported the project announced in London of an alliance with France; but they do not seem to attach much importance to it here, as the protection of the French ports on the Ocean, the cutting off of food from the Spaniards and the refusal of levies to the Catholic are not measures thought likely to hurt the empire. They would feel more alarm at contributions of money and men from England to Sweden, of which there are reports; but these are not confirmed from England. The emperor has approached the Count of Ognat again to get him to offer more liberal conditions about the Palatinate; but the Count declared he would rather his master engaged in an honourable war than see him surrender what he held by a just title. Amid all these hesitations and doubts nothing is more anxiously awaited than news from England, so that their own decisions may be guided by those taken by that crown. Meanwhile Teller stays on here negotiating with the princes and the Spaniards. This shows that the thread of the business is not broken altogether; but no further resolution is being taken as everyone foresees that the removal of this minister also is at hand.

Ratisbon, the 29th December, 1636.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

131. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English agent Oger, has been summoned to Ruel and is there negotiating with the Cardinal on behalf of the Ambassador Leicester. The earl says that it is a month since he made his proposals and he expects a reply; difficulties have since arisen on one side and another, and thus postpone the conclusion of the matter.

Paris, the 30th December. 1636.

[*Italian.*]

*Ferdinand, eldest son of the Emperor Ferdinand II. was chosen king of the Romans at Ratisbon on the 22nd December.

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1637. Jan. 1. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

132. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Arundel arrived at the Hague on Tuesday and left yesterday for Brill. He refused public honours from the States, but compliments were exchanged. He left without speaking of any business. The Court resents this lack of confidence. In his conversation the earl gave the impression of being a means for preventing the trouble that the Austrians might receive from England rather than like one disgusted over his negotiations and full of bitterness, as the English tried to make him out. He remarked that the intentions of Cæsar are very good. They had offered him the Lower Palatinate. Cæsar apologised for not being able to give greater satisfaction to the Prince Palatine because the remainder of the country and the electoral vote belong to Bavaria. In spite of this he would not fail to keep a guiding hand on the affair so that the electors might decide something which would prove satisfactory to England and to the Palatine family. I am unable to say, added Arundel, if the king, my master, will be content. When asked if the king would make a declaration he said that his Majesty should announce his deep affection for his nephew, but that an appeal to arms was the last resource and in his opinion matters had not reached this extremity. Thus he spoke very differently when he left Vienna. It serves to confirm the suspicion that before Arundel left Ratisbon he had a long conference with Ognat and other ministers in which it is reported that they calmed him down tremendously. Yet the Princess Palatine asserts that Arundel is a most honourable man and says that he took charge of her interests with entire sincerity and in the best manner. But either she does not know how matters stand and they do not tell her everything, or she affects not to know.

Arundel told me that the matter might be referred to Cologne and it was possible he would be sent there. He expressed great confidence in the ability of the Ambassador Pesaro*, but the French pretend that they will not concern themselves about it if England does not declare herself.

The Hague, the 1st January, 1636. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 2. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

133. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Although the pretexts were very plausible and proper by which they announced that there was constant need for a numerous fleet at sea, and the specious object of establishing absolute dominion there has of itself won general applause, yet the people here in no wise relax their complaints at seeing them-

*Giovanni Pesaro, sent to represent Venice at the congress at Cologne.

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selves, as they say contrary to the laws of the realm, forced to submit to extraordinary impositions. Indeed they seem more determined than ever to resist them, taking little account of the threats and severities which are held over them. With the support and example of many of the leading lords of the realm, who, since the letter of the Earl of Dambi, have openly refused payment, they insist on their rights in such a way as to give even the king occasion to think of some other expedient. But all are not agreed as to what this should be, as where severity can be shown, the result is not considerable, and where the opposition is strong the most important amount ought to be obtained, and if they do not begin with the great, but little is obtained from the others and less worth having. The pecuniary need of the crown is now great, but the emergency will be even greater in a few months, and with his Majesty still holding fast to his policy of doing without parliament, and to establish his authority by other ways, so that he may be able in the future to clear away all these irritating and difficult obstacles, they consider and deliberate, but they do not know how to set to work.

The people are too wide awake to allow themselves to be deluded by tricks. They discussed at length it is said if it would be expedient for the king to ask for a loan from his subjects on the pretext of a momentary need, without allowing the effect of the present imposts to die away, but they feared that the results of the ideas in question would prejudice the demand, under present circumstances, and so the proposal met with no approval. Meanwhile, both for the profit and to satisfy the malcontents, they propose rigorously to exact payment of the duties from all ships that pass through this sea in future, and have postponed discussing the reply to be given to the Dutch ambassador upon this. They have not made him any communication either about what he said to the Palatine about his stay here or his complaints because they did not inform him of the negotiations with France; a circumstance which greatly increases the ill feeling of the Dutch against this crown.

All the rest of the affairs of this crown consist in the expectation of the news to be brought by the Earl of Arundel and of the alliance with France.

Westcourt, the 2nd January, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 2. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

134. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Panzani left for Rome only the day before yesterday, although it is more than a month since he took leave of the queen and of all the ministers here with whom he had relations. He stated that his delay was caused by his waiting for a portrait of the queen to present to the pope in her name, but it appears that the sole reason why he stayed was to await the decision from Rome about the establishment of a Catholic bishop here, which has been in negotiation so long, and before departing to leave the affair in Coneo's hands quite straight forward in every respect.

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The pope's reply is to this effect, that in view of the king's persistent objection to such a bishop being sent, he thinks it advisable to let the matter drop for the moment, in order not to excite ill feeling by an open refusal, and because in these early stages of correspondence between the Holy See and this crown it may prove better in the interests of the faith, for the priests to recognise for their sole superior the minister of his Holiness, than to enter, with their usual disobedience, into fresh imbroglios with a bishop, openly hated and persecuted by the Protestants.

They claim at Rome, by this stroke, which in appearance seems respectful and humble towards the king, to bridle and control all the ecclesiastical missionaries of the realm, who form a very considerable party, and with them, the consciences and souls of all those who profess the Catholic faith, with the additional hope of being able, within a short time, to increase the practice of that faith to a certainty and without noise, with ever greater advantage to the service of God and the reputation of the Holy See.

At present, in order to make more certain of establishing a solid party Coneo is to pursue with all assiduity the question of permitting the Catholics to enjoy their goods freely, without being obliged to take the ordinary oath of fealty. By the taking of this they incur at present the censure of the Church, and by not consenting to it they incur the penalty of rebellion. But this affair, which is of the most serious and important character, involves such great difficulties that to overcome them requires no ordinary tact and adroitness, as otherwise, instead of gain, they might upset all the interests of religion and throw to the ground the most just and pious designs of the pope. Already many begin to speak angrily about it, saying that if they permit this licence to the Catholics it will amount to declaring absolute liberty of conscience in England and thereby open the way to those civil divisions and discords by which one has often seen states consumed in the flames of constant, inextinguishable and most hateful persecutions, to the scandal of the world and the danger of incurring even worse disasters through disunion. Those in particular who claim the name of Puritans speak in this way, and the bitterest enemies of the papal name and authority. They carefully observe Coneo's proceedings and artfully try to make his Majesty jealous of him from his close relations with the queen's confessor and with the Capuchins of her church, saying that they may form conventicles and plots against the repose of the people and the general quiet of the realm.

Some days ago, when their Majesties were passing near London to go and see some buildings of the queen at Greenwich, they were observed to leave their barque at the convent of the Capuchins, where they passed from the church to the cells and then to the refectory, not disdaining the poverty, the habits and scant ceremonies of the friars.* Those who were present say that

*The Capuchins were established in the precincts of Somerset House in the tennis court of which a chapel had been erected. This chapel had been solemnly dedicated on the 16th December preceding the royal visit. *Court and Times of Charles I.*, Vol. ii., pages 176, 301; Salvetti, news letter of 21 Dec., 1636. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962G.

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they ate together what they found prepared for the supper of the Capuchins and the king seemed to have enjoyed it very much. An incident which at other times and with the quiet disposition of the past, would have passed unnoticed except as a chance diversion, has, amid present commotions, been taken in quite another sense, and supplies material for much discussion, although the case was really very simple and probably the king had no other object than to please the queen. Those also who for other ends call passionately for the convocation of parliament, increase their outcry because of this circumstance, declaring that the excessive desire to avoid hurting the interests of the Catholics is leading to greater and more serious hurt to the crown and the gravest disasters, but their voices are known to be too interested and do not produce all the effect which they pretend.

To such a disturbed condition has this most important matter been brought since my last report. The Signory can judge what grave consequences are involved, and I will carefully observe what happens, sending reports from time to time.

Westcourt, the 2nd January, 1636 (M.V.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 3. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

135. The Ambassador of Great Britain came into the Collegio and spoke to the following effect :

My disposition to serve the republic makes me wish you every prosperity, and so I lose no time in bringing my best wishes for the new year. I have nothing to impart about the wars and the events in Italy, and I need not add anything to your own recommendations for peace, for which the republic may claim the honour of the idea. I need therefore do no more than praise your generous actions, which are always directed for the liberty of the province and for universal peace, thus coinciding with his Majesty's intentions.

All my master's own interests are directed towards the advantage of peace and I rejoice at seeing the good relations maintained between him and this republic, which leave nothing to be desired. I must always seize opportunities to thank your Serenity for favours received, and I would especially do so for the release of the Scottish gentleman, which was particularly grateful to me.

The doge replied, We thank your lordship for your good wishes. We also hope that the new year will be a most happy one for his Majesty and yourself, for whom we have such great affection. The republic will never cease to labour for the liberty and relief of this province. Meanwhile we rejoice at his Majesty's good fortune and at the relations he maintains with this republic, as we always cherish the most lively effection towards him. We readily seized the opportunity to please your lordship by the release of the Scottish gentleman, and you will always find us similarly disposed. The ambassador expressed some more compliments, took leave and departed.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 8.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya, Venetian Archives.

136. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince of Orange had long conversations with the Earl of Arundel, but could extract nothing from him about his negotiations. The earl always turned the subject to pictures or the discomforts of his journey. The Prince urged him to use his influence with the king about the question of the fishermen. He said that neither King James nor Queen Elizabeth had raised such claims, and suggested the appointment of delegates on both sides. The prince made this suggestion in order to gain time and to show that he did not admit the English pretensions, and so be free to deal with the matter when circumstances permit. Arundel replied that he could not question the king's decisions and he did not think that his Majesty would alter his proceedings.

The States General performed a similar office, representing that it would be prudent for England to employ her fleets against the common enemy, as his Majesty will suffer if the Spaniards triumph. They received a similar answer, given somewhat sharply, the earl hinting that these Provinces will be best advised if they mind their own business and do not obstruct England.

The Hague, the 8th January, 1636. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

137. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Palatine perceiving the unhappy state of his affairs and that his former petition has had no result has again petitioned that they will at least give him a few troops and a little money until his affairs are in a better state, saying that the Landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Valimar have promised to receive him in their army, acknowledging the superiority due to his rank. But the king knows that to let him go with small forces only means incurring the necessity of spending without the hope of any profit, and moreover he does not think fit to make any answer until the Earl of Arundel arrives to report orally the more secret parts of his negotiations with Cæsar and to give his opinion upon the situation. Arundel's last letters were from Cologne, where he says he will only stay two days, so they expect him momentarily. His Majesty shows great bitterness outwardly about the manner of this return. He declares his dissatisfaction with the House of Austria and assures his nephew that he will not let it pass without revenge. Although many think that he is not really so moved but only makes a display of this ire to please his nephew, it is certain that tired of the crafty proceedings of the Austrians and anxious to console the prince, he would really like to do so, but the ends of those who advise him may not be the same, and the fear of prejudicing by the meeting of parliament the rights of sovereignty of which he is gradually becoming possessed by use, do not allow him to take the step, because he himself well knows that the fundamental thing for successfully starting this work is to break openly with

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the House of Austria, and he is in no condition to do this without help from parliament. This is perhaps the only reason why the operations with France for an alliance are not concluded as the Most Christian steadily sets his face against it if England will not declare openly against his enemies. They say the Earl of Leicester wrote as much recently, practically declaring that without such a declaration it is useless for him to remain any longer at that Court.

The Dutch ambassador still continues his lamentations because they did not inform him of these negotiations. Besides his remarks to the Palatine to which he has never received a reply, he has also remonstrated seriously about it with the French ambassadors here, but they easily got out of it by saying that they never had the matter in their hands. He also encountered the usual difficulties in the affair of the recruits. When he wished to repeat his instances to the king they told him that his Majesty did not intend to grant them any more, as instead of filling up their regiments he was informed that they were ordinarily employed on the ships and in the Indies, contrary to his intentions and pleasure, and they would not listen to anything that the ambassador said to the contrary. On this hand also he goes about declaring that the relations between his masters and this crown will be much embittered, as in everything the English behave with a disregard of their feelings even where their own interests are most sensibly affected.

The Ambassador Ognate seems to let everything go on without minding. He lives a long way from the Court and in his usual retirement.* It is true that he has a way of conducting his affairs with secrecy, but they do not at all approve of the way he behaves. In conformity with the Senate's instructions of the 6th and 12th ult. I will give him no opening about visits as I have already done my part and I will wait for him to make the next move.

They have today received news of the election and coronation of the King of Hungary as King of the Romans.† Although everyone had foreseen it was certain, yet it has occasioned a great impression at Court owing to the serious consequences it involves. On this account also the disturbances in France over Monsieur and the Count of Soissons are thought very considerable and it is certain that they greatly displease his Majesty, who has declared that he passionately longs to see them entirely suppressed.

I can only submit humbly to the wishes of your Excellencies in the choice you have made of me for the embassy in France. I shall always be ready to carry out your commands. I only wish that my ability equalled my good will.

Westcourt, the 9th January, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

*He had taken Nottingham House, Chelsea (*i.e.* the manor house) on leaving Caron House in South Lambeth. *Court and Times of Charles I.* Vol. ii. page 252.

†On the 22nd December.

1637. Jan. 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

138. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The deputies of Holland will meet on Monday. Among other things they will discuss the question of the liberty of the sea. The English Resident laments that they will not give way and contemplate a rupture and that they will not treat with him. He says that England cannot be better disposed for a breach with the Austrians and they might have issued a declaration already were it not for certain indications that it might be necessary to employ these forces in order to uphold the rights of the crown. The Ambassador Beveren is asking for his leave as he sees that his efforts are fruitless. The Princess Palatine is trying to smoothe the matter. She says that an alliance with France will soon be concluded and it will be the best day that the States have seen. But I do not think that she speaks with her usual courage and she is beginning to be afraid that the king's decisions may not correspond with her desires.

The Hague, the 15th January, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

139. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The difficulties over the exaction of the money for the fleet not only continue but become every day more troublesome. The more severe the royal officials show themselves against the disobedient the more determined the people show themselves not to submit their fortunes to the continuation of such charges. All the vigilance of the ministers is directed to this, and together with his Majesty they labour to find some expedient or compromise that will give satisfaction. But his Majesty's firmly rooted determination to gain independent authority over his people always constitutes an obstacle to all the expedients which circumstances suggest, as it seems that he cannot suffer the mention of parliament, much less its assembling.

The Earl of Warwick, whose courage has always been ready for the greatest enterprises, has with his followers, practically as chief, although not openly, taken up the cudgels, so they say, in defence of law and reason. He made no bones of telling the king frankly that his tenants or farmers (tenenti o coloni) were all old and accustomed to the mild rule of Queen Elizabeth and King James, and could not bring themselves to consent to such notable prejudices. They would consider their fault too grave if they died under the stigma of having, at the end of their lives, signed away the liberties of the realm and of their free will deprived their posterity of those benefits which had been left to them uncontaminated as a sacred treasure by their ancestors. For his own part he was as ready as any one to sacrifice his blood as well as his goods for his Majesty, but he did not know how he could use force against his people or reprove their resolution against what he would not call unjust for fear of exciting too dangerous scandals. He therefore begged his Majesty to have a gracious regard for the content of his subjects which is none other, after all than his own service, since all are most desirous

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of sacrificing to the will of their master their substance, their blood and their children, if they saw it was done by the proper channels, If his Majesty proposed on the score of reputation to make war against the House of Austria ; if he decided on an alliance with France for the recovery of the Palatinate ; if he meant to maintain the dominion of the sea by force, he, Warwick, ventured to promise for all and to stake his head that parliament would readily consent to supply him with all that he might desire to ask of it. In short he went on as long as the king had patience to listen to him, there being no point which he did not touch on and no consideration which he did not advance in order to induce the king to summon parliament.

But his wise strokes, with all their subtlety and sagacity could not succeed in making any impression where they met with such a tenacious resistance. It was no small thing, after such a long importunity, that the king, unlike his usual character, took the liberty of this discourse as well as he did, as his countenance remained smiling and composed at the end as well as at the beginning, although he said nothing to the earl in response except that he expected from the example of promptness shown by him that he should be obeyed by the others also. Thus with one thing and another we see this grave matter approaching greater dangers, with little hope of any remedy that may not prove very unpleasant and bitter.

It now seems that many of the leading men of the realm are determined to make a final effort to bring the forms of government back to their former state. They hold secret meetings for the purpose of achieving this result. It is said that they have decided to draw up a paper which many will sign, to be handed to his Majesty in the name of all, with an open request for the convocation of parliament, upon terms which will concede to him many of the chief things which he wants and in addition adding one fourth to all the subsidies which may be paid in the future by order of such parliament. Many other particulars have also been discussed in this proposal, but as they are necessarily secret, I shall not venture, without more authentic information, to inflict a digression upon your Excellencies which may prove at once superfluous and wearisome, although they are of such considerable consequence.

I am on safe ground in saying that the very important question of religion may be the one to break the thread of any adjustment, because the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the king's assent, has introduced many novelties into the church ; such as a reform in the vestments of ministers, the setting up of images, on the pretext of adorning the churches, the use of lights on the altars upon solemn occasions, which come very near to the forms of the Roman church so also is what I should have mentioned before, the introduction in many places of auricular confession, under the pretext of taking counsel of the minister upon some scruple or difficulty of conscience. The parliamentarians aim not only at destroying these at the outset but to cut away their roots by the deposition of the archbishop. As it is not probable that they will induce the king to consent to this. who is too fond of those rites and too friendly to the archbishop, it is thought that these difficulties will remain even if the others are settled, and that the king, foreseeing opposition, will prefer to let

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things go on as they are, rather than summon parliament and make them worse.

The Spaniards have had a hand in all these things, with the intention of embarrassing England in civil dissensions for the benefit of their own interests. They forward their calculated designs with cunning and secrecy in every direction, at confessions, at meetings and even at the public preachings, making use of the Jesuits on one side to confirm the party of the Catholics, while on the other they get their partisans to suborn persons of every condition not to pay the contributions but to press vigorously for the convocation of parliament. Most of the king's ministers, who see the disorders very clearly, either do not think them worthy of consideration, or behave as if they were not, since they rather try to prevent his Majesty being informed about them. Yet such seeds may germinate in the worst humours, and good Englishmen and those who are reputed wise and disinterested augur badly, foreseeing a great upset in the affairs of Europe if things go as the Spaniards are trying to push them.

Amid these circumstances I can hardly give your Excellencies an idea of the commotion occasioned recently over the arrest of a Jesuit, who was educating several of the sons of the principal lords of the realm in his own house, who were being instructed by him, with their fathers' permission, in the Roman faith. I will only say that this pretty incitement has made such a change in the general sentiment, that it has sufficed to discover the passions of many which had been concealed for their own reasons. These now come out boldly in the Jesuit's defence, though the Protestants offer a most pertinacious opposition demanding that an example shall be made of him sufficient to restrain the zeal of others in the future. He remains a prisoner but with the almost certain hope of a speedy release. The Austrian ministers here have taken up his cause warmly and the king does not seem at all offended. I have thought proper to report this matter because of the consequences that may ensue, and accordingly I relate in another place the matters which I consider of more importance.

Westcourt, the 16th January, 1636. [M.V.]

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

140. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Arundel has reached the Court at last* and the king welcomed him with the greatest show of affection and honour. He gave an account of his transactions in a very long speech to his Majesty alone, who interrupted him with various interrogations and who was observed to wish to be made fully acquainted with everything. Although one cannot possibly know all the particulars of this interview, yet they may easily be gathered from what the earl has stated that they were merely protests

*"The earl of Arundel came home yesterday [i.e. 6 Jan. N.S.] from the Hague." Anthony Lowe to Middlesex, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Report, page 292.

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against the ill satisfaction which he received from the emperor, and a demonstration that it is not possible to adjust the affairs of the Palatine with him in the manner which his rights and the king's reputation require. The Court is already full of rumours about this ; one hears great matters discussed, every one gladly availing himself of the opportunity to ventilate his own passion but every one suspends his judgment as to what they will decide, *because they know that achievement in this connection has no correspondence with the great expectations which are formed.*

So soon as the Spanish ambassador heard of the earl's arrival he hastily asked for an audience that same day so as to prevent his Majesty receiving a bad impression from the earl's account to the prejudice of the Austrian party. He imagined that he would be received the first, but the king was through the device, and so it failed, as he wished, before receiving him, to have the fullest information from the other. The ambassador could not altogether dissimulate his chagrin at seeing the earl admitted to audience before himself, and expressed himself very emphatically to the one who accompanied him to his Majesty, but he made no reference on the subject to the king, either directly or indirectly.*

His office began by informing the king of the happy issue of the election and coronation of the King of Hungary as King of the Romans. He said that the greatness and prosperity of the House of Austria would always be dedicated to the satisfaction of this crown. Then, turning to the Earl of Arundel, he protested that he had not brought back satisfaction from Cæsar because he did not wish to. If he had chosen to treat upon the offers that had been made to him the affair would have been settled by now, but this time he had allowed his natural impetuosity to overcome his reason. The emperor was sorry for him, knowing the affection he professes for the Palatine House, but he did not wish the good intentions of ministers to prejudice the conclusion of negotiations and effect the good relations between two such friendly princes. In fine he inveighed against Arundel's proceedings and correspondingly maintained the good intentions of the emperor and his king to peace and the just conclusion of this affair. He steadfastly affirmed that if his Majesty had not given up his intention of settling it in a friendly way, those princes would certainly show no lack of resolution and justice to render him perfectly satisfied.

The king seemed to approve of the zealous expression of his office. He said the Earl of Arundel was a nobleman of recognised prudence. These were not the first transactions that had passed through his hands, and if the emperor and the King of Spain wished to give him satisfaction in the interests of the Palatine, they should now prove it by deeds and not words. So they disputed, with various fluctuations, not about the merits but about the circumstances of the affair. Thus the audience

*The double audience appears to have taken place at Hampton Court on Thursday the 8th January N.S. *Court and Times of Charles I.* Vol. ii, page 261 ; Roe to the earl of Exeter *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636-7, page 336.

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terminated without any resolution but with a very marked increase in his Majesty's dissatisfaction. What results this will produce remains to be seen, since all criteria for forming a sound judgment have dissappeared even for the most speculative.

The Marquis of Poygne, the French ambassador in ordinary here, was overtaken suddenly last week while he was writing, by a profound lethargy, and in eight days he passed away without ever recovering consciousness.* The Court regrets the loss exceedingly and the queen is deeply grieved, because of his open nature and also for the important services which he rendered to the faith. M. de Senneterre seems to feel it deeply, because he hoped to have permission to return to France soon, and because he forsees that now he remains alone, he will not enjoy so many advantages in his charge, although he is most vigilant and prudent, as the ministers here have not that opinion of him that he deserves and that is requisite.

When I went to audience of his Majesty last Tuesday, to wish him a happy new year, as usual, thought fit, although not so instructed, to tell him of the choice of Sig. Giustinian to succeed me. I told his Majesty of his merits and how in this selection you wished to give him a lively token of your regard. He told me he had heard of this from his ambassador. He thanked the republic and assured her of his sincere affection. He asked me if Giustinian would arrive soon. I said I did not know, but as he has to wait for his successor in Spain I did not think that he could move for some months yet. The king remarked smiling, Let him come when he will, he will be welcome and receive the same satisfaction as you have received, as I never have any contest with the republic of Venice but one of courtesy. I took the opportunity to say how much your Excellencies appreciate the kindness shown to your representatives and your desire to respond. I also deprecated some courteous remarks that he made about me personally. As he received me in the house at Richmond, where his children are now staying, who were all present in the room at the time, I said I rejoiced to find his Majesty in the midst of his greatest felicity and wished him every increase thereof. He showed his appreciation of this, more especially by gently reproving the prince for having received me too stolidly (*con troppo sussiego*) when I kissed his hand ; and so I took leave.

I received the day before yesterday the state despatches of the 19th ult. The Ambassador Ognat declared recently that he did not think any offices necessary in response to those I made by my Secretary.

Westcourt, the 16th January, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

*According to a letter of Windebank, written on the 18th January, Pougny died "last Friday," *i.e.* the 16th, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Report, page 281, and this is borne out by Salvetti, news letter of 20th January, Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962, and by a letter of Sir Thomas Puckering, *Court and Times of Charles I.*, Vol: ii., page 264. Roe, however, in his letter of $\frac{2}{12}$ January refers to the Marquis as already dead. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636-7, page 336,

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Jan. 20. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

141. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I saw the Cardinal yesterday. After other matters he spoke of the election of the King of the Romans, which he said had been done contrary to the laws of the empire. We shall see, he remarked, what ensues, as we know well what force can do. I asked him what he thought England would do. He told me the commissioners were hopeful because they are getting nearer. They have drawn up some articles in favour of Germany and the Palatine house which are to be taken to that Court tomorrow or the day after, but we do not know, said he, what they will do, as they are very variable and involved in Spanish interests. I asked tactfully if he thought the English would declare themselves. He replied, they are certainly aware that without this nothing good can be done. They express their intention of war ensuing if they do not receive satisfaction in two or three months upon the demands they are making of the Austrians. We consider the king is very high minded, but his ministers create difficulties.

Paris, 20th January, 1636 [M.V.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya, Venetian Archives.

142. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Princess Palatine has received word that the Count of Bucquoi at Brussels being selected as ambassador to inform the king of the election of the king of the Romans, his Majesty intimated that he would not be received, as he did not recognise the election. The Princess hopes that this step is the first on the journey which she wishes to see taken. She is expecting every moment the final decision of England, as she heard of Arundel's arrival two days ago.

The Ambassador Beveren writes that the ministers there say that if the fishermen do not go to England to take out licences, they will be treated with hostility as disobedient and disturbers of the peace. The news has stirred the ill humours which are always just beneath the surface. The States of Holland are toiling and debating but they do not come to any decision.

The Hague, the 22nd January, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 23. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

143. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

When the Earl of Arundel and the Spanish ambassador had gone out from the audiences reported, the king immediately sent for the Prince Palatine, to whom he gave an exact account of what he had heard. He was heard to say with a loud and angry voice that he was exceedingly displeased at the behaviour of the Austrians, and was determined to assert his rights and more constant than ever in his desire to relieve the afflictions of his nephew's house by brilliant operations. To follow this up he had the Earl of Arundel introduced on the following day in the

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Palatine's presence, and directed him to prepare to make a report to the Privy Council of the particulars of his transactions at the Imperial Court. He appointed yesterday, although it did not take place because of some other special occupations of his Majesty. Everybody is on the watch for the result of this statement, which is expected to be unusually decided, especially as preparations are being made which would otherwise be inopportune at this season. During this last week all ships adapted for war that enter this river have been seized for the king's service, giving rise to reports of other greater preparations, although one sees nothing to bear this out.

The Palatine, flattered by these demonstrations, has dropped his demand for troops and money and is intent on fostering the good intentions of his uncle and in canvassing the councillors most in credit. He urges the increase of the fleet above all, most strongly, the foundations for which are said to be laid already, although this is vacillating ; but they have to think of some way to find the money, which is the most difficult and troublesome point in the present disturbed state of the realm.

In consequence of this determination the ministers are now anxious for the alliance with France. They hope strongly for its conclusion, but it does not seem so certain as they would like. If the Secretary Oger, who is momentarily expected from France on the subject, does not bring good news, they contemplate more vigorous steps, in order to give the Most Christian all the satisfaction they can. He asks above all for this crown to make an open breach with the House of Austria. As they are more pressed here by their own emergencies than by regard for the satisfaction of others, this might happen in the end, by England binding herelf to guard the French ports on the Ocean with a general promise to join the French and Dutch fleets, if the latter become parties to the alliance, against Spain, not merely at sea but also in a descent upon Flanders. But for the realisation of so great a plan they are short of soldiers and the sailors who at present man the royal ships will not nearly suffice alone. Then again, the ordinary contributions will not suffice for raising an adequate force of men and maintaining them. The Council has been reminded, possibly by the French themselves, that instead of forty ships, for which they have imposed taxes, they need only arm thirty five, and the balance of the money can be employed for the support of the troops. This seems reasonable and it will not cost anything so if the first point is settled it may easily be adopted.

The troubles with Monsieur and the Count of Soissons continually assume a more ugly aspect, according to the reports received, and it is feared that these diversions may injure the kingdom, while the Spaniards are vigorously pressing on everywhere. They feel glad, however, that the marriage of Monsieur with the Lorraine princess may be established in its original validity through these difficulties, as whatever changes fortune may bring a constant and particular affection towards the House of Lorraine is firmly rooted in the hearts of the king and his ministers here.

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Amid all these uncertainties, although other interests require a different solution, yet I gather that they are extremely eager that the negotiations for a general peace may be on the way to a successful issue. Because if through these disputes among the Princes of the Blood in France the Austrians should reach a position by which they could control the issue of future events, or if the secret intrigues for an armistice, a truce or possibly even a peace between the crowns of France and Spain should result in anything definite, the pretentions of the Palatine would be killed for a long time, since England alone certainly is in no condition to support him. For this cause they are very sorry that the Dutch have postponed the grant of passports to the Spanish plenipotentiaries who are to go to Cologne, and have prorogued their decision about the appointment of delegates to be sent to the same congress. I know on good authority that some reference to this subject was made to the Ambassador Beveren. He replied most explicitly that all these delays were due to the offices of Charnase, possibly with a double object, first to delay the time of the meeting of the congress until they can be sure in France of the way in which the Cardinal of Lyons will be received there, and secondly to hinder the States from sending their own delegates so as to leave the charge of the interests of the Provinces in the hands of the ministers of the Most Christian. But on this point Beveren spoke very resolutely declaring that his masters mean to take charge of their own affairs and if they are not admitted to the peace negotiations as members of the body of the assembly, they will not take part in it, but will consider treating of their affairs separately. It is possible that this is the sole prop of the secret obstinacy of the Spaniards in the present troubled state of affairs, because if the affairs of Flanders could be adjusted in some way advantageous to them it is believed that they would not be sorry for the war to go on, especially as they see the present weakness of their enemies and how little they have been able to do to hurt the House of Austria, even at the height of their power and with their strongest forces.

Letters from the Ambassador Giustinian report the regret expressed at Madrid for the behaviour of the Count of Ognat to me, and that repeated orders have been sent to him to treat me on an absolute equality. If he makes advances I shall respond, but not otherwise. I think that the Resident Ballarino should seize the opportunity of the appointment of an ambassador from Venice to Cæsar to try and get instructions sent to the Councillor Radolti to call on me.

Vescurt, the 23rd January, 1636. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

144. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Oger, the English Resident, has left for England with some articles of alliance containing promises of vigorous assistance for Germany and for the reinstatement of the Prince Palatine.

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The English ministers themselves admit that this is the very utmost that France can offer.

Paris, the 27th January, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

145. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Those of the Spanish party and some of the imperial ministers persist that no open breach is to be feared with England and that no alliance is threatened with France. They say that they need not even fear any hurt worth considering owing to the bad relations between that king and the French and his difficulty in raising money for a war owing to his objection to parliaments. Radolti writes in the same sense that his Majesty does not like the idea of breaking with the House of Austria.

The emperor has heard that the Earl of Arundel told the Princess Palatine that all the difficulties came from the Duke of Bavaria alone, and that both the emperor and the king of the Romans had shown a readiness to give satisfaction. When Bavaria heard this he sent for Teller, who is still negotiating here without signs of any remarkable results. The duke told him that he had shown his desire to settle the dispute but that Arundel's harshness had stood in the way. Teller said nothing, except that he had no orders to treat with the duke. On the following day Bavaria returned to Munich with his wife, none too well pleased.

Ratisbon, the 27th January, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28. Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia. Risposte. Venetian Archives.

146. With regard to the proposal of Englishmen living at Ragusa to establish a trading house at Spalato and Belgrado for the sale of kerseys, we are of opinion that, although the policy of the state has always been in favour of reducing the trade of Ragusa, yet it is not advisable to drive them to despair. With regard to the English plan we consider that the more trade is diverted from foreign ports and especially from Ragusa, the better it is for this city. In this particular case the proposal is not made out of zeal for your Excellencies, but to escape the heavy burdens imposed by the Ragusans on their trade. From what we observe the Ragusans are hoping by this means to make the English abandon that city because of the heavy debts which the citizens owe to the merchants without having the means of discharging them. The policy of your Serenity has been to increase the trade of Spalato, but under strict regulations that all the goods which go there must first be brought to this city. If the English were allowed to establish a house there it would be in contravention of this policy and very prejudicial to Venetian cloth, owing to the competition with the kerseys, which do not reach this city in sufficient quantity to damage the traffic in Venetian cloth. If a house were allowed the introduction of abuses would be easy; but what is of more consequence, the

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English ships might seize the opportunity to open up trade from there with Leghorn and other marts. We therefore do not consider that the proposal should be embraced.

Dated at the office, the 28th January, 1636 [M.V.]

Lorenzo Contarini
Antonio Ciuran
Ferigo Corner
Michiel Priuli
Bernardo Bembo
} Savii.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

147. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Radolti, the Imperial minister, has also informed his Majesty of the election of the King of the Romans, declaring that it was generally approved, owing to the good consequences that might ensue, and he hoped that his Majesty approved also, because the good fortune of the House of Austria was an asset for him. The King replied that if the King of Hungary would signalise his present fortune by showing just and right intentions towards the public weal and the liberty of Germany in particular, restoring those princes who are oppressed to their legitimate authority, he would be as glad as the rest, but if that prince thought differently, he could only regret it, because of the justice of the cause which he had made his own. He then entered upon the merits of his nephew's claims, showing with every sign of anger, how little pleased he was with Cæsar's recent behaviour, and how he felt compelled to abandon his previous mildness and proceed to use force, and make sure of those remedies which the world had every reason to expect. Alarmed or confused by these words, Radolti either would not answer, or had none ready. He tried as well as he could to justify the intentions of the emperor and his son towards the interests of this crown, and so concluded his office, without entering into further particulars.

The king was very irate at seeing the Austrian ministers so guarded about obtaining even an apparent verbal satisfaction for him, so he immediately hastened to assemble his most secret council to hear, as already arranged, Arundel's account of his negotiations in Germany. Accordingly last Monday the earl made his statement. It was full of lengthy single incidents, but the conclusion was substantially as follows: that having done his utmost, by availing himself of every opportunity, to carry out the commissions entrusted to him, he was firmly convinced that as at present disposed the House of Austria had no desire to settle the affairs of the Palatine, but aimed by devices and delays to multiply negotiations and enable them to make sure of terminating them to their own advantage alone, as their offers of restitution and the hopes they have held out have no substance beyond a show of honesty by which they try to satisfy the world and divert those evils which they fear may descend upon them from this quarter in the course of time.

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In consequence of this report those who were already inclined to resentment received a vigorous impulse. The king proposed and all readily agreed that they must abandon the vanity of their past hopes and withdraw all negotiations in order to devise the speedy execution of some enterprise at sea of which the Palatine should be the leader, making use of his name alone, while calling the royal forces auxiliaries so as not to enter at one stroke upon an open rupture without greater support, as they consider that is neither opportune nor feasible in the present state of affairs.

Meanwhile the Palatine is to make a public protest that he considers the present election of the King of the Romans, just as that which was done to his prejudice at the peace of Prague, as invalid, because done illegitimately, and they say these decisions will be imparted to the friendly powers. A courier has already been sent to Sweden, who, in addition to the above advices, takes the permission, signed by the king, for the recruits and new levies, for which the Chancellor Oxistern asked some months ago.

The king has also declared that he means to do all this without waiting for the settlement of the treaty with France, although if that be arranged he will gladly abide by what may have been promised for him, although they do not know what to think, seeing that the Secretary Oger does not appear who is expected from France at least with some particulars about the progress of these treaties, if not with the conclusion.

On Monday in next week they will discuss in more detail the most suitable way of carrying the matters in question into effect. Meanwhile they have sent the news to the Princess Palatine in Holland, who will speak about it to the Prince of Orange, to learn his opinion, as well as to consult with him, perhaps, about the opportunity for some enterprise of his own.

Thus, at last, unless some hidden accident should deprive them of their vigour on yet another occasion, this much debated matter has been brought to a decision, and as their claims are just and they make a fine show at the beginning, some think that better progress may be made. I cannot presume to judge what the consequences will be, but I cannot think they will lead to much, as their preparations do not seem to me to correspond with all the noise of these steps ; the contributions for the armament of the ships not being collected and nothing fundamental being settled for their maintenance. However they continue to seize all the merchantmen that arrive in the river and adhere to their ideas of levying enough men to arm them, things which in themselves go to prove by results how much their valour weighs.

The Dutch ambassador is unable to obtain permission to recruit, although he has given proof of the falsity of the assertion that such levies are employed in the Indies. He hopes that present circumstances may induce the king to grant this permission, especially as, in order not to lose the opportunity, he is preparing to make new offers from his masters in the interests of the Palatine, reviving the proposals which he made when he first came.

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The queen has celebrated publicly in her church of Somerset House with a splendour befitting her greatness, the offices for the late Ambassador Poygne, at which the Ambassador Senneterre and all the French nation attended. They say that M. de Bellievre will come to reside in Poygne's place, the one who went as extraordinary to the Princes of Italy.

The plague keeps diminishing rapidly. The kingdom is entirely free and only a few cases still remain in the city of London. In any case the king proposes to proceed thither with the Court at the end of next month. I have arranged to be there, God willing, about the middle of next week, although the other ambassadors have not yet gone there.

This is the third week with no letters from the Senate.

Chilborn, the 30th January, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

148. To the Ambassador in England.

No doubt the Court will have received the news that the emperor has given the Prince of Orange the title of Prince of the Empire. Because of this the Most Christian has directed Charnase to give him the title of Highness. We shall be glad to know what they say about this in England, and the views of the king and ministers thereon.* We are pleased at what you have found out about Panzani and Conio, and the very weighty matters in negotiatition. It is desirable that the results should redound to the best advantage of our faith.

Ayes, 135. Noes, 0. Neutral, 6.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

149. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The secret transactions with the King of Denmark about the question of the superiority at sea which they claim here, seem on the verge of great and almost irreparable disaster, just when they hoped that they were in good train. It was proposed to him that if he could obtain from Cæsar the Admiralty general of the Baltic, English ships should honour him as sovereign in that sea, and he should render the same respect to them in the Ocean. Now this has given way before his own interests and his hopes of obtaining greater advantages. They have learned here on good authority that he has asked the emperor for the sovereign Admiralty of the German Ocean as well as the Baltic with the idea of bearing the signs of superiority in both, and

*Foppi van Aitzema, the Dutch ambassador at the imperial Court had been negotiating with the emperor to have the imperial fief of Meurs or Mörs made a principality in the person of the Prince of Orange. The French king decided to forestall any action on the part of the emperor by giving the Prince the title of "Highness," and this was formally announced by the French Ambassador Charnacé at the Assembly of the States General on the 3rd January 1637. Blok: *Relazioni Veneziane*, page 268; Aitzema: *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*, Vol. ii., page 417.

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without binding himself to any agreement with England. As this directly affects the claims of the crown here, which intends to extend its jurisdiction much beyond the British sea, it has started the most weighty deliberations. They consider in particular that Denmark, no longer listening to a treaty which yet seemed to please her greatly, may claim, upon occasion, to cruise in even the closest of these waters without obstacle. *The ministers here regret more than anything that this mischief arises from their own advice, as it was only the incitement from this quarter that awakened the king there to this step, while they thought he would be contented with authority in the Baltic and render submission to the English in the Ocean.* Thus where they hoped they had removed the greatest obstacles to the dominion which they claim they have aroused greater difficulties than ever. If they wish to remove this imbroglio it would seem that they have no other expedient than to make representations to the emperor against consenting to what Denmark asks, but the present strained relations with the House of Austria over the Palatine make this an uncertain way, besides which, if they send to oppose what they have already advised, it will be useless for them to devise a request which is likely to bring about a reconciliation.

These circumstances show them that it is more necessary than ever to hasten the equipment of the fleet, and as the Palatine also urges it warmly, one really sees them making the necessary provisions, although they meet with difficulties and disorders in the collection of the imposts. These difficulties increase and incidents occur daily but mostly die away in an instant with no result but the rumbling of the thunder. I shall wait until matters mature in order not to send an account which might prove both wearisome and imperfect. I shall do the same about the interests of religion, as although the material is different, yet they are all going the same way and tend to the same end.

We do not hear that anything has yet been decided at the frequent meetings which are held secretly in many places of the realm about making some acceptable proposals to the king for the assembling of parliament. We certainly hear rumours that something will be settled very soon, lest his Majesty, who is already informed of these practices, cut them short by his authority.

The Secretary Ogier is supposed to have arrived from France, but has not yet appeared at Court. In the mean time the Dutch ambassador repeats his offers on the part of Holland about joining the alliance, and that in the spring they will have fifteen ships and 10,000 men ready, if the crowns are equally prepared and will conclude the alliance, putting into the field against the House of Austria the 75 sail and the 50,000 men who are said to be necessary. To make this clearer to your Excellencies, 20,000 men and 30 ships for each of the crowns and 10,000 men and 15 ships from the States are the respective contributions according to the project. The king and ministers have received this offer with great satisfaction, although it differs in no respect from the original one, and they made very courteous answers to the ambassador; but if they mean to hold fast by their principle of

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not breaking with the House of Austria, they will have to break away from eoneluding it in the end, and they might perhaps have done so definitely already had not the Prinee Palatine by his adroitness kept the affair going with both sides. A very long diseussion has taken plaee this week about his affairs, but nothing certain is known about what they have deeided, either because this is not settled or beeause they wish the deeision to have the greater effeet from being kept absolutely seeret. When Oger has made his report and delivered his despateh it is believed that it will be made publie.

I have now been only two hours in this eity, and although the plague has inereased somewhat, yet His Majesty has agreed to give free aeeess to everyone at Court, and so I have deeided to stay, if God grants me the preservation of my health.

The eourier has been held up this week by eontrary winds; so for a whole month I have reeeived no letters from the state.

London, the 6th February, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 11. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

150. The Ambassador of Great Britain eame into the Collegio and spoke to the following effeet:

Last time I eame with eongratulations, but I eome now beeause of a most serious offenee, whieh has greatly disturbed me. This morning, near daybreak the sbirri have arrested two men, who were neither outlawed nor eondemned in a house adjaeent to the apartment where I sleep, the house being in my name, and I pay the rent. The sbirri did not pay the slightest attention to this, but even fired some shots, wounding one of the men. They also beat my gondolier. They eould not pretend not to reeognise him, as my livery is very well known.* The affront affeets the seeurity of my house, the dignity of my offiee and the honour of my king. I beg your Serenity to intervene, as right and justiee require the release of the two arrested, and also to proeure for me the punishment of the offieials who have shown sueh temerity. I have always lived with a proper respeet for the republie, and have never eneouraged outlaws or sueh folk, and these were not even proelaimed. I have always tried to eneourage the good relations between the republie and his Majesty. Your Serenity will therefore appreeiate my feelings at being treated thus. His Majesty will have just eause to uphold my position and your Serenity to assure the immunity of my house, otherwise I shall be unable to serve where a minister is so badly treated. But I am sure that you will at onee give orders for the release of the two prisoners.

The doge answered, We are sorry that your lordship feels thus. We have always desired you to have every possible satisfaetion. We have no information about the affair. It is ineredible that the officers have been ordered to go to your house and we feel sure that this has not happened, and that there is no order

*Fielding sent an account of this affair to England by the courier Basford with his despatch of the 13th February, received on the 4th March, O.S. *S.P. For. Venice.*

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against your servants. The ambassador replied, My gondolier has certainly been beaten and the two men taken who were in the house which is immediately opposite mine, of which I pay the rent.

The doge said, We have the highest esteem for your lordship, as your merits deserve. We will make enquiry and try to give you every possible satisfaction. The ambassador repeated, I ask for justice; let the prisoners be released and the offenders punished, so that I may have reason to continue as usual and maintain the good relations existing, as I have always done. Without a word more he took leave and departed.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

151. That the English Ambassador be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him:

Our perfect relations with his Majesty have always depended upon our affectionate esteem for him and on our regard for the friendship of that crown for our Republic. We have had the best tokens of this from his ministers, and from your lordship in particular. These sentiments will make you feel the more the incident of which you have spoken as it increases our regret for the displeasure you expressed. But we feel sure that reflection will ease your mind, when you consider the circumstances, the delinquent, the supreme magistrate who acted, who only intervenes in most serious cases, and who knew that the culprit was in that house which was separated from yours by a public way. The case is a very serious one, of high treason in the first degree, which is not usually covered by any immunity or privilege, and so we feel the more certain that you will be satisfied over this very delicate matter. The culprit was taken in the middle of the waters, and in the house in question, out of two men found there, although there was no sign of a livery, the officials let one go, because he said he was one of your servants. We are quite sure that you have never favoured bandits or people of that sort; but others take advantage of your uprightness and by turning private houses to account they make them asylums for rogues and criminals, and into that very house a man guilty of abominable crimes escaped from one contiguous. We feel sure that your lordship will rest satisfied with this sincere representation of the Senate, knowing that from the love we bear you we shall always be glad to afford you every gratification possible, just as we are sure that you will continue to foster the excellent relations between his Majesty and our republic.

Ayes, 135. Noes, 1. Neutral, 6.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

152. To the Ambassador in England.

With every sign of passion the English ambassador appeared yesterday in the Collegio and spoke very strongly, as you will see from the enclosed copy. As we have no information we replied as you will see. We hope that he will rest satisfied, as

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is only reasonable. If he is not we will keep you advised. Meanwhile the particulars will serve for your information.

Ayes, 135. Noes, 1. Neutral, 6.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

153. Alvise Contarini and Piero Foscarini, Venetian Baili at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador has recently introduced a very bad precedent. After long negotiations for the release from slavery of the Englishmen who fought on the two galleons against the fleet, he has agreed to pay to the Sultan for each Englishman, two slaves of those ordinarily sold on the market.*

The Vigne of Pera, the 12th February, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Feb. 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

154. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Beveren writes that England will not declare herself. The Princess Palatine, seeing her hopes vanish, says that it is not necessary for the king to declare. It will be enough for him to help ; but if the treaties are made with France he will wage open war. It is thought unlikely that England will join with France and these Provinces, as if the Spaniards were expelled from Flanders, the French and Dutch would be stronger and there would, in consequence, be danger of trouble to England owing to disputes both old and recent. So it is to England's advantage for the Spaniards to remain in Flanders to afford a counterpoise to the French and these States. Ferens, the Palatine's Councillor, says that he heard that many of the English ministers told the king that if he would give his fleet to the Spaniards they would obtain complete satisfaction for his nephew. This confirms the fear that the Austrians will go any length to win over England against these Provinces, and it is said that on this condition they are offering the Princess of Florence† to the Palatine as his wife.

The States of Holland are prorogued until March. They have given orders to assemble several ships of war, ostensibly against the Spanish preparations, but really in order to be prepared for eventualities in the dispute with England over the fishermen.

The Hague, the 12th February, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

155. To the Ambassador in England.

Contrary to our expectation the Ambassador Fildin would not accept our explanations and he went so far as to say that he could not come to us again without his Majesty's good pleasure, to whom he would write. We forward a copy of his exposition.

**See* the preceding volume of this *Calendar*, pages li., 121, 124, 129.

†Anna daughter of Cosimo II. and sister of the reigning duke Ferdinand II. Her mother Maria Magdalena was a sister of the Emperor Ferdinand II.

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We have to add to what we wrote yesterday and which we send by express courier, that the crime set forth in the deliberation of our Council of Ten is one of high treason in the first degree, which admits of no sanctuary, not even in the house of God. The little house where they tried to arrest the man is not joined to the ambassador's, but separated by a wide public way leading to the Grand Canal, as you will see by the enclosed plan. This little house is rented by one Michiel di Cecca, a subject, who was arrested last year by the magistracy of the Biastemma for his bad character and because he kept a resort for gaming and cheating. The ambassador himself, who tried at first for his release, subsequently asked merely for a reduction of his punishment, and this was done, to a year's imprisonment. The same magistracy, last year, had three persons arrested at a house frequented by the people of the Spanish ambassador, as gamesters and card sharpers. These, in spite of the offices of that ambassador, were condemned to the galleys. A few years ago, at San Hieremia, in a house opposite that of another Spanish ambassador, where some of his people were, a man was arrested for a very serious crime and although shots were fired, which hit the door of the ambassador's own residence, yet he did not think it proper to take offence. Many other serious incidents have occurred, and the ambassadors, recognising that their own houses were not affected, as they have always been held in due respect, have conducted themselves according to the circumstances. Thus we have recently learned that the papal nuncio, with due regard for what is proper, had this very criminal expelled from his house, and ordered that he should not enter it again, and that is why he betook himself to this little house and when the officials heard of it they wished to lay hands on him. It would be a serious matter if the servants of ambassadors claimed privilege for separate houses in order to make them a resort for rogues and evil livers.

We gather that the displeasure shown by this Ambassador Fildem was due to his being misinformed; but though he is disabused, he may represent things to his own advantage. We therefore direct you to see his Majesty on purpose, wherever he may be, and to ask for an audience immediately, in order to forestall this ambassador, assuring the king of our regard and expressing our hope that upon reflection the ambassador will return to enjoy the esteem we have always shown him. You will perform the same office with the ministers, disabusing them of any impressions which he may have conveyed to them out of excessive zeal for his reputation.

Ayes, 110. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

156. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

At length, after many lengthy consultations, the force of reason no less than the king's resolute determination prevailed, and it was decided the day before yesterday with the common

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consent of the Council that the Prince Palatine shall put to sea with strong forces in the shortest time that the equipment which is destined for him can be suitably made ready. He himself also under his own flag, is to arm twenty two large ships at least, and to go with them in person to carry out those enterprises against his enemies that time and circumstances will show to be most opportune. A part of the ships will be contributed by the king and the rest hired from the merchants to which effect all vessels arriving in the Thames continue to be seized. A portion of the money, they say, will be provided from his Majesty's treasury, and the rest from voluntary contributions which many of the leading lords of the realm have freely offered to the Palatine, including Lord Craven, who promised to put down 30,000*l.* sterling. This example affords a stimulus to many others to do the like in proportion to their means. Similarly the king has given his subjects liberty not only to contribute arms and money for his nephew, but to accompany him in person. The expedition is to be ready in April. It is generally supposed to be directed against the Spanish homeward bound fleet from the Indies, as a descent upon Flanders would be too hazardous. The chief motives for this resolve are to prove the falsity of the belief of the Spaniards ; the spur of his own reputation ; the affection he owes to his nephew ; vigour to take up the conduct of his cause ; and on the other hand, to maintain amid these contingencies, his liberty of managing his own declarations in regard to current circumstances, causing, one may say, the purse of his subjects alone to bear the burden of all the present difficulties, without exposing himself to the danger of *calling parliament.*

But as the events of war, in which fortune generally plays so large a part, are subject to a thousand variations and unforeseen accidents, so this game, in spite of its fine appearance, may go on in such a way *that it will not terminate as they imagine, without the bulwark of the king's free declaration against the House of Austria, and they may be compelled to encounter those rocks which they avoid so carefully, aggravated by disadvantages which they may not have foreseen,* supposing the French, satisfied with the present moves, will not give the final touches to the plans which are formed here for the alliance without a more penetrating and cautious survey. Ogier has only arrived from France this morning, and they hope he has come with instructions about this for its better progress. Indeed it is announced that he brought the ratification signed.

While they would like to work things so that the employment of the fleet should serve the interests of the Palatine as well, they desire and contemplate the effectuation of this alliance with so much the more ardour. Without it there would seem to be no pretext that would not be a feigned one, for undertaking to harass the ports of Flanders and the plundering of the Dunkirk ships. But if, notwithstanding all these results and this favourable disposition the French absolutely insist in extracting from this first enthusiasm an open declaration against the House of Austria, contending with it over those interests which so closely

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concern the special needs of the crown, there is no sign of any opening that would afford hope of a ratification although there are many who hold a different opinion.

Gentlemen have been despatched this week to Sweden and Denmark with news of this resolve. They both take letters from the king containing in almost identical terms the communication of the above matters. They also take letters from the Palatine in which he informs those princes that he is about to take the field and asks that they will be with him in the enterprise and give him their assistance.*

They have little or no hope from Denmark, in spite of the kinship, seeing the difficulties that have recently arisen with him about maritime interests, but the step may at least serve to ascertain his real intentions towards this country. They do not claim any profit from Sweden either, only to maintain confidential relations and keep up their courage to press more fearlessly their present advantage against the Imperial arms, as repeated advices arrive that they are in close negotiation for a complete adjustment with Cæsar.

There is also a rumour of the opening of negotiations, which have made great progress, for a marriage between the Queen of Sweden and the Prince Palatine, but I find nothing substantial to bear this out, either in the talk here or in what your Excellencies advise me, as the report seems merely based on some private letters from Germany. The repeated expeditions to that kingdom might encourage the belief if it were not well known from the interest which the Swedes have to keep in a position to have peace, if they cannot get what they want in the war with the emperor, even if it were not true that they are at present negotiating they cannot undertake the direction of a new quarrel of such importance, *especially when they cannot feel certain that the assistance promised from this quarter will be as sure and durable as the need will certainly be great and continuous.*

Yesterday morning also the Dutch ambassador conferred with the Secretary Coke about the triple alliance, but could get no positive reply, as the secretary referred to whatever may be settled with France. This is resented, as the Dutch consider themselves offended, and practically that they will not on any account be included. This serves to excite great jealousy here, and upon a false rumour set about by the Spaniards that the Dutch have opened negotiations with the Cardinal Infant, to forward their interests in the matter of the fisheries, upon which the ministers here made strong objections, *they say that very sharp words passed between some of them and this ambassador, and that both sides passed the bounds of moderaton.*

Following the example of the Most Christian they say that the ministers here will grant the title of Highness to the Prince of Orange, in the hope of keeping him as friendly as possible under present circumstances.

*John Berkeley was sent to Sweden and Henry de Vic to Denmark. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1636-7, page 381.

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The queen came to this city yesterday, brought more by superstition (*augurio*) than by any other urgent requirement, as she is near her delivery and she imagines that it will not turn out well in any house but St. James's. The plague continues to make itself felt and grows worse rather than better. If it does not disappear before the end of this month, of which there is little sign, since more than a hundred persons still die of it every week, all the physicians agree in making the most lugubrious forecasts for next summer. The rest of the kingdom continues to enjoy excellent health, although communication with the city remains free to every one.

I have the Senate's letter of the 16th ult.

London, the 13th February, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 13. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

157. Yesterday's deliberation of the Senate being read to the English Ambassador, he spoke to the following effect:

I wish with all my heart that I could show the content which your Serenity desires, but I cannot, as in what has been read to me I see nothing in the way of satisfaction, only words, when I am bound, for the sake of my king, to ask for deeds, and I see that it will be necessary for me to abandon everything else. The satisfaction of so great a king consists in deeds not in paper,especially as he and his predecessors have always shown so much affection for the republic, deserving of a better response than mere ceremonial. I consider that this affects my king's reputation, because no regard was shown for my house. For myself I might accept the position, but as a minister I cannot but resent the affront, and although I deserve nothing in myself, his Majesty's affection ought to be recognised. The incident occurred where members of my household live, and that is my house, and I have the right to believe that my people ought not to be ill treated. My house ought to be respected and I should enjoy the prerogatives of ambassadors. I am afflicted at such an affront. I find myself deprived at the same time of the opportunity of responding to those marks of honour proposed for the funeral of my dear wife. I can do nothing with pleasure, because it is a question of the violation of my house, affecting me and the honour due to my king. I have nothing to add except that I shall be unable to appear again before your Serenity until I receive fresh orders from my king, to whom I am bound to give a faithful account of the matter. The ambassador then made a movement to rise from his seat.

The doge stopped him and said, The affection of the republic towards his Majesty is very great and we are sure of his for us, as we have had abundant testimony of it. Your lordship knows how much we love and esteem you. You resent the arrest being made in your house. Yet the house is not yours, is separated from yours and has no indication of being an official residence. There was never the slightest intention of affecting your privileges, but rather to preserve them. You should not therefore take

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offence, and we tell you that the case in question is so grave that we are sure that his Majesty himself will not approve of your sentiments when he knows the facts. If his Majesty had the culprit in his own hands he would hand him over to us, owing to the importance of the crime. The matter is very delicate and wounds the whole republic and the heart of our liberty. Seeing that the well being of the republic is concerned we do not think that he can do anything but approve what has happened, especially as it does not prejudice your lordship's immunity, as it happened in a place separated from your house. We know your prudence and kindness, and ask you to recognise the delicacy of the matter and the requirements of our interests.

The ambassador replied, Such matters are undoubtedly delicate, and ambassadors should accept satisfaction, but in a suitable manner. I do not see that I can move in any way without receiving orders from my king, especially as I do not see that I am receiving any satisfaction. I consider the house mine ; my people lodge there and I keep it for those whom I cannot accommodate in my house, as there are many English gentlemen who come to visit me, and I use that house and others near it to accommodate them. I can but inform his Majesty and await his orders, because no regard was shown for me. I had no advice of what was intended, and they proceeded to inflict this notable affront. Here the ambassador began to get up, and the doge said that was very far from the intention of every one. With this the ambassador bowed and departed. He withdrew to take a copy of the office. Before beginning to write he said, I have never felt anything so much, because it happened in my own house, and I have received the affront. I told him that the doge had expressed all that was proper, but I asked him to reflect and he would see that there was nothing to show that the house was not a private one, and justice had acted in a most serious case as if it were one. The ambassador made no reply and continued to write. When he left as I was accompanying him as usual to the door of the Pregadi, he said, They could have given me some notice, as if I had been notified of the gravity of the case I should have dismissed from my house those whom I had protected. I thought it proper to tell him that the supreme magistrate, who gave the order, merely directs its execution. The ambassador was silent, I bowed to him and he went out.

CHRISTOFORO SURIAN, *Secretary.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

158. To the ambassador in France.

A man guilty of high treason in the highest degree, which aims at destroying justice and the public dignity, was recently arrested by order of the supreme magistrate. He was staying in a small house in the calle larga of San Moise, a public way leading to the Grand Canal. One side is on the water and the other on this public way, opposite the Giustiniani palace, where the English ambassador dwells. The arrest took place on the night of the

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12th inst. and on the following morning the ambassador appeared in the Collegio and spoke passionately in accordance with the copy of his office enclosed. The Senate endeavoured to mollify him, but he was not satisfied. To admit such claims would be a serious matter, prejudicial to the public liberty. We send this for information, but you will not speak of it unless provoked.

The like to Germany, Spain, Zurich, the Hague.

Ayes, 130. Noes, 2. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci Haya. Venetian Archives.

159. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Princess Palatine says she has letters from her brother announcing that he has decided to give a good number of ships to the prince, her son, to use at his pleasure, with permission to his subjects to enter the prince's service. She communicated this to the Prince of Orange, saying she felt sure that the States would support the king and holding out hopes of a settlement of the affair of the fishermen. The Prince thanked her saying he was very glad to hear that England had at last decided to do something for the Palatine and he hoped that the States would afford the best proofs of their satisfaction, if they had some assurance that they would not be troubled by England over the question of the sovereignty of the sea. The Prince informed the States of everything.

The Princess subsequently announced that she believed that Prince Rupert would have an army to proceed to Germany. In this way England would remain neutral, and it seems that the Princess intimates that the Palatine will have full liberty to wage war in the Spanish seas, but not off Flanders, because England does not want to lose the trade there, which is so profitable at present. The Court here, however, does not believe that England will do anything of account, as there are no letters to confirm the statements of the Princess. Many say that it will all end in nothing, or the decision will be violently against the advice of ministers and contrary to the sentiments of the king himself. They also think that the Austrians will find some way of upsetting the whole before the fleet is sent to sea.

The Hague, the 19th February, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

160. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Palgrave sent one of his gentlemen to tell me of the decision taken by the king and asking me to inform your Excellencies. He mentioned that he was preparing a protest against the peace of Prague and the election of the King of the Romans. Such are the resolves announced. We are waiting to see the results begin. So far the only sure signs are the readiness of the leading nobles to contribute large sums of money, and a strong desire on the part of the idle youth to follow the Palatine's

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fortunes. The protest is to appear in a few days as they think it better to delay threats until those who make them have arms in their hands. They hope that the readiness shown by the people will continue, *because all, intent on making the king need a parliament, will try to commit him by this means to a war from which he cannot withdraw. But his Majesty's plans are known to be different, as he will on no account declare himself the enemy of the House of Austria, but insists that everything that he contributes against it shall be covered under the name of his nephew.*

Meanwhile the Spaniards cry aloud, saying that they will not obtain by force what they have not been able to get by negotiation, and the Ambassador Ognat has clearly protested to more than one of the ministers here that if the king thinks of making war himself on the House of Austria under the Palatine's shadow, he will make a mistake in the end, because they will prefer, if they are to have him as an enemy, that he shall be an open one. But these alarms are probably intended to frighten more than to hurt, as one knows that in the midst of all the embarrassments which are preparing for them, the Spaniards will rest content with not utterly losing the commerce with this kingdom. This however, will be a difficult point as they say that the Palatine will be able to search even English ships, and if he finds the goods of Spaniards can convert them to his own use. Yet if this takes place the hurt to the king will be very sensible, as the profit which he derives from the customs amounts to a considerable sum.

With regard to the particular enterprises which they propose to carry out with these forces, there has been a great deal of discussion, but nothing definite has yet been decided. It is possible that everything will receive its impulse from the arrangements which will be concerted with France once the question of the alliance with that crown is settled. The articles have already been signed entire by the French and by the ambassadors of his Majesty also, but with reservation of two points which are still doubtful. It is believed, and the Secretary Coke assures me of it, that all will be settled in a few days, the French having abandoned the pretensions they sustained with such ardour about an open declaration of this crown against the House of Austria, about which they seemed to show most reluctance here. *However the Earl of Arundel assured me this morning that the king personally was very disposed to the rupture. He did not cease to advise it with all his might, believing on his conscience that it served the dignity and advantage of this crown more to undertake an open war, where there was such good reason, than to take simultaneously to arms and dissimulation, leaving the Spaniards always in hope of arranging an accommodation with advantage and encouraging them at the same time to make difficulties in the conduct of the negotiations for a general peace. When I remarked that from what I heard the king and Council all agreed in working vigorously for the Palatine, but not in committing themselves to an open war, he instantly averred positively that the king's disposition was as he had told me, and I might be sure of seeing the results greater than were expected*

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and than the French could believe. He really has become a partisan in this cause, pretending that his reputation is concerned, and one can really believe that his representations and persuasions will ultimately produce considerable results.

Two points remain in dispute at Paris by the English ambassadors. These are supposed to be one about granting the free practice of the Catholic religion in some place in the Palatinate, the other that if the French have the opportunity to arrange a good peace, and if the Palatine shall have received satisfaction in the recovery of his dominions, they shall not stick out here if the restitution of the electoral dignity is not arranged during Bavaria's life. But these points and the decision about the whole business should be cleared up in a few days, as Ogier is staying here to be sent back for the conclusion in France. The majority of the ministers here, perhaps accommodating themselves more to the requirements of present emergencies than from their own natural inclination, now show themselves entirely French in sympathy maintaining by their speech at every meeting that it is not good for the safety and repose of the state to allow the might and influence of the House of Austria to be always on the increase, but that it is the interest of all Christian princes to try and maintain it in a just equilibrium. Some of them have expressed themselves to me very clearly on the subject, and among others the Secretary Cuch. He told me with great fervour that the king regretted exceedingly that the affairs of the Duke of Parma were reduced to such a sorry plight.* It was the interest of Italian powers in particular to assist him without delay; the succour of the French was too far off and the needs of the duke were too pressing and immediate. He betrayed some jealousy, although he did not wish to let me see it clearly, because your Excellencies have appointed an ambassador in ordinary to the emperor. As this feeling is not confined to him alone I have thought it advisable to make the Court clearly understand the reason, and I have done so in a way that will, I hope, disabuse their minds and leave them content.

I find that they think very little about the marriage between the Prince Palatine and the young Queen of Sweden and expect it less. Yet I have been told in great confidence that the gentleman recently sent to Sweden† is to make some overtures about it and sound the Swedish ministers. This gentleman, who was sent to announce the recent resolves in favour of the Palatine, was also to propose a league with Sweden, and if he found them favourably disposed to ask for the appointment of commissioners for this purpose to confer with the ambassadors who would be sent with a talk of monthly subsidies to be paid to Sweden, and certain regiments for Prince Rupert at the suggestion of Oxenstern, who observes that if they give ear to peace negotiations with Cæsar, England should not object because during all this time they have never cared to afford any

* His dominions were overrun by the Spaniards and he himself closely shut up in Piacenza.

†John Berkeley.

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effective assistance to the forces of that crown, however depressed their condition might be. If this treaty succeeds they will apply to the Prince of Orange to obtain troops from the States, with a promise that here they will not fail to support the Swedes with force enough to trouble the empire considerably from that quarter.

Meanwhile Colonel Goring,* in the king's name, is to honour that prince with the title of Highness, and is also to express regret that the Most Christian has not also accorded him this honour. The Secretary Coke told me the same, remarking that the Duke of Savoy had started every prince in unsheathing new pretensions to titles, and he still persisted in importuning this Court for that of royal Highness. I asked if the duke had made any new attempts, by whom and when. He said the resident had spoken about it a few days ago when he heard of the new title for the Prince of Orange, but he had not chosen to speak about it to the king because he had expressed his sentiments very clearly before and it would be waste of time to worry him again. I commended his ideas and remarked briefly, without entering into any particulars that the duke had no grounds whatever for his pretensions to which he agreed, assuring me that this Court would not initiate any innovation in the matter.

The king with the whole Court has at last decided to come to this city, where they are preparing to celebrate the carnival merrily. To add another cause of rejoicing to that, he urges on the conclusion of the marriage between the Duke of Lennox and the daughter of the late Duke of Buckingham, but the duke does not seem to desire it greatly, as it seems that his affections rather lead him towards the widowed Countess of Carlisle.†

I am waiting for the Ambassador Ognat to make some sign, but so far there is no indication of it.

London, the 20th February, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 20. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

161. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The pope's minister here, after having passed his sixth month at this Court without visiting me, came full of humility and friendliness to offer his excuses, assuring me that the only thing which prevented him from doing his duty was the distance between our dwellings, but now he was living near me he wished to show me the good will and friendship which he had always enjoyed with your Serenity's ministers, corresponding with the perfect friendship of his Holiness for the most serene republic. I made a suitable response especially commending his efforts for the advance of the Roman faith in this kingdom.

He then began of his own accord to speak of the affairs of Italy, bewailing the state of the Duke of Parma and going on to

* George son of Lord Goring. *See Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636–7, page 421.

†Lennox eventually married Mary Villiers on the $\frac{3}{13}$ August following. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637, page 355.

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refer to the differences between your Excellencies and his Holiness. He said that Cardinal Barberino regretted that the pope had given offence to the republic over the eulogy,* but thought that this did not matter so much since the pictures represented the story. He asked me if I had anything further to communicate on the subject. I spoke strongly, adding that your Excellencies desired above all things to maintain good relations with the pope. I had no information about any negotiations for an accommodation, though it would be easy, as the mere restitution of the words effaced would effect it. He merely shrugged his shoulders and said that he was in no position to pronounce an opinion. We then let the matter drop.

With other information which I possessed I began to speak about his transactions, commending some particulars which were not very well known to me in order to find out better about them, making him believe that I had the most precise information. This expedient served its turn, because I found out that they are treating closely about opening trade freely to English ships in the ports of the States of the Church, promising absolutely that the sailors and merchants who go there for this shall not be molested on the score of religion. I consider this worthy of your Excellencies' consideration, because of the possible consequences. However, nothing is established yet, because I gather that they wish here that at the very outset it shall be declared at Rome that if any English merchant, for the better conduct of his business, wishes to set up house in any city or other place subject to the pope's jurisdiction, he may do so freely and live in accordance with the rites of his faith. They consider this point rather too scandalous at Rome and it is not likely that they will concede it readily. However here, if they cannot obtain this they will rest content with the opening for trade only, under the forms indicated, in the hope of considerable profit in the course of time.

With respect to the oath of allegiance, about which there has been so much discussion on one side and the other, in spite of the opposition reported, I find that this minister has already obtained a verbal declaration from his Majesty stating that in the oath of fealty which he claims from his Catholic subjects he does not intend to derogate in any manner from the pontifical authority. They are not satisfied with this at Rome but press for the cancelling the words in the oath which clearly attack the papal authority. This will render a settlement impossible, because the decree originated with parliament and the king cannot alter or modify it without the consent of that body.

Meanwhile they do not fail with dexterity and every possible art to insinuate into the minds of the leading men of the church here the belief and observance of the Catholic institutions. *M. di Peron, grand almoner of the queen devotes himself to this with an ardour which almost goes beyond the bounds of his natural courage. Since he obtained the bishopric of Angouleme he has laid*

*See the preceding Vol. of this *Calendar*, page 528 and *note*.

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aside circumspection and his past fears and seems to have openly undertaken not only the protection of the Catholics, but the increase of the Roman Catholic faith in every direction. He no longer has any scruple about frequenting openly the houses of the Protestants, and when there he takes the opportunity to dispute with them and with the women in particular, and to try and make converts. He assembles bishops, curates and all sorts of ecclesiastical persons in his own house secretly, and there, in company with Father Philip, the queen's confessor, they hold almost incessant disputes and conferences. By means of argument and persuasion no less than by offers of great rewards they try to win souls for the Catholic party, and I know that to one of the bishops here, besides other honours and benefices, he has offered the dignity of the Cardinalate expressly on behalf of the pope, if he will make open profession of his belief in the Roman Church.

All these inducements, united to a favourable disposition in men's minds would certainly produce a great effect, if the certainty of losing their present goods for the mere hope of obtaining greater ones did not make them hesitate. Yet Coneo hopes that these methods will in the end bring matters near to the state that is desired, and he therefore tries to keep up the interest of M. di Peron and Father Philip as much as he can, giving them almost certain hope that in consideration of the great merit which they are acquiring with the Holy See by means of such labours and perils, his Holiness will reward them with the honour of the Cardinalate. This inspires them greatly, especially the grand almoner, who considers that he ought to arrive there easily, owing to the memory of the late Cardinal di Peron, his uncle, who was considered well deserving by the Church, and his own operations in this kingdom. Perchance this is the chief impulse which makes them both so diligent, because they certainly do not do so without some danger of upsetting their present fortune. They even use every means that seems appropriate to win over the prince's tutor. As the prince is of tender age and not capable of properly understanding any argument, they cannot presume to make great progress with him, but as the enterprise is of the utmost importance, it is necessary to spread the foundations widely, if one wishes to erect a fabric of the solidity desired. The same procedure is adopted with the young children of the late Duke of Buckingham. His Majesty had them taken away from their mother and brought up with the little prince, because the duchess being a Catholic, his Majesty declared that he did not wish her to have the control.*

Such are the present manœuvres of the Court of Rome with this nation, in the hope that time will bring about great changes. They build above all on the king's connivance, which they do not expect to diminish, because of his deep affection for the queen ; and on the other hand they believe in the success of their designs owing to what they understand of the friendly disposition towards the Catholic faith of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who now

*Brian Duppa, dean of Christ Church, Oxford, who became the prince's tutor in April 1634. *Strafford Letters*, Vol. I., page 413.

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governs everything. But although they may possibly rely confidently on the royal connivance, yet they ought not to be so sure of the archbishop, because his aim is to destroy the party of the Puritans and not to increase the number of Catholics, so it is clear that if he succeeds in humbling the one, he will subsequently be the most bitter enemy of the other, in his own interest. We must hope, however, that the favour of God, which has caused the present favourable state of affairs to arise, will also bring them to a position which our speculations are unequal to penetrate.

London, the 20th February, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 20. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

162. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After I had sealed the foregoing a cavalier who is very intimate with me brought me the protest of the Prince Palatine. It has been printed to-day, and as I wish it to reach your Serenity as soon as possible I enclose it herewith. I hope later to have one signed by the Palatine himself, and I reserve for another time the comment on the matter.

This same gentleman showed me a letter written to him by the Ambassador Fildin telling him of the appointment of Sig. Grimani as ordinary ambassador to Cæsar, and stating that the imperial ministers are to give him the same treatment as they give to the ambassadors of crowned heads. This person, in his desire to serve the republic, showed this letter to the Count Ognat, and suggested to him that he should embrace this opportunity of opening relations with me. Ognat replied that he could not persuade himself that the Count della Rocca would treat the ministers of your Serenity with this new title and prerogatives. No information had reached him on the subject and he could do nothing without precise orders from his own Court.

London, the 20th February, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure.

163. Protest of Charles Lewis, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, etc. against Cæsar's translation of his Electorate, the irregular election of the King of the Romans, and against the usurpation and spoliation of the Duke of Bavaria.

Dated at Hampton Court the 27th January, 1637*.

[*Latin ; printed.*]

Feb. 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

164. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Beveren confirms the announcement of the Princess Palatine. The English Resident says that his king has sent to urge Sweden and Denmark to co-operate, and he feels sure that these Provinces will also assist. He has not yet

* *See* Le Vassor *Hist. de Louis XIII.*, Vol. XV., page 111, et seqq.

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received an answer. He has published a protest made by Teller against the peace of Prague and the election of the king of the Romans. It is not thought that the war can last as long as will be necessary, since the king has no money and he will not recognise parliament. They do not think that the Palatine will get it from the people, as if they contribute it will only be for once and not until the end of the war. The fears of the Austrians will then vanish and the Palatine will be obliged to return without effecting anything.

The Hague, the 26th February, 1636. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

165. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Last Monday I happened to be in the queen's chamber, where I sometimes go to attend on her, as the French ambassadors are accustomed to do. There I met the Prince Palatine, whom I thanked for the communications made to me. I did not give him the title of elector, but simply Highness, as the French ambassadors do. The Palatine does not resent this and seemed very pleased at the meeting, expressing the hope that he had the good wishes of the Signory. I assured him of this and that at the congress at Cologne you would do all in your power to forward the interests of his House with the same good will as was shown to his father on former occasions. We then entered upon a more familiar conversation. He asked me many particulars about Italy; and how many troops your Excellencies maintain on the mainland. I told him as much as I thought proper and he promised to communicate to me matters concerning his interests.

Meanwhile I have received information that they are making provision of ships while private persons are contributing equipment and munitions to arm them speedily, but they have not decided upon what to do. It is not thought that the Palatine will sail with it, because the articles of the alliance with France have been changed in great measure, and he will be bound to join their naval force with some twenty galleons, and they say the king will provide him with that number for the purpose. Yet Ogger has not been despatched with the stipulation of the treaty, although all the ministers here declare that everything is adjusted, and that the French will have greater satisfaction than they have received. But the greater point does not contain great substance. So far as I can find out the chief one is that with the Most Christian undertaking to maintain the war with the House of Austria until the recovery of the Palatinate and until the assurance that the electoral vote will fall to the Palatine, at least after the death of the present Duke of Bavaria, England on her part must contribute to the Palatine the number of ships aforesaid and undertake that if, within a certain time, the affairs are not settled, either by way of arms or by that of negotiation, to the mutual satisfaction of the parties, she also will break with the House of Austria and wage open war. But nothing is said

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about guarding the coasts of France, the article already openly rejected by the Most Christian.

Such a very close alliance is not universally credited; but reason in every case must prevail over opinion, which on most occasions is prejudiced and partial, while the length of the story will weary the pens that write it, as well as try the patience of those who hear its variations. I know that they are still very suspicious at Court that a league with the House of Austria may not have been arranged in France at this time, and that they wish to cast the whole burden of these proceedings on them here. This is perhaps the sole reason why they have not despatched Ogger yet, as they wish to have the fullest information before committing themselves to the treaties.

The Ambassador Ognate keeps up his clamour, and goes about everywhere saying that his master does not want masked enemies, but will know how to make a breach, and, if necessary, can easily maintain war with England. They have told him, if he has orders to speak in this fashion, to produce them in writing, and they will reply, but if not, he will do better to wait for instructions before he speaks so strongly. These words may have dashed him, as he has already stated with sufficient clearness that he does not mean to take up his pen about this. The Emperor's minister also gives utterance to resentful protests, but they pay as little attention to them as to the others, and instead of slackening the effects of their recent deliberation they rather give them ardour, as the king is piqued at such outspokenness to his face.

While the royal ministers are busy over the collection of the tax for arming the ships and the people, fortified by the authority of the grandees, refuse to pay, his Majesty has got the judges, who are all in this city at present for the sessions, to examine and decide if he has the power, without infringing the fundamental laws of the realm, to lay impositions and taxes on his subjects for use where the advantage and reputation of the crown are concerned. They all met the day before yesterday in the public palace of Westminster, and after the cause had been carefully ventilated (*sottilmente ventillata*) pronounced in a public document, signed by each of them, that the king, for the defence of the realm and other grave emergencies, for the welfare of the same, has unfettered power to lay taxes on his people at his pleasure, without it being necessary for him to render account to parliament of the necessity which at any time may compel him to such a decision, as he and his conscience must be the sole judges, and he is not bound to render account of his plans or of interests of state to any of his subjects.

This document was immediately published, registered in the royal Chancery and sent to all the officials in the provinces, to have the same done in their districts, those concerned having orders to put it into execution. Your Excellencies can easily understand the great consequences involved in this decision, as at one stroke it roots out for ever the meeting of parliament, and renders the king absolute and sovereign. The length at which this has been treated renders it the more sensible and heavy

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to those who could never have foresecn the blow, and has created such consternation and disorder that one cannot judge what the outcome will be. *If the people submit to this present prejudice, they are submitting to an eternal yoke and burying their past liberties, which will remain a memory only.* Thus everyone awaits with curiosity to see the issue, as it is known that in times past it would have aroused irreconcilable revolt, But just now, through the enjoyment of a long peace, this nation has almost lost the memory of war, and is more inclined to comfort and the softness of ease than to the discomforts of arms, and so it is probable that this decree will only meet with verbal opposition, and when they are tired of that, they will be forced to admit and approve it. *Thus finally the goal will be reached for which the king has been labouring so long, and the predictions verified of those who always imputed his hanging back in the past in matters which seemed to call for vigorous resolution, to schemes for something greater* (*et con cio riddotti a fine quei disegni che nell' animo del Re si sono andati tanto tempo travagliando e verificati i vaticinii di quelli che hanno sempre imputata la retiratezza passata del medesimo in cio pareva lo pressasse a vigorose risolutioni, a machinationi di cose maggiori.*)

It now remains to be seen, as they announce here, that the results correspond to their forces, as the very serious emergencies of the present times compel them to begin to make use of them.

I have received a copy of the Palatine's protest signed with his own hand which I enclose. One of his Highnesses's councillors, who gave it to me yesterday, told me that he had not sent a letter with it to your Serenity for lack of time. But I know that it was sent because he was aggrieved that he had not received a reply to his first letter, which I forwarded to your Serenity. I should be glad to have your Excellencies' views upon this subject. I have just received the Senate's despatches of the 31st January and the 6th inst.

London, the 27th February, 1636 [M.V.]

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosure.

166. Signed Copy of the Palatine's protest.

[*Latin.*]

Feb. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

167. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador has performed the most vigorous offices to obtain the reopening of trade between the city of London and these realms, which has been forbidden because of the plague, but has not met with any success. He makes known his resentment as something beyond usual. In the present suspicion of that crown the ministers here have given up the practice of sending money to Flanders by that route, and it is now all sent to Italy.

Madrid, the last day of February, 1637.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

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March 6.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

168. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Last Sunday Ogger was sent back to France with the approval of the treaty and a power for the English ambassadors to conclude everything, supposing that the Most Christian does not object to the trifling alterations made here. A period is specified, and if the dispute with Austria is not settled when it expires England is to attack the empire openly. I have heard, indeed that this period is three months only, in which case war might be considered as declared from the moment of the treaty's signature. No one believes that it is possible to complete an affair of so much consequence in so short a time, hampered by so many difficulties and complicated by so many varied interests. The Palatine is certainly to put to sea with a certain number of ships and join the fleet of the league. They say he will be declared High Admiral of the combined squadron of France and Holland, as the name of England is not to appear until after the expiry of the three months. How the Dutch will be mixed up in this is not yet clear, as here they stick to the decisions taken against that nation in the matter of the fisheries, about which the king seems unwilling to relax any of his severity, indeed it seems that he was greatly stirred by some instances of the Most Christian not to molest them during the present treaty, showing that this matter is more firmly rooted in his heart than one would have believed under present circumstances. The Dutch, on the other hand, declare that if they do not receive satisfaction in this particular, which touches them so nearly, their forces will certainly not be employed in the service of the King of Great Britain or in favour of the Palatine, as they cannot contribute to others what they are compelled to use for themselves. Here they take very little account of this, believing that the Dutch will be obliged to have patience for the sake of their own interests.

If they do not change their plans Prince Rupert, the Palatine's younger brother, is to go to Germany; they are to give him a regiment here, and they hope he will have another through the intercession of the Prince of Orange from the Dutch, so that he may make the first proof of his fortune with the Landgrave of Hesse. They have not yet made the assignment required for maintaining him and increasing his strength, as they imagine that if they undertake that the money shall be employed in his support in Germany, they can exact an old debt which the Palatine House claims against the French crown for a loan made by the grandfather of the present princes to the King Henry IV., when he was fighting for his crown during the civil wars but this hardly seems the time for obtaining such a thing with ease.

In consequence of the Palatine's protest the emperor's minister is taking leave. The king wished him a pleasant journey and in his presence directed one of the Secretaries of state to give him the passport he required. Thus the operations of this minister conclude exactly as they began. At any rate they do not like

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this sudden and dry way of taking leave at Court as they may have hoped that he would have brought fresh proposals for negotiation, whieh might have served them for reputation if not to gain some advantage.

The Ambassador Ognat has refused to reeeive a eopy of the protest, saying it was not a matter that eoneerned his office. He put himself in a rage with the eouneillor of the Palatine who brought it, calling loudly to his people in the antiehamber, and hurrying the eouneillor off almost with violenee. This only serves to increase the dissatisfaetion whieh he has always given in Court, and to exeite by no means eommendatory murmurs among the idlers here, who are aeeustomed to make their eriticisms very freely, even beyond the bounds of moderation and respeet.

They have deeided to send a representative to the eongress at Cologne. It is thought that the ehoiee will fall on the Earl of Arundel if he reeover from a slight illness from whieh he suffers at present. His Majesty eannot praise enough the prudenee and sincerity with whieh the earl eondueted his last embassy to Cæsar. Coneo has protested that he will not be admitted to eonfer with the legate, so that he will have to eonduet his negotiations through the Freneh plenipotentiaries, a point that supplies material for eonsideration. The objeet is supposed to be to thwart the negotiations for peaee, as the English demands may now be supposed to be far beyond what Austria would eoneede.

After the deeision of the judges, which I reported, whieh has passed so far without disturbanee, the king's powers have been rendered mueh more eonsiderable and will have to be more respeeted by everybody, and indeed, if internal troubles do not arise, the affairs of this realm will have totally changed their condition. In addition to the sentence of the lawyers, the Arehbishop of Canterbury has had a eareful eolleetion made of all the Counеils held in England, of which the manuseripts have been preserved till now,to eause them to be printed with an introduction by himself, in which he undertakes to demonstrate the antiquity of the church for the satisfaetion of the people, and proves that all eeclesiastieal matters may be defined by eouneils of bishops without parliament having any cognisanee or interest therein,* so that in this direction also, whieh is one of the most important, parliament is deprived of authority and the king, as head of the Chureh, will never have oeeasion to summon it for that purpose, and so in both respeets he will remain with immediate sovereign authority.

The king dissaproves of the Duke of Parma's adjustment with Spain and blames the Grand Duke for mediating, as he

* This probably explains an entry in Laud's diary of 10th June, 1637· "My book of Records in the Tower which concerned the clergy and which I caused to be collected and written in vellam was brought to me finished ; tis ab anno 20 Edw. I. ad annum 14 Edw. IV." Rushworth : *Hist. Collections* Vol. II., page 379. Apparently it was never published as intended.

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considers that for the liberty of Italy Parma should have received vigorous support.*

They still entertain distrust of Denmark, and they are waiting with impatience to hear from the envoy who went to tell him of the resolve in favour of the Palatine. From the reply which he gives they hope to get some sure ground from which they can learn his true intentions. Accordingly they await it with anxiety. They also feel hopeful from the assurances given to the Swedes, with the resolve to continue the war; and are proposing to give them some considerable assistance in men and money.

The marriage of the Polish king with the emperor's second daughter,† which is supposed to be nearly concluded, also affords matter for serious reflection. Besides dashing their hopes of this alliance for the Palatine princess it affords them more serious dissatisfaction because it renders the relations between Cæsar and Poland more close amid present fluctuations. Thus one sees clearly from every sign that they are just now entirely disposed to a rupture with the House of Austria, although other and more powerful considerations have hitherto prevented the final step, and it is not certain even now what they will do. They announce publicly that the capitulations with France, being stipulated, were to begin to take effect on the 11th inst. The time is very short and will not leave the world long in suspense about the issue of all these important and troubled proceedings.

London, the 6th March, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

March 12. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

169. That 1200 gold ducats be given to Giovanni Giustinian, selected as ambassador to England, for his provision for four months in advance, for which he is not called upon to render account.

Also the sum of 300 ducats at lire 6 grossi 4 the ducat for horses, trappings and chests, and 1000 gold ducats as a donation.

Also for all his expenses, except for couriers and the carriage of letters, 170 crowns of 7 lire each.

Also to the secretary for his equipment, 100 ducats, and to two couriers 20 ducats each.

For the salary and table expenses of the chaplain and interpreter, 186 ducats and 100 ducats respectively, and for the interpreter a further 100 ducats in addition.

For couriers and the carriage of letters, for which account is to be rendered, 300 ducats.

Ayes, 121. Noes 9. Neutral, 24.

[*Italian.*]

*Through the mediation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany a treaty was arranged between Giovanni Domenico Pandolfini, the Grand Duke's envoy, and the Spanish General Francisco Melo at the beginning of the year, whereby Parma was detached from the French alliance and obtained favourable terms from the Spaniards. Jagemann: *Gesch. des Grossherzogthums Toskana*, Vol. ii., page151. Nani: *Hist. Veneta* pages 312, 313, Le Vassor: *Hist. de Louis XIII.*, Vol. xv., pages 166–8.

†Cecilia Renee; the marriage took place on the 9th August 1637.

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March 12.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

170. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

They do not propose here to answer the instances of the English Resident recognising that there is no bottom in the resolutions of England and that the fleet for the Palatine will only scour the seas and make a disturbance, instead of undertaking any important enterprise, and then, for lack of supplies they will have to withdraw. The Dutch think that the king will make a special request, and the Prince Palatine also, but if the king does not give up his claims to the sovereignty of the sea he will not get anything here, as for anything they may do the Provinces require a promise from the king that they shall enjoy perfect liberty without molestation.

The Hague, the 12th March, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

March 13.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

171. To the Ambassador in England.

We have received your despatches of the 6th and 13th ult. which bring us news of great importance. We will await the results of his Majesty's decision about the Palatine, and now matters have gone so far the results should correspond. Advices of affairs in Italy. The French are taking steps in the direction of a general peace, and they desire that our republic should be represented at Cologne.

Ayes, 181. Noes, 2. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

March 13.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

172. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Since the despatch of Ogger with the settlement of the treaty with France the best energies of the ministers here are directed to the fitting out of the fleet. His Majesty has confirmed the Earl of Northumberland's patent as general and at the same time ordered the captains, some of whom have been changed, to hold themselves in readiness and near the Court, to take part in provisioning the ships and to receive orders about the time and manner of sailing which his Majesty shall see fit to give. Besides the ships destined to serve the Palatine a considerable number will be employed for maintaining the dominion of the sea, about which the king shows more and more determination, regardless of the lamentations of the Dutch, who yet speak high, especially about the recognition required for the fisheries. Although perhaps with much reason, many have pointed out that if they mean to keep the Dutch agitated about this matter it will render their ships as well as the king's useless for those designs which have been projected, yet this view meets with no consideration, owing to the necessity of the king acting vigorously to maintain his claims. This is of greater importance because he does not wish to give offence to his subjects, from whom he has stated that he desires the present contributions for this respect alone,

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and since the decision of the judges these are beginning to come in without opposition from fear of the penalty.

Some individual Dutch fishermen, against the wishes of the States, have come to take licenees and pay dues according to the proclamation, so that they may practise their trade without danger. This has pleased the Court greatly, although it only has a relative significance, as the kernel of the dispute is against the Company of fishermen of the States, who are preparing to put to sea with a strong escort of men of war, determined not to yield a jot to the English pretensions. The real foundations of this matter have never been debated according to judicial forms during the whole course of the dispute, because the king will not listen to any arguments on the subject, although the Dutch claim they can advance very strong ones, while the use of hundreds of years allows them to fish freely. Thus his Majesty's refusal only serves to increase their ill feeling, after they had humbly asked him to hear them, even more than the result, although it does them so much harm. As these circumstances will undoubtedly inflame the feeling on both sides to the highest pitch, it will certainly disturb the success which is hoped from the employment of their forces here in favour of the Palatines, affording the Spaniards an opportunity of which they are always ready to take advantage.

With respect to the differences raised by the king of Denmark about navigation they do not seem to know what to think at Court. On the one hand they cannot find out for certain if he has received or even asked from the emperor the General Admiralship of the German and Baltic seas, as rumoured, and on the other hand they hear that he means to claim an annual tribute from the English engaged in whale fishing off Iceland, because of his jurisdiction over that island, claiming, in addition to the rights of his independent authority, that this was done without dispute up to the time of Queen Elizabeth. However this may be, the affair will certainly be a very difficult one, because if they consent to the payment the prejudice is certain, and if they do not, the dispute will be very difficult not only because the arguments they can advance are few and very feeble, but because they are almost entirely destroyed by past practice. Those which remain cannot be upheld under present circumstances, because when Queen Elizabeth disputed the matter it is found that one of her principal arguments was that the sea is free everywhere, and she would not be compelled without force to pay any tribute for fishing or navigating.* As this is in direct contradiction to the present claims of England, it would prevent them from pressing them and give

* The question was first raised in 1576 and in the following year John Rogers and Antony Jenkinson were sent to treat. Nothing was decided and the matter was referred back to the sovereigns. It was not reopened until 1582 when Peregrine Bertie lord Willoughby of Eresby went to take the garter to Frederick II. In the following year John Herbert was sent over and an agreement was made in June, whereby the king of Denmark granted for his life and that of the queen to the Muscovy Company free trade in the Northern seas, upon payment of 100 roso nobles yearly. The English case does not seem to be preserved, but a letter of the Swedish Chancellor Kaas of 26 Feb., 1582, refers to the claim that "all seas are passable to all nations." *Foreign Cal.* 1582, pages 130, 534; *Id.* 1583, pages 158, 172; *Id.* 1583-4, pages 191, 192.

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the Dutch the victory, who would use the same argument to prescrve thc use of the fisheries. It is accordingly whispered that all these difficulties proceed from them, and it is considered certain, that for the advantage of their own interests they have encouraged Denmark to make thesc claims and they themselves give credit to the suspicion because they are almost alone in studiously circulating these reports. But whatever the source may be it is certain that it very much annoys the king, and letters have been forwarded to the envoy lately sent to Denmark instructing him, in case of need, to propose an amicable adjustment. They hope by such means to gain at least sufficient time to allow them to bring the disputes with the Dutch to a condition which promises better and more advantageous progress.

To Sweden in addition to the two expeditions reported they have decided to send a Scottish colonel,* who formerly fought under that flag, to confirm his Majesty's upright intentions to the Chancellor Oxistern and promising speedy and effective help. These repeated offers are caused by the increasing dread of a sudden agreement between Sweden and the emperor. The advantage their arms have won does not suffice to remove this fear of their propensity for peace, and the Court has deeply regretted to hear of what happened at Paris between the coaches of the English ambassadors and those of the Swedish†, and the

*Sir George Fleetwood. *See Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636–7, page 559.

†" I must not omit to acquaint your honour with an unexpected contestation with the Swedish ambassador concerning a point of precedence. Upon Tuesday last the Holland ambassador being to make his entry into Paris my Lord of Leicester and myself sent our secretary with our coaches (according to custom) to welcome him into this kingdom and to accompany him into this city. At the setting out for St. Denis, my lord of Leicester's coach having taken place next to the Holland ambassador's . . . . mine took place next to my lord of Leicester's. The Swedish ambassador's coach, hastening on, came up to my lord of Leicester's coach and justled into it to have precedence ; but after a short stand our lacqueys beat them off and we went on in the rank we had first taken. Being gone a little way out of St. Denis the Swedish coach came up to us and disputed the rank the second time, whereupon Marshal de la Force and the Count of Bruslon, conducteur of ambassadors, made a stand and sending for the Swede's secretary, after they had spoken with him they sent for my lord of Leicester's secretary and mine. Marshal de la Force asked my lord of Leicester's secretary what he pretended ; who answering that he would go next to the ambassador's coach who was to be conducted, the Marshal and conducteur of ambassadors both said that they could not deny the crown of England that right ; but then, said they, you must let the Swedish ambassador's coach go next to yours. Whereunto to my secretary replied that he would go next to my lord of Leicester's and if the Swede would come after him, he might ; but between the two ambassadors coaches, from one and the same crown, he should never be permitted. And hereupon my lord of Leicester's secretary and mine jointly declaring they would either both go away together or both together keep their rank, in that resolution returned to their coaches. After some little motion forwards, the Swedish ambassador's coach driving up was arrested even with my coach, and there a dispute occasioned another stay. The Marshal now finding this contestation would not be decided but with the sword and end in blood, used his authority together with entreaties to my secretary to go away directly home, declaring absolutely withal that as the precedence did undoubtedly belong to the crown of England, so the right of it would be sufficiently conserved if only one coach stayed in the field . . . . Hereupon my coach came home . . . . After which the Swedish ambassador's coach came not into rank at all, but jostleing with my lord of Leicester's coach, his lordship's secretary and that of the Swedes went again to the Marshal. The right of the crown of England was then again pronounced ; but the Swedish secretary would not yield to go after the earl of Leicester's coach, but went away before all the coaches, this king's and all, and so home." Scudamore to Coke, February $\frac{10}{20}$, $163\frac{6}{7}$. *S.P. For. France*, Vol. 103.

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colonel is to remonstrate strongly with the chancellor about it.

A counellor of the Landgrave of Hesse who recently arrived at Court* has received fair hopes that Prince Rupert will shortly proceed to Germany and join the Landgrave with a considerable force. However one does not yet see any preparations corresponding to the reports. For this reason the Council finds a difficulty in satisfying itself about his return with the answer to his master. Everything else in the affair seems to be waiting to receive its impulse from the resolutions which will be taken in France upon what Ogier took back there. It is assumed that these will be adjusted to what was decided here, but until they reeeive the definite news all decisions here which depend upon them will remain in suspense.

The news of the emperor's death,† though not fully confirmed, affords material for the most weighty reflections, and we shall wait to see what turn affairs in Germany, in particular, will take when guided by a new hand.

Neither this week nor last has the courier brought any letters from Italy.

London, the 13th, Mareh, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

173. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Acknowledges receipt of the Signory's despatches of the 12th, 13th and 20th February, giving an account of Lord Fielding's complaints about the violation of the ambassadorial franchise in a house rented by him at San Moise. The express courier has not arrived. Possibly he has been intentionally detained. I will make the neeessary representations both to the king and the ministers, and hope that I shall make the proper impression upon them. I will also endeavour to find out why the courier has been delayed. So far not a word has reached me or any talk about the matter at Court.

London, the 13th March, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

174. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I went to the king at St. James's at one in the afternoon and was immediately introduced by the Marquis of Hamilton. I told the king I was instructed to narrate what had taken place in a small house near that of the ambassador, when nothing improper had been done against a servant who had taken refuge there. When I mentioned the arrest of the eulprit I noticed that his Majesty turned extraordinarily pale, and when I told him that the delinquent was guilty of high treason in the first degree, had been expelled from the nuncio's house as such and was then living in a vainglorious and impudent manner in the

*His name was Jean Louis Sengel.

†Ferdinand II. died on the 15th February.

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house in question, which was separated from the ambassador's by a public way, he asked me what exactly were his crimes. When I replied that I did not know as such delicate matters were judged by a supreme and secret magistracy and were never communicated to any one, he remarked good, good. I said that the Signory trusted that Lord Fielding would have taken into consideration the source from which the order for arrest proceeded, especially as he had previously received proof of the Signory's wish to oblige him. The king said he had not yet received any notice of the matter from the ambassador, but possibly his secretary know something about it. Meanwhile he could only say that if the house belonged to the ambassador the matter ought to be taken in one way, if not, in another ; he felt sure your Excellencies would not have done wrong. I told him that the houses occupied by the persons of the ambassadors were perhaps more respected at Venice than elsewhere, but it was never admitted that the servants could carry the privileges which ought to be special to their masters to other houses. The house where they tried to arrest the culprit, though the arrest happened on the water, was separated from Lord Fielding's by a wide public way, and was rented by one Michiel di Cecca, a subject of the republic. For these reasons and because it had no mark to distinguish it from other houses to show it was the dwelling of a public minister, according to the custom at Venice, it could not be so recognised. I referred to similar cases with the Spanish ambassadors in matters of less consequence, of which they took no notice or made no such demands. I mentioned an almost similar case here which happened to one of my predecessors over the arrest of a priest, who was seized in the street, but bore obvious indications that he was a servant of his house. I said that I myself when I heard that an Italian gentleman of my household was suspect to justice, offered to hand him over without being asked, and at once expelled him from the house*.

I said that the little house of San Moisé with some others near it, had become a resort for outlaws and men accused of the most serious crimes. I sketched a plan to let his Majesty see how the matter happened.

As he did not seem convinced by my various arguments I asked him to imagine an ambassador accredited to him taking houses separated from his own, to be the resort of rogues and even of conspirators against the state. If this were allowed ambassadors might rent several houses in various parts of the city and in this way enlarge their franchise in all directions and subvert the rules of good governance. When I touched this chord I perceived that I had aroused the most lively part of his feelings. I enlarged upon other similar considerations. His majesty made no reply, but shrugged his shoulders. I at once added that men guilty of high treason ought not to have protection as they are equally abhorrent to all princes. The following are the precise words of his Majesty's answer :

*No doubt referring to the case of Antonio della Valle. *See* the preceding Volume of this Calendar, page xxxvii.

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If the culprit offended the public Majesty so deeply as you tell me, he certainly ought not to be safe anywhere, not even in the house or the very room of my ambassador. I must reprove him for not having acted well, and when I am fully informed I will give the republic every satisfaction. I replied that the state did not profess dissatisfaction with the ambassador, who was most highly esteemed. They regretted the offence he had taken because of this accident. After I had gone and was speaking with an intimate to instruct him how to represent the affair, a gentleman came to ask me on behalf of his Majesty for the plan of the house, telling me that he wished to show it to the Secretary Cuch, and he would let me have it back. I willingly agreed. I then went to Cuch, who said that he had not received any account of the matter, and that he believed my statement.

I passed the same offices with the Earl of Arundel. Although he professes the most sincere devotion towards the republic, he seemed more difficult than I should have believed, in accepting the arguments I retailed. He said they ought to have warned the ambassador before proceeding to violence. The houses of princes enjoyed the privileges of their masters and could not be violated without seriously offending them. After I had argued with all the subtlety I know he finally admitted that those guilty of high treason have no asylum anywhere, and so I left him much better disposed than I found him. I have not spoken to the Archbishop of Canterbury yet, first because I have not had time, as he lives outside the city, and also because he possesses no other language than English, so that we have to use an interpreter. This takes up a great deal of time, and as he is very busy he does not seem to care to negotiate with foreigners. However, if I have an opportunity I will give him also the necessary information.

The ambassador has had the advantage of forming the first impressions but I hope to overcome the difficulty, if his representations have not been too violent. So long as I maintain that the crime was of the nature stated I do not think that the king's ministers or any one capable of reasoning can help admitting that your Excellencies acted rightly.

The courier has not yet arrived, and I think that another sent by Fildin on the same errand is also behindhand, so it is probable that some accident on the road has detained them.

London, the 14th March, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

175. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the Doge and Senate.

Further letters from England have reached his Majesty and the minister here, who had a long conference with the Count Duke on Thursday. Hope is renewed that a means for mutual satisfaction will be found by way of negotiation rather than by arms. According to my information from a minister of influence the principal difficulty consists in this that if the Catholic yields the Lower Palatinate he claims as a recompense that the crown of England shall give him other advantages in its declarations.

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In this way possibly they will studiously protract the negotiations and the Spaniards will have achieved their intent. They build their advantage on the shortness of money and other political necessities of that kingdom. To Dunkirk, now that the fleet there has been strengthened, strict orders have been sent charging them to take advantage not only of the present negotiations with England but to molest the Dutch as much as possible in those waters.

Madrid, the 14th March, 1637.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

March 17. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

176. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Oger, the English Resident arrived back recently from England with the answer to the proposals sent from here. I do not yet hear that that monarch means to do anything or give greater help to the Prince Palatine beyond permitting his subjects to make contributions. He promises, if they will agree here, that the treaty shall be signed and concluded provided it contains a condition that if the Spaniards do not give him satisfaction within a certain time, they will declare against the House of Austria. Here this proposal does not seem to please them altogether. The Cardinal told me that nothing was settled with the English, and they will not do much with them. The Ambassador Leicester complains about it, saying he does not know why they will not embrace the proposal, because when M. de Senneterre went as ambassador to that Court he proposed that if England would remain neutral the Most Christian should undertake never to make peace without the restoration of the Palatine to his dominions, but not to his dignity. If this proposal had been embraced then they would find themselves pledged now and he did not know what had caused this change. He holds out hopes that within three or four months more will be done, and he is expecting to meet the commissioners to see if they can conclude something feeling confident that he can satisfy them. M. di Bullion has intimated that it will be advisable to accept what they can, as the war goes on in any case, without the English.

Paris, the 17th March, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci. Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

177. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Only two hours after I had performed the offiees I reported with his Majesty and the ministers, an express arrived from the Ambassador Fielding, sent on the 25th ult., with two despatches, one for the Secretary Cuch, and the other for the Marquis of Hamilton, his brother in law. He tells them in an incredibly angry manner that an insupportable affront has been done to his Majesty's house, as the *sbirri* violently entered his house without giving him any information, driving out and arresting some who were there under his protection, beating and outraging

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his servants, who were easily recognisible by his livery, in short enlarging in the most furious fashion. He goes on to narrate the particulars as follows: that one Andrea dalla Nave, having escaped from the *sbirri* for some very slight matter, took refuge at the nuncio's house and asked for his protection also, which he gave, being assured that his only fault was giving money to a Jew who promised to help him with the judges in a very important cause. He had lodged him in a small house opposite his own, of which he pays the rent and which he uses for his own servants. The Sbirri in the night secured the entrance, set guards at the ambassador's own door broke into the little house and arrested two men, who were neither proclaimed nor otherwise known to be guilty. He gives a very garbled account of his office in the Collegio, but reports your Serenity's reply practically unaltered. He represents other dissatisfaction he has experienced in the matter of merchants and gives a confused account of similar affairs with Spanish ministers, in which he says they had satisfaction.

That same evening the Marquis of Hamilton went to the king and speaking in a loud voice that the bystanders could easily hear, made much of the incident saying it must be resented, that I had misrepresented the facts and so forth, creating the most unfavourable impression both on his Majesty and on all those standing by. He has thus caused this question to become the subject of the talk and caustic comment of the whole Court, which has eagerly seized this opportunity of beguiling its idleness, so that with the further revelations of Basfort, who brought the despatches, it would seem that this has become the sole topic of conversation. On the following morning the Secretary Cuch brought to his Majesty's apartments all the letters and papers sent by Fildin. He found the king perturbed and prejudiced to such an extent that when Cuch told him why he had come he said he already knew only too well what had happened at Venice, and considered himself seriously affronted. Cuch asked him to suspend judgment until he had seen the papers. This quieted him somewhat and he asked that such or the papers as were in Italian should be translated into French. On Monday morning his Majesty and Cuch both left this city and have not returned, and nothing more has been done in the matter.

In the mean time this same Marquis, the Earl of Denbigh, the ambassador's father, his mother and the rest of his relations and friends, who are very numerous and powerful from their credit and influence, go about representing the case in the most advantageous manner for themselves. They insist above all upon the violation of the house and that the crime was only bribing the judges through a Jew, *one to which they are not accustomed to attach much importance, the corruption of the highest judges and magistrates have made it familiar, so much so that one may any day see the judges in the public tribunals, in the very act of pronouncing sentence, oppose the arguments of the lawyers, openly interesting themselves for one of the parties. Although this is a very great scandal, yet it is tolerated, and connivance at it has become a custom*

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so that the practice passes without exciting comment. But this is no argument for well governed states, based upon the purity of the judges and the equal administration of uncorrupted justice, following the same pernicious example. By this argument I have tried to rebut their notions, maintaining that there are no grounds for disputing about the nature of the crime, upon which they want a declaration, as the Inquisitors of State never take cognisance of any matters which do not touch the interests of the state to the quick, and it is enough to make them clearly know what I have represented.

The courier Antonio Ponchini arrived on Sunday evening. He gave me letters consigned to him on the 13th ult. by Iseppo Bassi. He said he received them from him in the Bolognese, as Bassi was unable to continue the journey. Ponchini was delayed four days at Turin and after that by sickness.

London, the 18th March, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

178. Francesco Michiel, Ventian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Princess Palatine is very hopeful over the resolutions of England and the prospects of the alliance with France. But here they remain sceptical and the Palatine family themselves are afraid that the French are growing tired. *Many say that the English are only trying for this new alliance for their own ends, so that they may be able to make peace with the Austrians with advantage.*

The Hague, the 19th March, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 20. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

179. To the Ambassador in England.

We have received your despatches of the 20th ult. with the account of what is being done for the Palatine and of his Majesty's apparent decision to uphold the rights of his nephew at all hazards. These are matters of the highest importance and we feel sure that you will keep the Senate fully advised. The Palatine's firm declarations about religion are worthy of great attention and we shall await still further particulars on the subject.

You have acted exactly as the Senate wished with regard to the Ambassador Ognat. We observe that this minister is holding back only because he has no orders on the subject of titles. With respect to this we may inform you that the Spanish ambassador at Venice, the Count della Rocca, was the first to visit Sig. Zuane Grimani on his appointment as ambassador in ordinary to the emperor, when he gave him the title of "Excellency" and paid him every honour rendered to ministers of crowned heads. For the rest you will allow the Ambassador Ognat to adjust his action to his own ideas unaided, provided that this comports with the dignity of the state.

Advices of Italy.

Ayes, 80. Noes, 12. Neutral, 42.

[*Italian.*]

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Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

180. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On account of the death of the emperor they have postponed the despatch of an ambassador to Cologne, which was on the eve of being announced. It is believed that if other and more serious changes do not intervene the time of the meeting of the congress must at least be postponed for a very long time, owing to the formalities necessary in renewing instructions and orders. For the same reason the manifesto which the Palatine intended to publish, although all complete is being held back from the printers entirely for the sake of seeing what the course of future events will be. There is no chance of negotiation with the new emperor, as the Palatine's protest pronounces his election null and they expect France will also refuse to acknowledge him.

Meanwhile they are carefully making the necessary provision for the equipment of a numerous fleet, devising and hastening by the most appropriate and least noisy ways the collection of a considerable sum of money, one adequate for the expenses and demands which may occur. For this they have recently augmented the price of beer, coal, peat and soap, with an advantage to the royal purse of more than 135,000*l.* sterling above what they used to bring. As they cannot impose any tax on the natural produce or manufactures of the realm when they are used there, the king adopts a middle course, giving a monopoly to one alone to sell them, who has to pay a sum agreed upon, while private persons pay the cost by giving a higher price for what they buy.

The decision of the judges about the king's right to impose taxes without recourse to parliament does not pass everywhere without difficulty. Although few are bold enough to speak and object, yet a dull murmur is heard, which ought to make them reflect. Thus an incident occurred recently in Suffolk for which an officer of justice (*capo di giustitia*) is imprisoned. When asked his opinion about the speedy collection of the imposts without scandal, he said that the true method of laying hands on the substance of the people was the legitimate one through parliament, to which they never made objection. It is feared that this will cause considerable trouble, because it hardly seems likely that the people there will easily abandon an official of their county of noble birth, respected and beloved, being buried in prison for having freely expressed his opinion when asked.

The Dutch ambassador appeared before his Majesty the day before yesterday and earnestly besought him to consider the state of affairs in Germany, especially the propensity of the Swedes to make terms with Cæsar apart, the town of Stettin being already appointed the meeting place for the commissioners, and to contribute effective assistance to them. A considerable sum had been offered them if they would withdraw their troops from Germany, and they were also promised Pomerania in fee. As the Swedes are exhausted it is feared that they may accept the offer, which Beveren deprecates as injurious to the common cause and to the Palatine in particular. He added that in

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consideration of these matters the Dutch meant to give money to Sweden, but in consequence of their own need it would be small and quite useless unless the king did the like. The Chancellor Oxestern had complained of being abandoned by all the confederates and protested that if not assisted they must adopt another course. The king said his intentions could not be better than they are for giving support in a quarter from which they have such considerable hopes that he has sent three persons to reassure the chancellor and meanwhile he would consider the proposal of the States, whom he thanked for the communication. But there is small appearance that their actions will conform with these replies, particularly so far as the spending of money is concerned, *as all their severity does not suffice to collect enough to supply the requirements of the crown itself.*

Gordon writes from Poland that although the clergy urge that monarch most strongly to marry the daughter of the deceased emperor, he seems by no means inclined to do so, but still seems most eager to espouse the Palatine princess; but here they attach but the slightest consideration to these hopes as their last experience has almost entirely destroyed them.

The imperial minister left last week in the deepest displeasure because he could not obtain letters in reply to those he presented at the beginning of his charge, or passports different from those granted to the most ordinary persons. Yet they sent him a chain worth 400 crowns to Dover, by which it is thought his displeasure will be in great measure dissipated. The king is expected this evening and the Secretary Cuch will certainly arrive tomorrow. On Sunday I am assured that the king will see the papers about Andrea della Nave.

The state despatches of the 27th ult. have just reached me.

London, the 20th March, 1637.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 23. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

181. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On Friday evening the king returned to this city and on the same day the Secretary Cuch arrived from another part. On the following day the cabinet council was assembled, in which the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Arundel and Holland and the two Secretaries of State alone took part. His Majesty wished them to hear all the papers about the della Nave affair from Fielding, and also had read a copy I had made and given to Coke of the Signory's reply to the ambassador and the rejoinders on both sides. They discussed these for four solid hours. Both secretaries of state came here on the following day. Coke spoke to the effect that the king considered that he could not allow such an affront to pass, as it offended his royal dignity in the most sensitive manner. All his councillors agreed about this and thought he could not honourably maintain an ambassador in a place where his privileges were contemned and his person slighted, and so the secretaries had come to try and arrange the matter.

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Among other things one of them said that the house certainly belonged to the ambassador, as he paid the rent to Michiel di Cecea and used it to lodge his servants, so there could be no doubt about its public character, and in addition to this he took it to use to pass through the garden from Ca Dandolo, because he had no other place for such recreation at hand. I replied that the garden had nothing to do with the little house, but belonged to the great house of Ca Dandolo, which is occupied by great persons, and by the rigour of the laws they cannot admit ambassadors or any foreign representatives without incurring the severest penalties, so they certainly could not be very well informed. They both said that his Majesty was so informed, they could not believe otherwise, and they would not send an ambassador extraordinary to Venice to learn the particulars of the case.

Windebank said they knew quite well what the crime was. It was not against the state, but the man only wished to support his cause in an important suit, not against the state but against a private person like himself. I replied in order. I said that the confidence his Majesty gave his ministers ought not to deprive my offices of credit. I had spoken with perfect sincerity and I asserted that the circumstances had been greatly misrepresented here. I did not know the man's crimes, neither did the Senate, as the Inquisitors of State never communicated them to any one soever; much less could those who had no access find out; general report was usually various and fallacious. The crime of corrupting justice was not so light as they made out here, indeed in a well ordered republic, jealous of preserving its liberties, of which it considered the uprightness of its judges the foundation, there could be none greater; but it did not concern me, or them either to dispute about the crime, as we were equally in the dark. All countries had their particular laws. There were cases for which they hanged here, for which the lightest penalties were inflicted at Venice, so it is not astonishing if matters which are not considered here are considered serious crimes at Venice; it was therefore absolutely necessary not to take offence at each country following its own laws.

This is true they replied, but we know that the republic did not think so much of the crime in this case as of using it to obtain satisfaction, because it pretends not to be satisfied with the treatment which its ministers receive here. If you will allow us to speak freely, his Majesty, the Council and the Court are all very well informed that not content with what was done for you when the affair of your servants happened,* have kept on making complaints to Venice, and trying every means of performing bad offices, from which undoubtedly all the present trouble arises. I could not help growing heated at such a false accusation utterly contrary of my disposition and said that whoever made such a report was no friend of the truth, but was of the kind that tried to make trouble by poisonous notions and to stir up strife

* On Tuesday the 14th August, 1635. *See* the preceding Vol. of this *Calendar* page 437 et seqq.

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between nations which had always been friendly I could frankly declare that for the two years and a half that I had served here I had never done the slightest thing to cause dissatisfaction. I had written so moderately about the matter of my servants that his Majesty's own ministers could not have been more modest, and I had returned the warmest thanks for this to his Majesty by order of the Signory, and expressed your good will. An occasion for showing this followed, when, at the instance of Lord Fielding, favours were granted to English merchants and others recommended by him. No one could question this, least of all Coke, who well knew that the ambassador had asked that a letter of thanks should be sent from the king. As he could not deny this he said that he was very glad to have heard these particulars from my lips, and he would inform his Majesty who would certainly be very pleased. Your Excellencies, who know all the facts, may see with what art they proceed to bring this matter to a crisis since, without invention on their side, the justice and reason of the case are so strong that they cannot in any way be upset or challenged. Passing from this point Coke said that this was what he would suggest by way of settling the matter. I replied that this was a case of high treason and his Majesty had admitted that a person guilty of that offence could not claim asylum. So there was no way out, especially as your Excellencies knew the house to belong to Michiel di Cecca and not to the English ambassador. Notwithstanding this the secretaries again urged me to consent to this arrangement. I said that I could do no more than report the matter but I did not think that your Excellencies could agree to it as it would prejudice the sovereignty of the state. Lord Fielding might receive a further assurance that the house was not considered as state property. Coke, however, was not satisfied, on the ground that as the offence was public the reparation ought equally to be so.

I have very little hope of adjusting the matter because the king is possessed by the idea that his dignity is concerned, and he is importuned by the countless friends and relations of the ambassador, who are very powerful, to penetrate ruthlessly to the bottom of the affair, and it will be most difficult to persuade him otherwise. I have asked for audience again to day and will make every effort to discover his Majesty's real opinions, and to persuade him of the truth and leave him satisfied.

London, the 23rd March, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

March 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

182. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday I had another audience of his Majesty to try and shake the very bad impression received by him in the della Nave affair. But in spite of all my efforts I had scant success because he is convinced that the house was really the ambassador's and that the man's crime was insignificant. He said he knew that the little house belonged to his ambassador because he paid rent to Michiel di Cecca. The privileges of ambassadors should

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attach to it, especially seeing it was so close to the embassy. He had been told that the man's crime was slight, but would not credit it. Yet there are degrees even in high treason. In any case the ambassador should have been warned.

I told him it was known that Nave had been expelled from the nuncio's residence, and Lord Fielding should not complain that he had not been warned, because only the Inquisitors of State knew and the Council of Ten through them. Fielding knew the methods of those tribunals and that should have satisfied him. All countries have their own laws and that of secrecy is considered necessary above everything else at Venice in such grave cases.

Nothing would satisfy the king and he repeated his arguments with more emphasis. At length he said that he would inform me of his wishes through his secretaries. To my protests of the affection and esteem of the republic he replied very graciously. He said he appreciated my sincerity and would expect me to see that satisfaction was obtained for him in a matter which concerned his honour, without prejudicing the justice of the republic.

After I had gone his Majesty withdrew immediately with the Lords of his Council, who all approved of what had been done, *although some of them more to please the king than through the promptings of their consciences.* The two secretaries then came back to me to impart their decision. They told me that whereas they had come before to try and arrange an adjustment, they now came to tell me in his Majesty's name that they had decided to instruct the ambassador to demand reparation for his honour, the release of both prisoners and a declaration that the house was not recognised as his, otherwise violence would not have been used and he should have received previous notification. If this was done the ambassador would hand over the two prisoners to justice. If, however, they had already been executed, his Majesty required that the officials who carried out the arrest should ask pardon of the ambassador.

I expressed great astonishment at these demands, but they rose and said they could not discuss the matter any further, and went out without listening to any more. Thus after twelve days of hard work this affair has turned out differently from what everyone expected. I have certainly left nothing undone to make the truth plain, *which they have tried to trample upon with such art. But where flattery and prayers prevail the force of reason generally proves vain. So in this case, weeping women, pleading relations and friends full of fervor and passion, as if it was a question of destroying the ambassador not to maintain what is just and equitable, have succeeded in reducing the affair to the difficult position which I have reported. They have also obtained, although it may be delayed, that the ambassador shall be recalled. I am assured that the king absolutely promised his mother and sister that this should be, and it is announced all over the Court with great freedom that he will be. The majority of the courtiers, although they fully appreciate the reasons of your Excellencies, do not dare to express their feelings because they know that the sentiments of him who commands are different. One of them has been to suggest to me that if your*

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Excellencies should choose to write a letter to the king, expressing the friendly sentiments that you have towards him and your point of view in this affair, it might prove an appropriate means of adjusting the affair quietly. These people are some of the leading gentlemen of the realm, but they have no share in the secret transactions; however, so as to leave nothing out I have reported their views.

I see nothing further that I can do except to wait for the instruction to the ambassador, of which I will try and send previous information.

London, the 25th March, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 27. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

183. To the Ambassador in England.

We hear that orders have been issued from Spain to all their ministers and especially to the young Count of Ognat about the treatment of the republic's ambassadors. You will observe what is done. We have nothing to add about the Palatine because we perceive that you have penetrated the reason why we have not for the present given any reply to the letter which he wrote us. We have complied with the request of the French ambassador to write and urge the Queen of Sweden, to send plenipotentiaries to Cologne, chiefly in order to show this state's unchanging sentiments in favour of peace. We send this in case the subject is raised or questions are asked. We have received your despatches of the 27th ult.

Ayes, 108. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 27. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

184. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

In my audience of his Majesty on Tuesday he asked me if your Serenity's ambassador for Cologne had set out yet, or if he was held back by the emperor's death. I said I had not heard of his leaving Venice, and if the emperor's death did not interfere with the meeting of the congress I felt sure he would start at the appointed time, since the emperor, the Most Christian and the Catholic all seemed disposed to accept the interposition of the republic, especially about the Protestant Princes, with whose ministers the legate would not treat. I said this on account of what Sig. Contarini communicated to me, so that if his Majesty decided to send an ambassador your Excellencies would respond with every confidence. The king said he was certain of the friendly feeling of the republic to all that concerned him and he would be pleased if you interposed in this affair. He wished to send an ambassador to Cologne, but not having been invited by any one he did not see how he could do so, especially as the emperor's death and the uncertainty whether all the princes approve of the election of the new king of the Romans make it difficult to see how he can enter into such an important affair. He had heard something about the Most Christian raising difficulties about recognising this king of the Romans so he also had

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cause to hesitate, and certainly he could not yet say what he would decide. He added later that if your Serenity, whom he believed now to have the privilege, choose to invite him to send his ambassador to Cologne, he would consider the matter, and he would attach very great importance to such an incitemcnt. I replied that your Excellencies would consider yourselves fortunate in having an opportunity of doing somcthing that would give him pleasure, but as I had no instructions and no further knowledge of the affair, I let the matter drop.

From thcse remarks it seems quitc clcar to me that his Majesty is strongly inclined to have a representative of his present at the peace negotiations, and it would afford him great satisfaction if the affairs of the Palatine passed through the hands of a minister of your Excellencies. I have very opportunely received furthcr confirmation of this from thc Earl of Arundel, who told me clearly that the affair of the peace could not be conducted properly unless some disinterested power, besidcs the pope, should intervene, and that under existing circumstances there was no one better fitted for this office than the most serene republic. I should be glad of instructions on this subject as I am unable to say a word more about it without express orders.

The recent instances of the Dutch ambassador touching the supply of considerable succour to the forces of Sweden have engaged the earnest consideration of the Council ; but they do not believe that the Swedes will abandon themselves to the agreement with the Imperialists without the consent of the allies, both from the progress of their arms, which, by report, continue to enjoy success, and so make it unnecessary, and because the proposal to give them Pomerania in fee meets with opposition, owing to the Elector of Brandenburg's rights of succession and because they are already in possession, and consequently they are putting off the action to a more favourable time.

The latest news from France is that the stipulations between the crowns themselves are settled, but that there are difficulties concerning the allies. It is thought that these are over the affair of the Dutch fisheries. If this question remains unsettled there can certainly be no assurance of a favourable issue for those objects with which the aim of the alliance is directly concerned.

Here they insist as ever on the rigour of their pretensions and spread a report that the Earl of Northumberland has orders to uphold thcm with all severity. Some speak with more reserve *and one of the ministers told me in confidence that although his Majesty cannot help keeping up these notions to please the people, yet their actions will be different, and the Dutch will do well now to cease their lamentations.* His Majesty has designed fifteen large ships for the Palatine, that is five royal galleons and ten of the largest merchantmen.* He has also given him free powers

*From the list given in the State Papers it would appear that the fleet was to consist of the "Bonaventure" and "Mary Rose," third raters, the First and Tenth Lions Whelps and the "Swan" frigate of the royal navy, and of nine merchantmen : the "Unicorn" of London, the "Industry," the "May Flower," the "William and Elizabeth," the "Golden Eagle," the "Margaret," the "William," the "Prudence," the "Royal Defence," the last four furnished by the city of London. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636–7, pages 292, 479.

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to dispose of them as he thinks best for his own interests, joining the French, the Dutch or with the ships which the volunteers are preparing or any other course that he considers expedient. He has also ordered Northumberland to second him with the fleet and help him whenever he wishes, a point which is much more valuable than the first.

The voluntary ships in question are not yet in any considerable numbers. Apart from Lord Craven few are willing to devote their capital for this, so that he cannot hope to have the following that was rumoured, while few merchants have asked for letters of reprisals against the Dunkirkers, as so far no preparations have been made here on which one can count.

They have desired Colonel Ferens to go to France to ask for the payment of an ancient debt claimed by the Palatine house, *but the Ambassador Senneterre says that the government of France is carried on by young men who have no memory of ancient things, so it is waste of labour. The king is very displeased at this.*

Last Wednesday the Spanish ambassador asked audience of the king and announced that he was bringing an excellent settlement for the Palatine's affair, as the emperor had placed the Lower Palatinate in the hands of the Catholic and given him authority to restore it, promising for the other an equivalent in cash, and he hoped these proposals would be acceptable ; but on the Tuesday evening he sent word to Court that as the plague had broken out in his house he would not venture to approach the king, an artful stroke which no one believes, in order to leave his important and possibly trumped up transactions in suspense, but if this is so he certainly will not be able to keep it hidden for long.

To-day, after only two hours of labour the queen has brought forth a new princess for the kingdom*. She will be the third girl and the fifth child living of their Majesties. The king seems very pleased, the more so because both mother and daughter are in perfect health.

His Majesty remains quite determined about this decision over the affair of Lord Fildin. He communicated to me through the secretaries the despatches to be sent to him. They are not yet drawn up, but from what I gather they will be sent to the ambassador next week by an express. As the secretaries have told me that I shall be advised of his departure, I will consign to him anything I may wish to add, taking the precaution of the cipher.

London, the 27th March, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 31. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

185. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors have met M. di Bullion. They announce that only one small difficulty remains for the conclusion of the treaty with this crown. It seems, however, that they

*The Princess Anne.

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propound that their king will then do more than he promises and even declare himself against the Austrians if he does not receive satisfaction in a stated time, and an assembly will meet at Hamburg or some other place where in conjunction with the deputies of all the friends interested they will see if it is necessary to do more. Here they insist that the assembly in question shall meet now before the conclusion of the treaty, as the share of England seems too unequal to that of France.

Paris, the 31st March, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

April 2. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

186. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate.

The announcements made by the king about the Ambassador Fielding's affair have prevented me from taking any direct steps in the matter, but I have caused my intimates, at any special meetings of the Court, to advocate the Signory's cause, and all unprejudiced persons express themselves in very uncomplimentary terms about those who foment the mischief. But the ambassador's relations persist in their outcry and neglect no art or effort to keep the king imbued with the principles they have already impressed upon him. *This week the Countess of Denbigh, the ambassador's mother, with the Marchioness of Hamilton, her daughter, have availed themselves of the queen's interposition to obtain the confirmation of the king's promise to them to recall the ambassador, however things may go. It has not been difficult to obtain this, because as in addition to any feeling which this incident may have left in his Majesty's mind present experience shows that he does not like the expense of an ambassador extraordinary with your Excellencies, or what he pays at present, which in all will exceed 50 of our ducats a day, as Fielding still enjoys the allowance of all ambassadors extraordinary. I had this confirmed to-day by a person of very great credit, in a position to know, who added that the Council were unanimously of opinion that there was no need to keep a minister of such rank; so he concludes that if Fielding is removed we shall not hear of the nomination of another very soon, although there may be many pretenders for the post.* As these opinions are true in essence and current at Court I have thought it my duty to report them, so that you may have solid ground for your decision upon this important matter.

The despatches for Fielding have not yet been drawn up and I understand they will not be sent this week. I am not sorry for this delay, *because time cannot fail to mitigate their severity, and if coldness in everything was not natural to this nation I might think this present exhibition of it was an indication of an inclination towards the adjustment of the affair. The ministers try to get it to reach my ears that unless Fielding obtains a satisfactory reply he is to leave at once. Meanwhile they ask with curiosity if the law has taken extreme measures against della Nave. Some seem to think that if his case had been despatched before the ambassador's representations in the manner that his crimes deserve, the affair*

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might have been adjusted more easily I cannot venture to comment upon this but will only remark that those who speak thus are persons of considerable estimation, and to make myself clearer, the Earl of Arundel is inclined to hold this opinion, indeed his wife said as much to me very clearly. Both of them, upon this occasion, contrary to my original opinion, have given me signs of great cordiality. A person of considerable estimation and well affected towards the republic has maintained before his Majesty that it is not advantageous to the general welfare and peace to raise difficulties about mere punctilio at the risk of losing the confidence of so friendly a state, which may be very helpful in the present fluctuations for the interests of the Palatine, both by interposition and action. The satisfaction demanded of the republic is such as cannot be granted without upsetting the regulations for its good government, and opening the gate to consequences which will be very prejudicial in the course of time. He now complains that his advice has not been adopted. I have all this under a pledge of keeping it secret, as it would damage him greatly if it became known, but I have thought it right to inform your Excellencies. I assured him of your deep gratitude and of the great esteem you have always had for him personally. I find that this has done wonders in confirming his previous friendliness, and hope that I shall continue to profit by it with considerable advantage to the service of the state.

London, the 2nd April, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 3.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

187. To the Ambassador in England.

We enclose a copy of the exposition of the Spanish ambassador. You will try and ascertain whether the orders referred to have reached Ognat. On the 13th of February we sent by special courier an account of the remonstrance of the English ambassador because of the arrest of an individual opposite his house. We are surprised to find no reference to this in your letters of the 6th ult. just received, especially as the Spanish ambassador says that he has received news on the subject. Advices. Vote of 300 ducats for his couriers and the carriage of letters.

Ayes, 66. Noes, 2. Neutral, 4.

[*Italian.*]

April 3.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

188. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

It having been settled that the Palatine shall have the fifteen ships, they have been discussing the best means of rendering his forces as powerful and vigorous as possible. Finding that they cannot do this adequately without the assistance of foreign powers, they have decided that he must go in person to Holland to ask for their help. Accordingly he has himself conferred with the Dutch ambassador to ask his advice. That minister suggested that it would be advisable for him to be accompanied by a special envoy from England, as an additional stimulus, since it could never be displeasing to his masters that the king of Great Britain

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should show confidence in their good will in any situation where they were in a position to advance his interests or give him satisfaction. Accordingly, recognising that the Dutch would like to have this compliment paid, it is considered advisable to send a special ambassador, who will prefer the requests jointly with the Palatine in his Majesty's name.

That this may be done more regularly and on more solid foundations they would desire that the ratification of the treaty should first arrive from France, whence, owing to the illness of the commissioners or the absence of the king, the Ambassador Leicester writes that he has not yet been able to come to an end, *a thing which they take very ill here, and it makes them speak ill of the behaviour of the French, as if they aimed at keeping in suspense the best resolutions of this quarter, in order to derive profit for themselves for some secret truce or armistice with the Spaniards, about which they remain very suspicious here.*

Since the emperor's death the king here is evidently bent on carrying on the war, giving ever more manifest signs that he will not acknowledge the new King of the Romans ; thus he told the Dutch ambassador to intimate to his masters that it was high time for their troops to take the field, and alacrity would prove very helpful, and he would be very glad when he brought him word of it. This declaration deserves much consideration, as the king is not accustomed to speak with so much resolution where the affairs of others are concerned.

The matter of the fisheries makes very little progress, as they are determined to maintain their sovereignty over the sea ; the ministers try to smoothe matters by saying that their actions will not be so severe as their words, but this does not reassure the Dutch or remove their uneasiness, as they consider the question of the most serious importance, *in short this matter will always lead to trouble and may possibly prevent sound operations in other directions.*

The dispute with Denmark still remains on foot. That king will not accept the balance offered, being of opinion that the bother about the Palatine may enable him to do better. This annoys his Majesty here, but does not shake his resolve to maintain the maritime supremacy of Great Britain. This shows that there is no assurance that the royal fleet may not be used for something else, and that if the Palatine does not provide for his requirements in some other way, his fifteen ships may bring him more trouble than strength. This will certainly be the case if he does not receive that assistance from the French of which he makes sure.

The accident which prevented the audience of the Ambassador Ognati last week was only too true, as three persons of his household have died of the plague. This curse creeps into every part of the city, so that it has occasioned fresh alarm at Court. They say that as soon as the queen is able to travel their Majesties will go more than 150 miles away, but if there is any hope of improvement, they will not take this trouble.

The Persian merchant has taken leave of the king to-day, and he will embark tomorrow to return home. He goes away quite

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satisfied with the treatment he has received at Court, but very irritated by the extortions of the merchants and customs officials, as with all his efforts he could not escape paying the double duty exacted from all foreigners with the usual severity. I have done all I could for him, and I am sure that he departs under increased obligations to your Excellencies.

I expect to have audience next Monday to offer my congratulations on the birth of the princess, and if the letters for the Ambassador Fielding have not been forwarded, I will endeavour to soothe his Majesty.

London, the 3rd April, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 4. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

189. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The ministers here employ the greatest industry to prevent the union between England and France. For this purpose alone a courier was sent to that Court last Friday with instructions to the Catholic ambassador to assure the king there that his Majesty has written to Cæsar, and that he is as much concerned to give him satisfaction as he is to provide for the defence of his own dominions, and suggesting some other equivalent instead of the surrender of the Lower Palatinate. The minister here represents that such an exchange of satisfaction would not be difficult, unless promises are betrayed by deeds.

Madrid, the 4th April, 1637.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

April 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

190. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday I had audience of the king to congratulate him on the birth of the princess. After I had expressed regrets about Fielding's affair and observed in vain that the troubled state of the political horizon ought to make him form such resolves as were expected by the republic, *the king reflected for a space on the subject ; he then replied : I have always valued the republic's friendship. I know, as you say, that these are times to make it even more close. The ample expressions of goodwill which you have made towards my nephew's interests oblige me to be grateful and I confess it. In this case I claim no more than is right. Let the republic do her part, as she knows that, saving my honour, I shall do everything to satisfy her. After I had replied the king turned the conversation to other topics, to which I shall allude in another despatch.* I then went to the two secretaries, to Lord Holland and the Earl of Arundel, insisting that in such a matter justice must take its course. I pointed out to them in particular what an unfavourable impression it would make on the world if the confidence of two princes who had always been so friendly, were put to the hazard for matters of such slight consideration. It was the part of ministers to maintain and increase a good intelligence between well affected princes. I did what I could

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and hoped they would help me. I had to repeat my arguments several times to convince the Secretary Vindebanch. However I left them all excellently disposed, and the Earl of Arundel in particular, who promised to do his utmost to get the affair satisfactorily settled. In fact the two secretaries returned at two o'clock this afternoon and spoke to the following effect: His Majesty desired to maintain his friendly relations with the republic unchanged, and in order to adjust the differences, saving his honour, he would be content to relinquish all claim for the release of della Nave, owing to the nature of his crime and because he did not wish to interfere with the laws of the republic. But this being conceded, his Majesty expected the release of Boni who was arrested, they said, because he ate flesh in Lent, played on a Friday or some crime which they knew did not affect the majesty of the state. They insisted on his being handed over to Fielding as well as those officials who dared to put guards at his door on that occasion, as this would not contaminate the justice of Venice while it would satisfy the reputation of England.

In the course of my reply I said that Francesco de' Boni was an evil liver, a blasphemer and guilty of serious crimes. As for the officials, if they had done anything beyond their orders they would be severely punished. So then, took up the secretaries, your Excellency admits that the republic will afford his Majesty that satisfaction which has been granted to others on similar occasions, and that if the officials have set guards at the ambassador's doors, they shall be handed over to him to be punished.

I said that I was sure all the privileges enjoyed by ambassadors at Venice would be conceded to Lord Fielding without reservation, and it was certain that the sbirri would be punished if it was proved that they had committed a fault, as it was not customary to give ambassadors this trouble. All right, said they, then the affair is settled. If the king's ambassador receives the same satisfaction as has been granted to others, and if the officials receive the punishment which they deserve for their offence, his Majesty asks for nothing more.

Such was the end of our interview. The principal point about del Nave has certainly been won, but I think there will be difficulties about the remainder, as they will claim that the ambassador must be believed in what he asserts about the guard set at his door, and as regards Boni's release they consider they have better examples on their side than I have adduced to the contrary. However, if they confine themselves to genuine instances and do not claim more than has been done for others, as the secretaries declare, it will not be difficult to find a way to satisfy them.

London, the 7th April, 1637.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

191. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The ministers here do not agree to the proposals made by the English. The Cardinal told me that things must be properly adjusted as he does not consider the force promised by the king

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of England to the Prince Palatine adequate to what is required. He considers that king high minded but fears that those about him divert him from what he ought to do. The Earl of Leicester works hard and wants to persuade them that this is enough for the present. He contends that to claim that England shall declare war if she is not satisfied about the restitution of the Palatinate is not just because she has no personal grievance against the Austrians. They certainly wrong her in not attending to their promises but this does not oblige her to resentment sufficient to make her take such a great step so readily. They do not properly understand here what is to their own advantage; because if his king entered the alliance and made war about the question of the Palatinate alone, he would have to abandon the league when he received satisfaction from the Spaniards, whereas if they accept what is now offered and his Majesty binds himself to declare war if the Austrians, within a certain time do not restore not only the Palatinate but all the other princes of Germany, that is something more secure and more advantageous for their interests here.

He complains that the French treat the ships of his king, which they take on their way to Flanders with foodstuffs, worse than they do the Dunkirkers and Spaniards, although the Cardinal has recently had some released at his instance. He professes to fear that when they perceive this coldness in England his Majesty there may be persuaded not to allow the Palatine to arm at sea in order not to give greater offence to the Spaniards with a matter of slight consequence. With respect to the congress at Hamburg he maintains that the treaty must be concluded here before it meets.

Paris, the 7th April, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

192. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate.

After my conversation with the Secretaries of State yesterday, I thought I was justified in considering the matter in good train, but whether it be my ill fortune, their obstinacy, the power of Fielding's relations or that their passionate appeals have more influence than reason, I can see that they have little idea here of consenting to a just composition. The Secretaries came here this morning by express order of the king to intimate that his Majesty would not rest content with general satisfaction in a matter where his honour was especially affected, and claimed that his ambassador should receive special demonstrations of respect. These should at least consist of Boni's release and the assurance that the one who set guards at the ambassador's door should be punished. I expressed astonishment at hearing such different views from the same lips after such a short interval. I told them that confiding in what I had heard from two public ministers, and especially as regards the English ministers enjoying privileges in no wise inferior to those observed with other crowns, I had already informed your Excellencies of what was

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arranged yesterday, and I did not see how this could be withdrawn without damaging my reputation, as you certainly cannot do more for the English ambassador than you have for the Spanish.

They answered me that such was the absolute determination of the king, which they could not resist. That the despatches for the ambassador were already drawn up and there was nothing more to do except to despatch them this evening.

I afterwards went to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Arundel to complain. They both shrugged their shoulders and said that the secretaries had imagined there would be no occasion to retract, but his Majesty would not rest content. Arundel, to whom I spoke more confidentially, advised me not to speak to the king again, as I should do more harm than good. He told me further that he himself had heard the letters which were written to the ambassador this week, to which his Majesty made them add that if he could not obtain the satisfaction indicated he must come away, without writing direct to England again ; but he thought the ambassador would devise a means to avoid the blame which must attach itself to such a rupture.

I am sending this despatch by Basfort, who is taking those of the Ambassador, as I have not had time to do otherwise.

London, the 8th April, 1637.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

April 9. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

193. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

Fears multiply that the treaties between England and France will vanish without result. The English and the Palatine family say that the French are only manœuvring for time and will not conclude unless Sweden and these Provinces join. If it is so this Court will not consider England in the wrong, as if Sweden and the Dutch are to enter there is no time to lose. The Princess Palatine told me explicitly that the French are drawing back and are not playing fair. Yet there are signs that the fault is with England, who tries to throw the blame on France, as Beveren says they have greatly cooled and have reduced the number of ships to fifteen while gentlemen have been forbidden to take service. It is believed that the parties wish to approach each other, but not to unite, and that their object is to gain time. If the Swedes and these States are to join, the Austrians need have no fears for this season.

The Hague ; the 9th April, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

April 10. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

194. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

In spite of the plague Ognate has had audience of the king, with whom he remained alone for fully two hours. It is supposed that he made offers about surrendering the Lower Palatinate, which is almost entirely in the hands of the Spaniards. For the rest he made general but impracticable offers of equivalents for

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the dominions, and more specifically that after the death of the present duke of Bavaria the electoral vote should be exercised alternately by the Palatine House and by Bavaria's heirs. If the conditions are such there seems no likelihood of their being embraced, because they do not differ greatly from those proposed in Germany to the earl of Arundel, which he was far from accepting. It is possible that there is something more solid and practicable, because since this audience the secretaries of state have been twice at the ambassador's house and had most lengthy conferences with him. They make a grievance at Court that while Ognate is the only minister of the House of Austria here, he has neglected to inform the king of the death of the emperor, and for this reason his Majesty has not chosen that sombre clothing shall be worn, as is usual upon such occasions.

His Majesty spoke to me about the emperor's death at my audience last Monday and said it should give an impulse to fresh disturbances in Germany. The accession of the new one was certainly not legitimate. The most essential fundamentals were lacking in the election that took place at Ratisbon. *The king did not say so much definitely but he meant me to understand that he did not mean to recognise him as emperor. Thus, in referring to the Congress at Cologne he remarked that it was a time to think of something else and it was impossible to give shape to the peace without a proper disposition of the materials. This affords the strongest grounds for concluding that their thoughts here do not run in the direction of an accommodation, and if the proposals of the Spaniards are not such as to give them complete satisfaction in the matter of the restitution of his dominions and of the electoral vote to the Palatine, it is quite clear that they will not be embraced.*

The Palatine undoubtedly contemplates sending an ambassador extraordinary to Holland, to help the treaties they think of concluding with those powers; but they still hold back the appointment, as they wish first to see what resolutions France will take about the last proposals which Oger took to them many weeks ago. As they profess that these are the same as the French themselves desired on previous occasions, with conditions indeed greatly altered to their advantage, the ministers here are exceedingly perplexed at this long delay of the ratification. *The Secretary Cuch told me personally, very roundly, that the dilatoriness of the French procedure in this affair had deeply offended his Majesty, and it was not the way to encourage a warm friendship with England, such as they profess to desire. The moment was most favourable in every respect, but if it was lost, it would not be so easy to find it again a second time. To soothe him I pointed out the importance to France of union with this crown and that it was unlikely they would miss the opportunity. The delay was probably due to the absence of the king and the illness of Buglion, not to lack of goodwill; but it was desirable not to lose time.*

I have heard others speak in exactly the same way, and I have noticed the display of strong feeling everywhere at this affair remaining unsettled for so long a time. In addition to the prejudice which the delay itself causes, it is believed that their reputation suffers

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thereby, because the Spaniards do not scruple to speak about it in a way that they do not like. They go about saying that there was too much shouting about it and the results do not correspond with the noise. That the French are seeking their own advantage, and apart from that they do not care about England. Such remarks are wounding, but in the long run they will not help their authors, the more so because they tend to bring pique to the support of judgment.

The French on their side contend, although not openly, that it is not reasonable they should be committed to the war without being at liberty to end it except with the consent of England which for her part offers nothing but piracy, as they call it in so many words, by a few ships under the shadow of a prince who has nothing to contribute except his name. In questions of more importance the English reserve to themselves the right to announce their hostility to the House of Austria in the event of a failure to arrange amicably the outstanding differences between them. If in such case they are compelled by necessity to take action, this may serve as being sufficiently meritorious to weigh with all that the French have been obliged to do. However, the replies given to his Majesty's ambassador at Paris are not in this vein nor do his letters report such sharp criticisms. But the Ambassador Seneterre here, when he writes privately, cannot fail to take exception to what is said and expresses himself even more freely, and so in the conduct of the negotiations for a treaty of friendship, distrust and rancour are aroused which may well hinder the sincere development which is desirable.

A brother of the Landgrave of Hesse* left here recently. The king gave him a diamond worth 1200 crowns, but for the rest he was ill pleased, as he could get no decided reply. He left an agent here. He again offered his services to the Prince Palatine on any conditions he pleased. The Prince told him that the fleet would be under his absolute command and he might be his lieutenant general. He does not ask for troops or for money to raise any new ones, but only for the means to support his present forces. He says they are in a poor and devastated country and cannot hope to subsist any longer. However he only asks for 100,000*l.* sterling, of which he will be content with 20,000*l.* paid down, and for this he promises to do things worth much more than the money. As the Landgrave is going on his private affairs to Wesel, he asks the Palatine to confer with him at the Hague. His offers are recognised here as liberal and are greatly appreciated, but they do not vouchsafe any answer which really settles anything, excusing everything on the ground of the delay in the ratification of the treaty with France. Accordingly, in the meantime, the agent here has received orders from the Landgrave himself to go and meet him in Holland and when he leaves all this business may be utterly dissolved. The Dutch ambassador has strongly urged the king and the Palatine not to miss the opportunity of this Conference, but he has been

*Frederick, younger brother of William V., landgrave of Hesse Cassel. *See Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637, page 5. His brothers Christian and Ernest had been in England in the preceding October. *See* No. 90 at page 85 above and *note*.

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unable to get any satisfactory reply. Apparently the Landgrave will go from Wesel to Hamburg to take part in the assembly there, to which Oxestern talks of sending a minister.

They no longer think of Prince Rupert going to Germany with troops, but of sending him with a large force to try and conquer the island of Madagascar otherwise called the island of San Lorenzo. The Council has worked hard over the matter this week. The Earl of Arundel has maintained the propriety of the enterprise more vigorously than any one else, because many, dreaming of improving their fortunes, promise that it will be easy. They have already arranged that Prince Rupert shall have the sovereign rule of the country, with the royal title, while individuals aspire to the greatest advantages and very fat profits. People who know and consider the matter without prejudice believe that these light fancies will die away in mere speculation before they begin to put them into effect, because they do not think that a very large force supplied with provisions for so long a voyage, can easily sail, and even if it does, as they have to conquer a people of the utmost ferocity and barbarity, they think the attempt will either fail, or if it succeeds partially it will be impossible to lay the foundations for a quiet rule. But this is the matter to which the Court devotes most of its attention at present, and one is curious to see what decision they will take ; for the rest everything moves with the slowness of their habitual circumspection. One sees nothing actually done beyond the arming of the king's ordinary fleet. This, with the fifteen sail destined for the Palatine's service, one may expect to be ready to sail at the beginning of next month.

I have received this week two despatches from the Senate.

London, the 10th April, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 11. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

195. To the Ambassador in England.

The ordinary from Augsburg only brought the letters from the Hague on Thursday, but this morning we have received your despatches of the 13th, 14th and 18th ult. We approve of your offices with the Secretary Coke and the other ministers, and especially of the impression made upon the king who seems to admit the validity of our arguments. We feel sure that the misrepresentations of Fielding and his partisans will make no impression. If necessary you will continue to insist with emphasis with the king, the ministers, and everyone that the small house was rented to a workman at the Mint, a subject of ours, who had nothing whatever to do with the ambassador's house. We may add, as further evidence of the nature of the crime with which the culprit is charged, that two of our nobility, who were implicated in the affair, have been banished for ever and degraded from their nobility, with other most severe penalties, which are only customary in cases of the highest importance and in matters of state. We enclose a copy of the sentence.

Ayes, 128. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

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April 15.
Consiglio di X. Parti, Secrete. Venetian Archives.

196. In the Council of Ten.

That the attached papers about the English ambassador be communicated by a secretary of this Council to the Savii of the Collegio, to be used by them as they may see fit.

Ayes, 14. Noes, 0. Neutral, 9.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure.

197. (1) . . . .* last Thursday a man went to his house to offer himself as a boatman. He said that he was at the traghetto of San Giobbe. The ambassador liked his looks and engaged him, telling him to come the next morning. When the man came the ambassador sent him to San Moise to fetch some goods. But the ambassador sent some of his people after the boatman who seized him and brought him to the house, although he tried to escape with the barque . . . .* The ambassador refused to have anything to do with the man, although he had sent for him.†

(2) The Captain General reports that last Sunday, the 12th inst., he had arrested one Andrea Mendnor da Pani, in the habit of a flagellant, who had gashed the face of Laura Montagnana Posamanna with a razor as she came out of the church of San Moise, and who then took refuge in the house of the English ambassador, from which he was afterwards conveyed to another place in the ambassador's gondola.

[*Italian.*]

April 17.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

198. To the Ambassador in England.

On Saturday the 11th inst. we informed you by way of France of the receipt of your despatches of the 13th, 14th and 18th ult. chiefly about the English ambassador here. On the Sunday following this a most scandalous incident occurred which has incensed the whole city to the highest pitch. On that solemn Easter day, as a certain lady of virtuous habits was coming out of the church of San Moise, her parish, an individual clothed in sackcloth, which covered his face, who was waiting on purpose for her, approached her under the pretence of asking alms, and seizing her throat with one hand, disfigured her face badly with a razor with the other. He then took to flight and took refuge in the house of the English ambassador. Many of those about and the relations of the unhappy victim pursued the villain, but when they reached the ambassador's house and saw him enter, they stopped out of respect. The ambassador made the culprit enter his gondola, and with four oars he had him rowed hurriedly away through the Grand Canal, so that it is impossible to know

* Torn.

† This case is described more fully by Fielding himself in his despatch of the 8th June, N.S. He had engaged a gondolier, who proved very slack in attending to his duties and finally went off to enter the service of Signor Querini, who took him without enquiring whether the ambassador had dismissed the man. Some days later, seeing the man rowing past his house, Fielding sent two of his footmen to give him a beating "to teach his master better manners and to learn the respect due to persons of my quality." *S.P. For. Venice.*

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whither he has gone. He has thus rescued from well merited punishment a rascal who ventured to commit such a crime on this holy day against a poor woman who had just performed her duty as a Christian at church.

In addition to this the ambassador has shown violence to a servant, upon a vain pretext, having him removed from a barque, where he should have been safe, and dealing with him as you will see from the enclosed copy, which we send for your information, so that you may inform the king and ministers and especially the Secretary Coke of this behaviour, which cannot fail to arouse our deepest displeasure while it is also a scandal to the whole community. You will express to them how strongly we feel about it.

We had your letters of the 20th ult. yesterday and enclose advices.

Ayes, 120. Noes, 0. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

April 17. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

199. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish ambassador is trying to find if any opening remains for resuming the negotiations about the affairs of the Prince Palatine which have been entirely broken off with the House of Austria since the return of the Earl of Arundel. To this end also he had spent a long time this week in audience of his Majesty. He asked his Majesty that for this purpose he would be pleased to depute commissioners for the purpose, with whom he might conveniently treat upon the points he had to propose. He told him that these were everything that could be desired for the mutual satisfaction of the interested parties, and accordingly he felt sure that matters may easily be arranged provided he has not to deal with the Earl of Holland or the Secretary Coke, whom he would exclude as professed enemies of the House of Austria.

If the proposal does not in itself displease the king, the manner of it angered him. He told the ambassador that he knew the Earl and Secretary were his good servants, and he could not suffer others to accuse them of partisanship of which they were not guilty. As regards appointing commissioners he arranged nothing, indeed he afterwards remarked candidly to others that he did not believe the ambassador had instructions for this, but was acting entirely on his own responsibility with the object of preventing other and more opportune resolutions.

That is the general opinion of the Court and it is therefore supposed that this step will only have irritated the king the more, and confirmed the unfavourable opinion which he had already formed of the ambassador. He has taken it very ill that Ognate has never called on any of his ministers of state, declaring that he would not do so unless they first visited him, a course not only contrary to the common practice, but contrary to the invariable behaviour of all his predeccssors here.

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On the other hand, although these new motions ought to create suspicion, the affairs with France do not proceed satisfactorily. The Earl of Leicester writes that the Cardinal now haggles about two points not previously in dispute, so the conclusion seems to go constantly further off. It seems he wishes England to declare herself more openly against the House of Austria, and not to molest the Dutch fisheries so long as the alliance lasts, remarking that it cannot soundly exist for long without a good understanding between England and those Provinces. He also recommends the inclusion of Sweden. Accordingly he proposes that the matter shall be arranged, not now, but at the congress which the Chancellor Oxestern is trying to bring about at Hamburg for this purpose, and at the same time a strong party be formed consisting of France, England, Sweden and Holland which would be able to sustain the most vigorous offensive enterprises against the House of Austria. But although they might eventually co-operate for such an end, their views here are not at present of this character, and they would prefer, first of all to see the alliance with France definitely concluded, and then treat with the others, one by one. It is also possible that, with all these delays, they are afraid that the Most Christian may secretly be arranging terms with the House of Austria.

With respect to a more open declaration here against the House of Austria, it is known to be impolitic, as the English have very large investments (*grossisimi capitali*) in Spain, which they are constantly increasing, and they will not readily risk them. *The king personally, moreover, has not yet got his courage so high as to plunge right away into so great and costly a war. The question of the fisheries also seems in great disorder. They find it very strange that the Most Christian wishes to interfere, when they have declared so positively that they cannot suffer it, but that they will grant by connivance more possibly than may be asked by a definite arrangement. If the French do not abandon this pretension it is intimated that all negotiations with them must be abandoned altogether, so that this long business becomes more and more disturbed every day to the increasing detriment of the interests of the Dutch, since the rush of these sudden humours has upset all that was being slowly won, step by step, through patience and tact.* For the same reason they are holding in suspense their reply to the landgrave.

With Sweden friendly offices are constantly being exchanged and they are far from niggardly with their promises to Oxestern. But he, desiring rather liberality in deeds, is not content with words and threatens those strokes which are most dreaded here.

With matters in this condition they have suddenly taken a resolution which will only serve to make things worse, as the king has signed a patent for a gentleman of the Cherch family, giving him full powers for twenty years to exercise the sole use of the fisheries between the island of Newfoundland and Virginia, places held by the English in the West Indies. As Canada which the French hold under the name of New France, lies between these, off whose coasts they have been accustomed for a very long period to fish for bacalao, or cod, as they call it, with very great

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advantage, it seems unlikely that they will bear this patiently. Anyhow, Cherch is preparing a considerable number of ships and hopes to gain by force what may be opposed by reason. The Ambassador Seneterre has made strong remonstrances to the ministers, but without any result. He also protests that if Colonel Ferens goes to France for the old debt which the Palatine House claims from the king there, according to his instructions, he will be wasting his pains. Accordingly the Colonel's departure is postponed, and they think that the whole subject will be dropped entirely. Thus dissatisfaction is accumulating on both sides, especially as there is always material for the ill will to which these two nations are naturally disposed.

They are also awaiting Denmark's reply to their offices, and the dissatisfaction which he professes with Cæsar for abolishing the duties on the Elbe at the petition of the Hamburgers, affords them hope that he will concur with the better heart and force for the relief of the Palatine, the more so because with respect to his maritime pretensions already referred to, he has not yet made any move to excite uneasiness.

They still discuss the Madagascar enterprise, but they seem to realise its impracticability more every hour. The Earl of Arundel works exceedingly hard at it and intimates that if the king gives up the idea for Prince Rupert, he himself may take it up with his friends ; but if it is unsuitable for the one people think it will prove less feasible for the other.

I have been this week to kiss the queen's hands, and congratulated her, in the name of your Excellencies, on her happy delivery. The new princess was christened the day before yesterday* and they gave her the name of Anna. The function was private and the prince and the elder of the princesses took part, in the name, so they said, of their deceased grandparents, a form newly devised by the king, as there is no memory of its ever having been done before.

London, the 17th April, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 24. **200**. To the Ambassador in England.

Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

We have received your letters of the 23rd, 25th and 27th March. We are amazed at his Majesty's sentiments on the subject, but approve highly of what you said to the two secretaries of state as well as to the king. We understand from your despatch of the 27th that an express was to be sent to the Ambassador Fielding to enable him to set forth his Majesty's view and decisions. We are now approaching the end of the month and the ambassador has not yet appeared in the Collegio. Possibly the courier has met with an accident. We will await events. The Senate's reasons have already been set forth, and there is now the fresh case of the man who assaulted a woman coming out of church. The little house had no public character whatever. With

* According to Salvetti this function was fixed for the 10th, the day of his despatch. Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962H.

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regard to the contention that the ambassador used it as a passage to the garden of the Ca Dandolo, you can state that as the house pertains to one of our nobles the ambassador's entry would not be permitted. We enclose a copy of a letter written to the king on the subject, and we will leave the rest to your prudence, according to the aspect which the affair may have taken.

With regard to his Majesty's suggestion that we should ask him to send an ambassador to Cologne, you will, when you see him, express our gratification at this mark of confidence, commend his generous efforts for universal peace and assure him that if he sends a minister to Cologne our ambassador will co-operate with him in every possible way in the interests of the general welfare, feeling sure that the assistanee and authority of so great a king eannot fail to promote general quiet and tranquillity, and so forth, to show his Majesty our desire to respond in the fullest manner to his confidence. Your offices should be in these general terms while expressing our most friendly esteem.

Ayes, 37. Noes, 15. Neutral, 99.

Seeond vote :

Ayes, 37. Noes, 6. Neutral, 115. Pending.

The letter to the King of Great Britain was countermanded, and meanwhile the letter to the ambassador was sent, omitting the passage referring to that letter.

Ayes, 114. Noes, 0. Neutral, 6.

[*Italian.*]

April 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

201. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

They have declined to appoint commissioners for the Spanish ambassador, who has refused to show his powers, although he says he has them. He asserts that he is punctually informed about the treaties with France, he supplies the particulars and works his hardest to destroy the effects. The circumstances of the present time show the ministers here that the allianee with France is necessary above everything else. Although they are vexed at the bottom of their hearts because it has not yet been ratified they are constantly devising the most ready methods for establishing it, rather than let it drop, and they think it expedient even to give way on those points whieh up to the present time they have tried to evade. Meanwhile the Earl of Lester reports that he has again met the commissioners appointed for him, and has left the matter in a better state than it was, so he hopes soon to be able to report the ratification, and when this is signed he will send the news by an extraordinary.

Yet they never give a thought to sending an ambassador to Hamburg, although France and Holland urge it. The ministers here prefer to treat with each of the powers separately. Accordingly the news recently brought from Sweden by Colonel Flitwud, who was the first sent from here to that Court, has pleased them greatly. He reports that the news he brought about his Majesty's generous resolutions in regard to the Palatine were received with applause ; he brings the very warm thanks of that kingdom for

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his Majesty's offers and assurances that if he carries them into effect they will think no more of a private agreement with Cæsar, but will continue the war with ardour so that the peoples of Christendom may be established once for all in repose through a general composition after so many past calamities. He has presented to the king capitulations which the Swedes ask to have in writing, to be stipulated by the parties within a period of three months beginning from the 6th February last according to the English style. These contain that a levy of six regiments of infantry, partly English and partly Scots, shall be granted to them at their own expense, a certain sum of money being paid down to them, either as a free gift or as a loan, to be repaid at their convenience, and some monthly pension for the maintenance of the troops, offering for the security of the king the maintenance of some places in Westphalia, near the River Weser. On their side they undertake to continue the war with the emperor until the Palatine is fully restored to his dominions either by force or treaty, and is fully satisfied about the electoral vote.

They are to deliberate next Sunday in the Council upon these proposals which are considered both substantial and advantageous for them here, and will at once decide what they will do, as the three months' term has almost entirely expired. But whereas the granting of the levies and the payment of a certain sum of money are recognised as inevitable, so the consenting to receive the deposit of the fortresses is not considered a safe course, as it involves expense and a thousand other embarrassments, to which they would gladly avoid putting their hands.

They have given no answer as yet to the Landgrave of Hesse because they are doubtful about his sincerity, because they feel perfectly sure that he has not the troops on foot which he professes, but that he wants to entangle this crown insensibly in the war by large oblations in order to discharge himself of the burden which he now has on his shoulders. As a matter of fact it is believed that he is not strong enough to maintain himself even in his own states. Accordingly unless he gives more convincing proofs of his forces they will abandon the negotiations with him altogether.

An unknown author has replied to Selden, who in his book "Mare Clausum" upholds the claims of this crown over the sea. The copies only appeared yesterday, and the sale was suppressed to-day by the king's order.* However, I have succeeded in obtaining a copy, which I send herewith, in obedience to previous instructions.

I have received this week the state despatches of the 27th ult. I hope that orders will reach the Ambassador Ognat and that he will act in accordance with them. I have had abundant

* On the 23rd April n.s. Boswell wrote from the Hague "Your honour will receive herewith a bolt suddenly shot against Mr. Selden's *Mare Clausum*, and the deduction of his Majesty's right in the seas, by one John Isaac Pontanus, Professor of History at Harderwick in Guelderland, Historiographer and Pensionary to the King of Denmark at the instance of whose minister it is thought generally here that he undertook this work, which he partly conjectured because he dedicates the same unto that Chancellor's son. *S.P. For. Holland.*

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evidence of his reluctanee to re-cstablish relations on an equal footing.

If this is not so full of partieulars as it should be I beg your Exeellencies to exeusc me, as a severe fever eompelled me to take to my bed some days ago, and it gives mc no respite to writc more. If it does not entirely take away my strength, I shall not forget to eontinue my labours.

London, the 24th April, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

April 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

202. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secrctary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Teller, desiring to win for himself a reputation for astuteness, goes about suggesting to the emperor and ministers the neeessity of finding some middle way for the satisfaetion of the Palatine. He labours to make the Court understand that he is no longer a minister of his king but is staying in a private eapacity. It is known, however, that this is the exact contrary of the truth, beeause frequent letters and orders reach him from that Court. The last of these impelled him to ask for audienee of the emperor, to whom he spoke of his own motion urging him very strongly not to abandon these negotiations which may possible be rendered more easy than in the past and nearer a eonelusion. He was told that so much had already been said that it was useless to add more. He was referred to the Count of Traumestorf for further particulars. Apparently there is some proposal on the earpet for the Palatine and Bavaria to enjoy the electoral vote alternately. There are powerful obstacles in the way of restoring the Lower Palatinate.

Teller has told several persons that at the audience he did not give the emperor his imperial title. He says that he remains in a private capacity as otherwise he would have to present a protest in his Majesty's name.

Vienna, the 25th April, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

April 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

203. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Franee, to the Doge and Senate.

Last Friday I went to see the Cardinal at Seiaron. After speaking of other matters and in order to find out his sentiments about the treaty with England, I told him, what was aetually true, that I had notieed the Ambassador Leicester was very troubled about not being able to eonelude his treaty. The Cardinal remarked, They want things to suit themselves; to avoid pledging themselves and do nothing while we do a great deal. You yourself shall judge of this and see who is right. I modestly diselaimed this honour. It so happened, said he, that at the very moment your Excellency came in I was looking at the treaty with England. Look here, we say it is not right to want us to pledge ourselves not to make peaee until thc Palatine is reinstated without our knowing what they mean to do. They eertainly say that they will deelare war within a certain

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time if they do not receive satisfaction and we are with them, that they may see in the diet of Hamburg what they may expect from the emperor, and if they can get the restitution of the Palatinate without coming to blows. We are quite content with this ; but if they do not get it, a discussion will be held there and suggestions brought forward with the Swedes and the Dutch about what can be done, not only for that prince but for the others as well. The English have been played with so often that they will see through the trick. They now want to pledge us without saying what they mean to do. I remarked that Leicester had told me that they will declare war. But, rejoined the Cardinal, they do not say how. They must state whether by sea or by land. See if we put ourselves in the right. If they will not do any more we say We have an alliance with the Swedes and Dutch whereby we cannot have fresh confederates about minor matters without first obtaining their consent, so before going further it is necessary to hear their views ; but if they are willing to wage war in real earnest, we shall conclude with them and come to an agreement, because we shall know their intentions and shall have no further doubts. But better still, see how little we are contented with, if they declare war we shall be satisfied if they provide thirty men of war, suitably equipped, and 6000 foot and 2000 or 1500 horse to send to Germany ; in that case the deed is done. His Eminence said nothing about the Grisons.

The Earl of Leicester knows nearly all these particulars, but he complains that they give him no definite answer ; this offends the king of England besides the numerous variations which he declare they have started here, having changed their proposals two or three times, so that he says nothing seems settled. The only reason they give is that circumstances have altered and so they have to change their decisions. In short, so far as one can gather from his statements, the affair is moving in the direction of a dissolution rather than towards a conclusion, with some acerbity on both sides.

Paris, the 28th April, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

April 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

204. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Beveren writes that the king there wants these Provinces to help his nephew, under a promise not to mention the sovereignty of the sea for some time. The Princess Palatine told the Prince of Orange that her son would come here about this and then go back to England. The Prince remarked that the Palatine should not leave that Court before the treaties are concluded and intimated that he might find difficulties about returning. The States do not consider that the English will find it so easy to get support for the Palatine here under the promise indicated. The French protest that they have offered England to adjust the question of sovereignty, to open the way for an alliance with these Provinces, but the English would not

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listen and the fleet was only intended to uphold their dominion. Thus the ill feeling between England and France seems only to increase, each party intimating that the fault is with the other.

The Hague, the 30th April, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

May 1. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

205. To the Ambassador in England.

We have received your despatches of the 2nd and 3rd ult. We note the efforts made for the recall of the Ambassador Fielding. We approve of what you have done and the information obtained by the friendly offices of the individual who spoke so wisely to the king, for which he deserves the thanks of the republic. The case against Andrea della Nave will follow its ordinary course. You will continue to advance the same arguments and we hope that you will have been able to tranquillise the king's mind to the advantage of the public service. Advices.

Ayes, 109. Noes, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

May 1. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

206. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

They have hold long and frequent conferences this week about the Swedish proposals, but although time presses, a decision has been delayed. The chief reason is supposed to be the doubtful state of negotiations with France, whom they possibly mean to stimulate by this policy, or else, as the king is not settling with one crown, he may be averse from beginning negotiations with another, but would rather make terms with the Austrians, who offer secure and advantageous terms, exempt from the chance of war, and indeed this week the Spanish Ambassador made fresh offers of the complete restitution of the Lower Palatinate showing the special powers which he holds, and adding that until it is entirely handed over and the Palatine enjoys secure possession, some strong and important fortresses in the Netherlands will be placed in his Majesty's hands, and they will treat afterwards about the remainder and the electoral dignity, with proposals which certainly will not cause dissatisfaction. Meanwhile, as a mark of good will he has left with his Majesty a present of two most beautiful Spanish horses, and he presented another to the Marquis of Hamilton, the Master of the Horse, saying that he had other very swift ones to send to his king when he wished to send him speedy news of the successful conclusion of the affair.

These offices, which have some semblance of sincerity, since it is known that the Spaniards have possession of the Lower Palatinate exactly as they held it in the year 1630 before the King of Sweden entered Germany, by no means displease the Palatine, *who has never been able to conceal his apprehension of exposing himself in an army. So it appears he has intimated that they ought not to disdain the proposals of the Austrians where it is a question of certain gain, and it is better to enjoy what is certain than*

Wt. 28588.

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to expose oneself to manifest peril for uncertain gain, with so much dependence upon fortune. These opinions confirm the impression of his lack of courage. As this is the basis of every appeal to arms, people imagine that little vigour will be shown, and without this foundation not much can be hoped for the rest. Prince Rupert also seems more inclined to the ease and charm of the Court than to the practise of arms, so that one does not know what to expect from either of them in case of emergency.

Meanwhile the Swedes circulate a report that they have already sent Count Brandestein to Vienna and to the Elector of Saxony to hear proposals for a separate adjustment, as without help they cannot hold out, the imperial army having hemmed theirs in and obliged it to retire to fortified positions, in the hope of starving them into a retreat; that a secret alliance against them, the Swedes, is being formed by Denmark, Poland and Saxony, to expel them altogether from Germany, as proved by letters intercepted from General Harnheim, showing that he himself was conducting the negotiation, for which he had been arrested and sent prisoner to Sweden. All these threats fail to decide the king here to help Oxestern, unless he is sure of France, as he is afraid she may make terms with Austria if she is not bound by any treaty, and let the flood of all the evil influences descend upon them. If this should happen, they recognise clearly that their cause would be beaten down for ever, as they cannot expect to have sufficient force to resist such heavy blows. However they have decided to devise some other expedient for unmasking this affair with the Most Christian completely, so that afterwards they may have solid foundation for taking such steps as they may consider most advantageous. If the letters from the Earl of Leicester do not bring some good news this week, it is stated that in the following week they will send a special envoy with fresh instructions, though it is thought it will only be to charge him to make protests that if they do not give him his answer in a few days he has orders to abandon the affair and to return to England without further delay.

With regard to the reports of the Count dalla Rocca about what happened here in Fielding's affair, his correspondents blundered badly in anticipating events, as they send word of things before negotiations were opened. Audience was never denied me. Nothing more is said on the subject, but they are waiting to hear from Fielding. It is hoped his reports may be good, as many letters from his private friends have advised him to abandon the indefensible attitude he showed at the outset, and his own mother has several times assured me that she hopes that the old confidential relations between this crown and the republic will be advanced at the time of his departure rather than diminished.

I hope soon to be leaving for France. I shall be grateful if the Senate will be pleased to grant me a coadjutor in addition to the secretary. For a fortnight I have been kept to my bed.

London, the 1st May, 1637.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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May 5.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

207. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

They have taken to the English Ambassadors in the king's name the reply for which they were waiting. This does not seem to satisfy them, and they say that it is not definitive and that they do not wish to pledge themselves here because they want peace.

Paris, the 5th May, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

May 6.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

208. The English Ambassador came into the Collegio and spoke to the following effect:

It will seem strange to your Serenity that I appear now after such a long interval. I could not do otherwise without express orders from my king. He has directed me to return and so I obey. I was very greatly offended at the incident which caused me to withdraw, because it affected his Majesty's honour, and I could not dispose of that without consulting him. I regretted deeply being prevented from coming to see your Serenity, as I feared I should lose your favour which I value so highly.

The gentleman whom I sent with my account of the incident* has returned with letters from his Majesty expressing his deep regard for the republic and with full instructions about what I am to do to obtain proper satisfaction from your Serenity. He directs me first to represent the sorrow with which he heard of the scant respect shown to his ambassador, and that he expects a demonstration corresponding to his affection for this republic. He feels sure that rather than omit such a sign of friendship you will afford satisfaction corresponding to his greatness.

I think that your ambassador has offered some reparation. This was not considered sufficient and his Majesty has honoured me with full powers to treat about this. He has the matter so much at heart that he has written about it with his own hand.† He knows me for a devoted servant of your Serenity and now I declare my desire to use every effort to remove all difficulties. You will have no reason to complain of me. I shall await your Serenity's decisions.

In my letters I have evaded the matters which might have rendered this serious affair difficult and thorny, so I am not with-

* Basford.

† Fielding's account of the affair was received in London on the 4th March. Writing on the 20th March Salvetti states that the king was inclined to blame Fielding and that he did not favour the protection of criminals. But in the news letter of 3rd April he reports that Fielding's relations by their efforts have succeeded in making an impression on the king, leading to higher demands from the Signory. Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962H. The state papers contain two drafts of instructions for Fielding on the subject, the first dated 24th March directs the ambassador to accept any reasonable reparation; the second, of the 25th March is much stiffer and authorises Fielding to demand that the prisoners be handed over to him, and that the offending sbirri be delivered to him for punishment. Writing on the 8th May Fielding declares that Secretary Coke's orders "would have forced me to come off with dishonour upon very ill terms." *State Papers Foreign, Venice.* It therefore seems probable that the first draft was Coke's and that the king's letter mentioned in the text was in the terms of the second draft.

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out fear of what may ensue, as I may be blamed. However, I prefer the maintenance of the mutual friendship to my own private interests.

I therefore ask your Serenity to give his Majesty just and proper satisfaction, in the assurance that I will sacrifice everything to maintain and increase this confidence, without considering my personal position, so that the king has satisfaction. I hope to show that I am worthy of your confidence. I must warn your Serenity that noble and well born spirits always aspire to serve their princes well, and I, who profess to serve well my king and your Serenity too, promise myself that you, on your side will remove all difficulties that may intervene and prevent matters going to the last extremity, which I should deplore.

The doge replied, We are always glad to see you and were sorry to be deprived of the pleasure for so long a time. We rejoice to see again one whom we esteem so much and are also glad that his Majesty has confided the affair to you, as you know the good intentions of the republic and that we never had the slightest idea of giving you any offence. We have always shown our affectionate respect for the King of Great Britain and desired to preserve friendship and confidential relations with him.

We can assure you that in what happened there never was the slightest intention to prejudice his Majesty or you, and no different interpretation should be given, as we could not show more affectionate esteem.

The house was considered private, and let to a private person, without the ambassador having any interest therein. The one who gave the order had express information that this was so. We hope that you will give the matter due consideration. Your house was not touched, and there was never the slightest indication of any attack on your interests. You may rest assured that the republic will do all that it can, but we ask you to take the matter in its essence, without listening to the accounts of others, holding fast to the maxim that there was no evil deed or intention, and that the republic, in every way possible, will show the great esteem it has for you, as we have not had for many years any ambassador whom we loved more. We regretted the event, the more because you took offence at very small matters.

The ambassador expressed his thanks and said, I am sure that his Majesty has the most perfect confidence in the good intentions of the republic, and his resentment is assuaged. If your Serenity will propose something that satisfies his honour he will be satisfied.

I had every reason to take offence, and my king was deeply offended, so that I was bound to demonstrate his feelings at the breach of his dignity and the scant respect shown to my house.

The doge replied, Your lordship may be sure that the utmost regard will be shown for the honour of your king and his dignity, and there was never the slightest intention to offend him. The house was considered private.

The ambassador answered, The house was certainly mine, hired by me, taken by one of my people for the use of my house-

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hold. The Marquis of Hamilton, my brother in law, wished to come to Venice, and the house was taken to accommodate members of my household, so as to make room for the marquis and his suite in my own house. That was the case, and I am sure your Serenity will take my word for it. In any case I can show you the truth of this, and I feel sure that you will be disposed to give the satisfaction that is necessary and due to my king.

The doge replied, Your Lordship may satisfy yourself by proving what you please. In the mean time you may take this as constant, that the affectionate esteem of the republic for his Majesty is very great. The ambassador rose and said, I will await the decision of your Serenity, took leave and departed.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

209. To the Ambassador in England.

We have received your despatches of the 7th and 8th ult. brought by the gentleman of the Ambassador Fielding, and that of the 10th by Augsburg. We commend the prudence of your offices. The ambassador did not appear in the Collegio until two days ago. We enclose a copy of his exposition, made in general terms, and of the reply of the Senate. You will speak in conformity with the last to his Majesty and the ministers, and endeavour constantly to persuade them to rest content, as they ought. Enclose sheet of advices.

Ayes, 103. Noes, 4. Neutral, 28.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Senato, Terra. Venetian Archives.

210. Resolution to prolong for another five years from the present date the concession granted for five years on the 16th January 1630 to the English and Flemings to import salt fish to this city, in accordance with their petition,* chiefly because we have experienced the arrival of very abundant supplies of this very necessary food, and because those nations have expressed their full intention of employing their capital in this city, the concession to be upon the conditions previously set forth. And further that of all the salt fish brought from the West the merchants are bound to offer one half to the Art of the salt fishmongers ; but if this is not taken up within fifteen days the merchants are free of the obligation.

Ayes, 136. Noes, 4. Neutral, 4.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

211. That the English Ambassador be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

We rejoice greatly that your lordship receives every sign of the king's confidence in your ability and prudence, because no one knows better than his Majesty the sincere esteem of the republic for him. We are equally persuaded that your lordship will rest assured that our intentions and actions will always

See Vol. XXI. of this *Calendar*, page 268 and Vol. XXII., pages 288, 376, 460. January 1630 M.V. is 1631 by the Gregorian calendar.

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correspond. We are gratified by your assurance that you will always encourage friendly relations. We assure your lordship that our desire is to show all honour and respect to your house and our disposition is always to do that which may reasonably conform to his Majesty's good pleasure and also to give evidence of our affection for your lordship.

Ayes, 103. Noes, 4. Neutral. 28.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

212. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

As the king has not made any reply to the Spanish Ambassador's proposals, he repeated them this week warmly, adding that his king, in addition to the complete restoration of the Lower Palatinate, which he steadily promises, will do even more if the king here will enter a defensive and offensive alliance with him against the Dutch, who, said he, deserve all his Majesty's indignation, as they make no account of the example of the greatest kings, and insolently dare to contest the sovereignty of these waters with him. This point about the dominion of the sea has not passed without notice, as it is considered of the gravest consequence, but while they believe themselves strong enough to maintain it alone they may not think it wise to commit themselves so far with the Spaniards, as they cannot abandon the old maxim that the defeat of the Dutch is a manifest disadvantage for these realms, as if the Spaniards were powerful and victorious in the Netherlands they know they would wish to extend the arm of their power even further. But the king wishes to keep Ognate in suspense, while he hesitates between Austria and France, and perhaps Ognate is content with ambiguous phrases, the gain of time being what he thinks most about.

In order to prevent the ratification of the treaties with France Ognate circulates reports of the feebleness of France, as unable to maintain the Duke of Parma, incapable of holding her own in the Valtelline, and unequal with all her forces to gain any advantage over the House of Austria, opinions which make no small impression on the ministers here, *indeed one of them remarked that if some successes in the Palatinate were won with the help of the Most Christian they could not feel sure of securing their conquests with his assistance, as the French were never known to have the faculty of keeping for long what the fortunes of war gave them.*

The Ambassador Senneterre tries to confute this and in a special audience apologised for the delay in signing the treaty on the score of its being necessary to consider Sweden and Holland whose particular interests call them to come to terms with the Austrians rather than to continue the war and so it is desirable to coax them and it will not be wise to omit to include them at the outset in a treaty of so much consequence. The congress which is to meet at Hamburg is the proper place for making such an

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arrangement with equal satisfaction to the parties and it would be very apportune for his Majesty to send an envoy to that city, whither Mons. d'Avo has already betaken himself on behalf of the Most Christian. Senneterre also spoke of the extensive French preparations for the approaching campaign, magnifying and enlarging upon the numbers, which are not credited here.

The king here, who meant the alliance with France to precede everything else, is disappointed at this tone, and complained plainly to Senneterre. He declined to send to Hamburg, saying that he must wait for Leicester's letters, which arrived soon after with indifferent news, creating additional difficulties. Apparently the old claims are now revived with vast additions, as besides an open declaration against the House of Austria, France now demands a number of ships for emergencies at sea, and troops paid in Germany, points which England cannot possibly accept in her present disposition, as the number of ships to be sent to sea this year is already arranged, with little indication that it can be increased, *and they are in no position to maintain troops in Germany, because great inroads cannot be made upon the purses of the people, even with the laws in favour, without making trouble, while the royal treasury is utterly exhausted. The present state of affairs does not make a declaration against the House of Austria advisable without great necessity, and if it costs so dear to make it, it seems likely that the very thought of it will vanish away.* They say this will be discussed at full length tomorrow. Meanwhile everything else is held in suspense. They are not negotiating with the Swedes; they are not giving ear to the Landgrave, and nothing more is said about the departure of the Palatine for Holland, although his mother keeps urging it.

They are merely equipping the fleet, and from what they say it will put to sea within ten days, but it may be more. The fifteen ships for the Palatine will be ready, but as they lack the volunteers to man them that they hoped for, one does not see for what they can use them. They are too weak for great enterprises and minor ones are of no use for his cause, at the outset of the operations.

Your offices urging the Queen of Sweden to send her plenipotentiaries to Cologne have been made known at Court and the king highly approved of them *indeed, from what a confidant of mine told me, I fancy he himself would like to be definitely asked, as he does not think that such a step of his own motion would become him, perhaps from a consideration upon which he is now irresolute rather than determined, about recognising the new emperor. I find support for this in what his Majesty himself said to me, and which I reported on the 27th March about his gladly considering sending a minister to Cologne, if the republic invited him to do so.* Now I know that such an invitation is desired I would recommend the writing of a letter if it can be sent in time.

I have not been able to find out if the Spanish ambassador has received instructions as asserted by the Count della Rocca; but my informant was told by the Resident Nicolaldi that he did not believe such orders had reached the Count of Villa

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Mediana because if they had he would certainly obey them. They have not met since. The delay will do no harm.

I have received the ducal missives of the 11th April with copies of the sentences against Nave and Bon. I will tell his Majesty and the ministers the particulars about the delinquent taking refuge in the house of this Ambassador Fielding after committing the scandalous crime at Easter, and also the matter of the ambassador's servant taken by force to his house and there beaten, making them aware of the just resentment of your Excellencies and pointing out the licentious behaviour of the ambassador in every way, with scant regard for the moderation which you have always tried to observe. This fresh incident may possibly supply the last stroke for his removal, which is already practically decided anyhow, but it will also cause all the king's ill humour to descend upon him, seeing that right is on the side of your Excellencies even more clearly than in the first case. During these few hours I have been trying to find out if any news of it has reached the Court, and I find that they are already beginning to talk about it, although confusedly if they misrepresent things I will meet this at the proper time, and will not let the truth go by default, even if I have to defend it at the cost of my own health.

London, the 8th May, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 9. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

213. The Ambassador of Great Britain was summoned to the Collegio and the Senate's deliberation of the 7th was read to him ; he spoke as follows :

I am glad that your Serenity concedes the disposition of the affair of those prisoners to me if my king approves, as that is the way to make good the offence to his reputation and also to give satisfaction to the republic, as I earnestly desire. I am especially obliged for what is said about me personally.

I fully understand that the republic did not intend in any way to offend his Majesty's dignity, and your Serenity's intention to show all courtesy and allow all privileges to his ambassadors. I have not neglected to bear witness to this, but if you will consider the circumstances of the incident the violence of the officials, the violation of the house, so near mine, and the contempt for me personally, I am sure you will see that my honour was offended, and that I was right to ask for reparation, due to my position as his Majesty's ambassador. That renders me desirous of removing all hindrances that may stand in the way of the perfect concord which has lasted so many years between the King and the republic.

There were two offences, one of the two persons arrested, one in the house, the other on the water. I cannot deny that they came to my house to ask the favour of asylum. When I asked why, they said they were afraid of justice, though no declaration had been issued against them. I allowed this, not thinking to do anything distasteful to your Serenity, as they were

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not declared guilty. But if I had known that the state did not like me receiving them, I should not have acted so, as my sole desire is to do what pleases the republic. No such idea entered my mind, so I granted them the house, but upon condition that whenever your Serenity took exception to their actions in anything or any court of justice took action against them, they should at once depart and look for a house elsewhere. I do not think that I could possibly have acted more circumspectly.

It may be true that the owner let the house to another, but he let it afterwards to my servants who paid him with my money, for the purpose I have indicated. It is true that the information given to my king differs from this, but I hope he will perceive that the person who informed your Serenity of the contrary departed from the truth, because I should be unworthy of the name of gentleman and of the position I hold if I represented a thing that was not. I claim to be sincere and truthful in all things. Thus I claim to prove that the officials acted upon false information.

I have no doubt that the orders of the Council of Ten are entirely directed by reason and justice, and I am sure that they ordered my house to be respected, and if they had known the other house to be mine they would not have permitted what took place ; but the offence is in the fact.

Further, the officials carried out their orders with such rigour that the whole neighbourhood was disturbed, rendering the affront to me the greater. They attacked the house violently without asking my leave. If they had asked me I might have given permission, when I knew the cause, as I have never wished to protect bad characters and I should always be ready to draw my sword against any one who attacked the republic. Excuse this digression. I say those men entered the calle with an armed company, passed through my very house, set guards at my door, broke down the door of the other house with a great noise, and fired shots so near that they might have hit some in my own house. I certainly do not believe that such was the will of the state.

A servant of mine, who happened to be sleeping there in his livery, was beaten with muskets and fists. It is true that when they saw who he was they recognised their mistake, but the injury had been done, and with so much insolence as to increase my ire.

There was more to show the temerity of those officials and their lack of respect. One day a man wearing the habit of religion, using lying pretexts of religion for infamous purposes assaulted a woman near my house. He came to my house and as there was no one to resist, he easily entered and demanded protection. I was very angry when I heard about it, and would gladly have driven him out, as deserving severe punishment ; but as he had already entered the house and the officials were following him, I thought it undignified to hand him over to justice myself. But I ordered him to seek protection elsewhere, and as I could not honourably hand him over to justice I gave orders for him to be sent to some place where he could only owe his safety to his legs. This was done, but in spite of it all

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the sergeants entered that narrow calle and passed before my door with so much disturbance that a crowd gathered, there being many people abroad on that holiday. I stood ashamed at the scant respect shown to me. This was not done by order of the republic, but your Serenity sees what scandals might arise, as when men are transported by passion they cannot control their actions, and tragic events may occur, involving even friendly princes in war.

Your Serenity will consider these things and take such steps as you think will satisfy the king as reparation for the affront, adequate to the king's friendly feeling towards the republic, so that I may be able to continue here with decorum.

The doge replied, You have seen from the deliberation of the Senate the desire to show every honour to your house. With regard to the villainous act you speak of, you need not wonder at the crowd, because such a deed would excite the inanimate. We are glad that you drove the man away. There is no marvel either that the officials, seeing a disturbance, hastened up to prevent worse scandals, which you wisely prevented by not affording protection to the scoundrel. The republic is desirous of pleasing his Majesty, and if we are assured that excesses were committed in the matter of the prisoners, in setting guards, as you say, which would be contrary to the intent of the state, we should not neglect to make the proper demonstrations. We shall give your lordship every proof of our good will in the matter and in all other occasions.

The ambassador replied, The coming of that man to my house could not be prevented. Ambassadors are tied in such matters and cannot move a limb. But that does not make it allowable to give asylum to persons who break the laws of the republic, and if they were guilty of treason I would drive them out. I have instructions from my king to act in a proper manner in such cases, as no one desires the greatness of your Serenity more than his Majesty.

I forgot to say that reports were current in the city that the house was a resort of evil livers, infamous persons, given to gaming and every other vice, where they took refuge, as in an asylum. I may say that when the Resident who was here provided my house, as he was instructed, before my arrival, it was his business to keep an eye on things, but when I came and saw with disgust such people in the house, I made every effort to hire it, without prejudice to any one. When the person who had it was arrested, I was glad, and although I spoke in his favour, I did so because I was near and sometimes in his house, so I did not think I could refuse him this good office. I did by so asking that he should be less severely treated, although I knew that he did not deserve my protection. Desiring to prevent the place from being a resort for the base any more, I took it on hire, after purging it and putting persons of honour and my own people there. In the arrest of that person in the open and not at home I recognised your Serenity's courtesy in respecting my neighbourhood, and I recognised this in asking the favour

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for him. The reports I have mentioned were therefore false, as immediately I could I delivered my house from that association. I do not know if I have made myself understood, owing to my imperfect command of the language.

The doge replied, Your goodness and straightforwardness are very well known and manifest in your actions, and you acted nobly to clear your neighbourhood of vicious persons. You may always expect the affection and esteem of the republic, and his Majesty may rest persuaded of our affectionate observance.

The ambassador said, I beg your Serenity to consider what I have represented, and thus facilitate reparation to my king's offended dignity. I shall certainly never abuse the privileges and favours of the republic. With this he took leave, and went to take a copy of the office. He remarked to me, the secretary, I do not know if they have thoroughly understood me. It is necessary to touch upon many things, and I must have been somewhat confused. I praised his good offices. He expressed ignorance of the manner of the procedure in the Collegio and asked if they had taken his remarks for an answer to the office read to him, and if they would discuss it. I said I thought they would take it for an answer, but I could not tell him the intentions of the Collegio.

Gerolamo Cavazza, *Secretary.*

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

214. A gentleman of the English Ambassador was introduced into the Collegio and said :

The ambassador has charged me to present this paper to your Serenity. He handed it to the secretary, and after it was read the doge said, These Signors will decide what they consider proper at the earliest moment. With this the gentleman bowed and departed.

The Paper.

Most Serene Prince : If I have not succeeded in making myself plain in my speeches, I will endeavour to do so here as briefly as possible. It is known that the house where Nave and Buoni were imprisoned, before I was in Venice and before the house where I live was taken by Mr. Rolandson, was a public resort, to my annoyance. But when the tenant was arrested and the house happened to be free, I took it after some time by one of my servants and it was purged. Being so very near to my house it was convenient for my servants, and when these people came from time to time to ask my protection, I told them that I was not accustomed to take delinquents under my protection. They told me that they were neither proclaimed nor condemned and there was no detention against either Nave or Buoni, and they promised that if they were proclaimed they would immediately depart. I received them in that place upon this condition. So far from my integrity being recognised the door of my house was besieged at night, and that of the other forced, shots were fired, my servant was beaten and the two persons were taken

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to prison, one by water and the other by land. No one can doubt that a manifest wrong was done to my king, as the house is mine and only three braccia* from the door of my dwelling. There is a way between, but it is not a thoroughfare. I cannot think that the state means to refuse me those privileges and immunities which are enjoyed by ambassadors in his Majesty's dominions and when it was said that the place was a resort of malefactors and those guilty of abominable crimes, I feel sure it was thought that Varotero lived there, which was never true, as he lived in a small room apart, rented to him by the owner of the houses which are above, as the sbirri know, since they did not find him there, besides I have always abhorred such infamies. Your Serenity may be sure that I should not consider myself a true gentleman if I related what was not entirely true. I might add that while I was waiting for satisfaction a fresh incident occurred on Easter day, in the sight of everyone. The sbirri passed armed and in great numbers before my door, with great prejudice to me and to your Serenity, as your ministers should show respect to ambassadors, especially on this occasion, when I refused asylum to the fugitive.

I only ask your Serenity to consider the offence and the satisfaction I have previously asked, namely the restitution of the two arrested, if one of them has not been found guilty of high treason, as you have declared that they were taken because it was not known that they were in my house and also to punish the sbirri, who behaved so violently, especially against my servant.

I therefore ask your Serenity to inform me of your decision with reasonable celerity, so that redress may be given as soon as possible, and that the old friendship may be confirmed, for which I will work with all my heart.

[*Italian.*]

May 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

215. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince of Orange has asked for troops to attack Dunkirk, thus creating a diversion for the royal forces in Picardy. He also undertakes to try and capture Gravelines and hand it over to France. They have refused the troops but apparently offer the States money instead. The English also would like to have the port of Dunkirk, but neither France nor Holland inclines to hand it over to them if it is taken, so that they shall hold it only until the Palatines' dominions are restored.

The reply to the English ambassadors contains that the Most Christian, seeing that the king there does not wish to declare war at present, suggests a suspension of the treaty until he knows the intentions of his allies, the Swedes and Dutch. The Earl of Leicester declares that his king will never agree to this, and that he has already refused it, as he is less inclined to treat of such a matter at Hamburg if this treaty is not concluded here first.

Paris, the 12th May, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

*The *braccio* is about two feet.

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May 13.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

216. That the English Ambassador be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

Your Lordship's representations both orally and in writing cannot fail to increase our high opinion of your honour and integrity, and your birth and other qualities render you most dear to us. We are sure that you will recognise the intention of the republic to show all decent respect for the dwellings of ambassadors and their privileges. In response to the king's desire, expressed by the secretary to our Ambassador Corraro, and represented by your lordship, for the release of Boni, we are ready to set him at liberty, out of our esteem for his Majesty and from our desire to please you also. For the rest, as the officials may have committed some excess contrary to their orders, we have decided that proceedings shall be taken against those who have offended, in order to show our resolute intention that your lordship's dwelling shall enjoy every honour and advantage, and that all your dependants shall remain exempt from every outrage. This was confirmed by the incident of Easter day, as the officials, in view of the asylum in which the offender took refuge, held back the people, who were incensed by the outrage, and this saved him from the punishment that every one called down on his head.

That authority be given to our Collegio to order the release of Boni, in such manner as its prudence shall suggest.

That the Chiefs of the Council of Ten be directed to give orders for the punishment of those officials who shall be found to have exceeded their instructions and shown scant respect to the house of the English ambassador, or maltreated his servants in the arrest of Nave and of Boni.

Ayes, 46. Noes, 51. Neutral, 49.

Second vote : Ayes, 42. Noes, 52. Neutral, 49. Pending. [*Italian.*]

May 14.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya, Venetian Archives.

217. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Beveren writes that in the general opinion the fleet is to maintain the sovereignty of the sea. The Princess Palatine tries to remove the impression. She says the treaty will be made with France and the French will be obliged to ask for it. She asserts that the king will obtain satisfaction for his nephew in any case and begs the States to rest assured of the friendship of England. All express their readiness to serve her but excuse themselves on the plea of the weakness of the state. The Prince told her frankly that they would do nothing unless they first had a formal declaration that the liberty of the sea would not be infringed. Some here fear that with the threat of an alliance between England and Sweden the Austrians may be impelled to come to terms with France and then other powers would make signals for peace and accept the terms offered to them.

The Hague, the 14th May, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

1637. May 15. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

218. That the English Ambassador be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

We are persuaded that your lordship is assured of the excellent intentions of the republic which has always kept in view as one of the principal objects, the most confidential relations with the king. Your nobility of character is one of the outstanding qualities that render you a worthy minister of his Majesty. You will reflect that while the republic has always had due respect for the ambassadors' own dwellings, yet it is not proper or usual anywhere that a house altogether separate and destitute of any royal mark should share the same privileges and immunities. But we readily consent to release Boni at his Majesty's desire, expressed by the secretary to Corraro and represented by you, as an indication of our desire to gratify his Majesty in all things and also to please you. We have also decided to prosecute those officials who may have exceeded their orders, as a further sign of our good will.

That the chiefs of the Council of Ten give orders for the punishment of those officials who may have exceeded their instructions and shown scant respect for the dwelling of the English ambassador in the arrest of Nave and Boni.

Ayes, 72. Noes, 27. Neutral, 44.

As the office is superior to a single ballot, it was referred to another council, in accordance with the laws.

On the 16th of May the above office was again proposed, and the voting was :

Ayes, 70. Noes, 22. Neutral, 37. *Carried.*

[*Italian.*]

May 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

219. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On hearing that Fielding's version of the affairs was much extenuated, ill as I was I went to the king, and told him the story of the duenna and of Fielding's servant who was publicly arrested and afterwards in his house, with outrageous remarks against the nobility. I explained your strong feeling and the general disgust throughout the whole city at the incidents themselves and the evil example they afford. At hearing of the abominable crime of the villain against a woman his Majesty's face clearly showed the compassion and horror that he felt, but he was very constant in the defence of his ambassador, saying that he knew him to be very discreet and he did not believe he would have passed the bounds of moderation in either case. If he had received more satisfaction from the republic in the matter of the prisoners previously arrested in his house, he thought Fielding would have proceeded with more regard in this new incident. I mildly remarked that past circumstances for which he could not reasonably take offence, gave him no cause to excite fresh dissatisfaction. I seized the opportunity to make much of the circumstances of the first case, showing that the nature of the day and place, and the mutilated victim being

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a helpless and innocent woman, aggravated the offence, and rendered the culprit unworthy of any protection whatever, least of all of one who bears such a high character, and who by birth and disposition makes such high pretensions to honour. With respect to the servant I said that the nobility had every reason to take great exception to seeing their privileges violated in their own boats, which ought to enjoy the same privileges as their houses, as they had never before been disgraced by such outrages. The king reflected a little at this and then asked me if I came of myself or by command of your Excellencies to make this exposition. I told him I had been commanded, because you wished him to hear the truth from my mouth in a matter of such importance, so that with his high prudence he might judge of the matter. You did not wish to represent to him anything but the pure truth, and in spite of all that might happen you wished to live united with him in true affection and esteem.

If you speak to me in the name of the republic, said his Majesty, inform your Signory that I have no information upon the matter beyond what you have just told me. I will make enquiry and if my minister has erred, I shall not fail to punish him, as I wish to show the republic my great desire to give her satisfaction; if, however, my ambassador is right, I do not think she would urge me to punish him when innocent. I said that your Excellencies did not ask for his punishment, but only wished him to know the truth, so that he should realise in other incidents also their only desire was to show their esteem for him and his representatives. At this point the king let our conference drop, his face clearly showing that he was very angry, and perhaps he was displeased at the multiplication of incidents tending to the discredit of the ambassador.

To account for the strong support Fielding receives I find that he is son of the late Duke of Buckingham's sister, the whole of whose race enjoys his Majesty's favour absolutely. I have been assured, indeed, that the place in his bedchamber of the late Earl of Carlisle, which was never been filled, is reserved for this Fielding.* This honour is one of the greatest, and if he obtains it, it will open the way for him to the secret councils and the highest employments and dignities of the realm. *These are the only real reasons which serve to sustain him, and without such support he would have fallen utterly, as faults which in him are not noticed or are condoned, would be believed and punished in others, possibly as faults of the most serious description.*

I have spoken to the same effect to the ministers, and sought especially to impress the Secretary Coke, as instructed. He knew from Fielding's letters of the Easter day incident, and seemed more struck by the displeasure shown by your Excellencies and the atrocity of the crime, than by what the ambassador did, considering that for his reputation's sake he could not hand the criminal over to justice, or do better than get him out

*But see No. 15 at page 14 *above*.

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of the house at once, as he did. The other ministers agree with these views, but one sees that they all feel some vague dissatisfaction in their hearts, although they apparently seek to cloak the action of their master's minister with decent pretexts. Yet I have represented the facts in a moderate and telling manner. My offices have not been ill received and will not produce a bad effect, because the incident itself suffices to show that your Excellencies are in the right.

The Secretary Coke favoured me by reading what the ambassador wrote, and I have also obtained a copy, which I enclose. *While the secretary was reading to me what the copy contains my eye travelled further, and I saw that the ambassador clearly states that he welcomed the opportunity of saving the man, to indemnify himself for past affronts, a point which may alone suffice to condemn him.* I did not fail to make objection to the particulars which differ from the information I have. You will see that he says nothing about the affair of the gondolier, and I have made a great point of his silence, so that his action is absolutely condemned by everybody, and all agree that before proceeding to violence he should have tried entreaty and courtesy with the noble whom the man was then serving. I am now assured that the king is awaiting the resolution of the first affair with the hope that it will be good, in order that he may remove the ambassador with the customary friendly forms, as they say he has already completed his three years.

London, the 15th May, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosure.

220. An incident which happened here on Easter day, which has raised an outcry against me, obliges me to inform his Majesty of my actions. On that day a man of ordinary condition dressed as a penitent, came to my house for protection, followed by a great multitude of people. I asked what he had done and he replied that he had been deceived by a girl, whom he expected to marry, and had placed in charge of a woman whom he trusted completely. This woman was the cause of the deception. He was enraged against her and determined to adopt this habit of a religious on purpose to punish her. He had done so when she was coming out of the church after receiving the sacrament. I told him that without enquiry into the case, I considered the circumstances proved him execrable. I considered him unworthy of my protection, but as I did not consider it consonant with my honour to hand him over to justice or to keep him, I made him enter my gondola and had him landed at a place where he could safely escape. This was done, and he got out of my gondola and took refuge in the house of the Spanish ambassador. The sbirri afterwards came in front of my door, but did not stop there or commit any indiscretion.

Venice, the 24th April, 1637.*

[*Italian.*]

*The full original text of this letter is among Fielding's despatches. *State Papers. Foreign. Venice.*

1637.
May 15.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

221. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Four days ago the Spanish ambassador received an express from Spain and on the following afternoon, he had a téte a téte in the king's own room for two long hours. This long audience has aroused great curiosity. It is supposed that he made fresh proposals about surrendering the Lower Palatinate and attacking the Dutch, in short the king has at last appointed him commissioner for which he has so often asked. They are not appointed yet, but it is thought they will be drawn from the six of the Cabinet Council (*sei del Consiglio del Gabinetto*).*

The Ambassador Senneterre has told the ministers that if England attacks the Dutch she must not be surprised if France attacks her, sueh being the arrangement between the States and the Most Christian. The Palatine's councillors remonstrate and declare that Spain is deceiving as usual; that she has not the power by herself and must depend on the emperor, Bavaria and the Elector of Mayence, who hold the territory. They even go further and show conclusively that according to the laws matters which concern the empire cannot be settled outside the empire itself, so that whenever anything is arranged with the Austrians here they can always appeal to this fundamental principle to evade the obligation to carry it out. They will thus have gained time, which is what they are after, and made England lose one of the safest and most convenient opportunities. But these remonstrances do not obtain the credit that one might wish, either because that of the Spaniards is too powerful, or because they propose to meet their artifice by counter arts. But acts, which cannot lie, make one believe *that a propensity towards Spain is ineradicable from the hearts of the ministers here, because even when profit holds out great inducements, under present circumstances it does not seem reasonable that they should continue to protect the barques and ships which daily cross to the ports of Flanders with money, munitions and merchandise, as they have always continued to do, without any circumspection. News has come quite recently that forty merchantmen assembled in the Downs from divers parts to pass more safely to Dunkirk, have been convoyed by the Vice Admiral Pennington with two of the king's warships†. This has deeply disgusted the French and Dutch. They complain freely about it, saying that no greater sign of hostility can be shown them than by supplying their enemies with the means of waging war more vigorously against them. For this reason they have had notice, but it seems by a secret way, that the Dutch have decided to besiege the port of Dunkirk again with their ships of war. They take this ill here, because it will mean their losing the profit which they derive from such escorts, or they will continue them with obvious danger of mishap.*

*Gussoni, writing in 1635, gives the inner circle as consisting of Holland, Carlisle, Arundel, Cottington, Vane and the secretaries Coke and Windebank. (*See* preceding Vol. of this *Calendar*, page 367). Carlisle was now dead, and probably Laud should be substituted for Vane.

† The *Swiftsure* and another. *See* Pennington's despatch to Nicholas of the 24th April o.s. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637, page 21.

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Since they began to exact duties even at sea from goods which only stopped in the Downs on their way through, it seems that trade has suffered great deterioration, as many avoid coming here, and those who are obliged to, make great complaint and raise difficulties about the payment; the Flemings who benefit the most, make more disturbance than the others.

The King of Denmark has written to the Prince Palatine congratulating him upon having his affairs in such good train. He feels sure that with the support and assistance of princes who are as powerful as they are friendly to the prince, the results cannot fail to be good, in short, with fair words and compliments he evades taking any share, which was what the Palatine asked of him. The king leaves nothing to be desired in the matter of titles. It is known here that they are making great preparations of arms and of ships in particular in Denmark, so that anxiety as to their intentions grows hourly more intense among those who are interested in the sea.

It is said that Mons. d'Avo, who has already left Paris for Calais has asked for a man of war to take him, so there is a report that he will land here first, and the Ambassador Senneterre himself told me that he was not sure about it.* By his taking this round about way the Cologne meeting is supposed to be far off, and from this it is concluded the French want peace and therefore give inconclusive replies. Yet from the slowness of their procedure it is not thought that they are much inclined to a general accommodation, but that they are encouraging the usual spirit of mistrust and temporizing in everything in order to come to a secret accommodation with the Spaniards.

In spite of Fielding's complaints he has written again to Coke urging him to get the king to write a letter of thanks to the Signory for the favour shown to the English merchants at Veniee, but under existing circumstances the Secretary did not think fit to obtain it.

London, the 15th May, 1637.

[*Italian : the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 16. Consiglio di X. Parti Secrete. Venetian Archives.

222. That the return of the Captain of this Council of the 11th February last about the arrest of Andrea della Nave and of Francesco di Boni be sent to the Savii of the Collegio.

Ayes, 11. Noes, 0. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure.

223. On the 11th February, 1637.

The Captain reports that he went this night by order of the Chiefs of the Council of Ten and of the Inquisitors of State and broke into a little house in the Calle San Moise, with balconies on the Grand Canal, to arrest Antonio della Nave, who leaped into the water with a dagger in his hand. The officers were obliged

* The request was made at least a month before this date. The First Lion's Whelp was detached for this service and the ambassador seems to have gone direct from Calais to Hamburg. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636–7, page 563, *Id.* 1637, page 21.

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to fire at him and wounded him in the arm after which he was seized. He also arrested in the same house one Francesco di Boni. They found two pistols on his bed. There were two youths in the house one of whom said he belonged to the household of the English ambassador. These they left in the house, being persons of base quality.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

224. The Ambassador of Great Britain was summoned to the Collegio and the Senate's deliberation of the 16th was read to him. He raised his cap twice where he is spoken of with great honour, and spoke as follows :

The satisfaction of which you have informed me is so complete that more could not be desired. It agrees with what I asked, and this courtesy will still further confirm the affection of the republic, and will increase my desire to cherish the good relations with his Majesty, the advantages of which will redound to the common benefit. I will not touch a wound that is practically healed, but only say that I did not want to ask for any one guilty of treason. His Majesty would never protect such and if he had them in his hands he would immediately hand them over to your Serenity for punishment, because he desires the prosperity of the republic, and he expects the same from you in similar cases. As I must consider guilty of that crime all who are declared so by your Serenity, I must accept your decision. I must express my joy at the happy settlement of this affair, which I accept through the power that my king has given me, in the assurance that his Majesty will be throughly satisfied. I am greatly obliged by your Serenity's expressions of good will, and promise that you shall have no cause to complain of any slackness on my part in fostering the cordial relations between his Majesty and the republic.

The doge replied, We are glad that you are satisfied. The republic values his Majesty's friendship highly and would do anything to please him, thus cherishing the ancient friendship with that crown. The Senate also wished to show its esteem for your lordship.

The ambassador replied, Nothing could please me better than to see this affair settled. God knows how much the matter distressed me, and how far I was from wishing anything distasteful to your Serenity. I will try to prove to you that I have no greater ambition than to help to advance the cordial relations with his Majesty and to serve the republic with all my strength. The doge added some courtesies, and the ambassador took leave, showing his lightheartedness by his expression and all his actions.

He went to take a copy of the deliberation, as usual with him. When entering the box (*chiesola*) he said to me, the secretary, I could hear nothing to please me better than the office that has been read to me. When he went away he said, I hope that this will be the last disagreement that will occur during my stay here.

Girolamo Cavazza *Secretary.*

[*Italian.*]

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May 22.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

225. To the Ambassador in England.

We sent you copies of the exposition of the Ambassador Fielding and of our reply about the men arrested. Two days later he sent a paper containing demands corresponding with those made of you by the ministers. While we refused to admit that a house disconnected with the ambassador's should enjoy the same privileges, yet in our desire to satisfy his Majesty it was decided to release Boni. We enclose copies of the papers and of the ambassador's expressions of consolation at what was read to him. You will give his Majesty an account of everything to show our respect for him in the strongest light. You will do the same with the ministers, especially the Earl of Arundel.

We enclose extracts from the despatches from Spain of the Ambassador Giustinian about the reciprocal treatment of ambassadors. You will evade encounters with Ognat until you see whether he really means to correspond in the matter of titles etc. We commend your prudent conduct in this matter and we have nothing to add to previous instructions. We enclose the usual sheet of advices.

Ayes, 124. Noes, 2. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

May 22.
Senato. Secreta, Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

226. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On behalf of the state I urged the king to send a representative to the congress at Cologne. He replied with the utmost courtesy, expressing his appreciation of your recognition of his upright intentions, which were always directed towards the common tranquillity, and he wished he could secure it speedily alone. He had not yet decided to send any ambassador to Cologne, believing that many circumstances, caused by the infinity of divergent interests might disturb or prolong the meeting. Yet he did not think he should have done harm to himself if he had forestalled others in sending a minister there, if other considerations had not prevented him. He was now doubtful what to do, as he had not been asked, and had no interests of his own to prompt him, while minor interests were full of very difficult and thorny questions, so he thought he lacked a real pretext for sending. Seeing that he was very inclined to send I encouraged his disposition, remarking that the interests of his nephews afforded a legitimate reason for not allowing this great matter to go on without the presence of a minister of his. He admitted that the interests of his nephews were a great inducement, but the protestations already made to some extent cut the ground from under his feet. He would think about it, and if duly urged by his friends he would, in good time, make manifest such decisions as they might expect and desire. Thus and from the repeated utterances of the ministers I infer that the king is really eager to interest himself in the peace negotiations, but as the protest of the Palatine against the election of the King of the Romans was done under his auspices, this does not leave him

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free to treat with the plenipotentiaries of Cæsar, and he lacks a legitimate pretext for himself while the interested parties do not ask for his interposition, so he would like an open invitation from your Excellencies. When the question is raised I confine myself to generalities, expressing the desire of the most serene republic to please his Majesty.

They have at last conceded a levy of 4000 to the Swedes, to be drawn from the English, Scots and Irish, but all at the cost of the Swedes. They are much gratified by this beginning and hope for further aid.

The Ambassador Ognate, seeing results so contrary to his designs happening in the midst of his negotiations goes about declaring roundly that while they keep taking resolutions favourable to the enemies of the House of Austria, his instructions are no longer good and he withdraws from all negotiation. He further protests that his king will show resentment, and if things go on in this way he will be compelled to leave. He has contrived to get these remarks conveyed to the king, *possibly in the hope of alarming him. But the effect has been just the opposite, as his Majesty is much incensed and says that if the ambassador wishes to leave he will not find anyone to beg him to stay. Thus the aspect of affairs changes here with every accident, only their irresolution remains constant so that nothing substantial is done in the end.*

The king's ships have not sailed yet. The Commander Northumberland remains at Court, and the Palatine, instead of going with his fleet, or proceeding to Holland as was decided, to forward his own interests, intends to accompany the king on his progress a function which will occupy him the whole of this summer. It is not known what will be done with the ships destined for him, as they are almost completely equipped. He has published a manifesto about his rights and the wrongs done him by the emperor, full of very important particulars, I am told, but as they are only issued in German and English, I cannot report their substance. I have not sent a copy because they are having it printed in Holland in Latin, and your Excellencies will get it much earlier from thence.

The French alliance is still in vigorous agitation, but does not seem to make much progress. Yet a gentleman arrived last week from the Earl of Leicester* with rather satisfactory news, which so pleased the king that he sent him back yesterday to the ambassador with letters entirely in his own hand, which have not been communicated to any of the ministers.

These last maintain that the affair has made great progress and assert that the articles which concern the two crowns are already agreed and that upon the arrival of this gentleman in France they should be ratified. Those articles which regard the interests of the allies are also established, but they cannot be carried into effect before they have been verified at Hamburg with the intervention and assent of the parties. When the

* Mr. Croft, Leicester's despatch of the 8th May, N.S. *S.P. For. France*, Vol. 103 ; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637, page 82.

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ratification arrives from France the king will despatch a special ambassador to that city for this purpose. With regard to what these intricate negotiations will at length produce I think it the wisest counsel to wait to see what happens when time has allowed them to mature.

The Resident Nicolaldi has made no reply to my confidant about the orders from Spain for the Ambassador Ognat to visit me. If these good relations are not established your Excellencies may rest assured that the fault will not lie with your minister.

I have received this week the state despatches of the 1st inst.

London, the 22nd May, 1637.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 23. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

227. To the Ambassador in England.

We enclose extracts from the despatches from Spain containing fresh assurances of the Count Duke about the question of titles etc. We expect from you a full account of what happens in the matter.

Ayes, 118. Noes, 1. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

May 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

228. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The enclosed sheets belong to Sig. Grasvinchel. In them he demonstrates and confirms the absolute dominion of your Excellencies over the Adriatic. He asks your Serenity to be so good as to have these revised and corrected and then sent back to him, because they belong to the reply which he is to make to the English book "Mare Clausum."*

The Hague, the 28th May, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

May 29. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

229. To the Ambassador in England.

The last letters received from you are of the 1st inst. You will continue to observe the movements of the Ambassador Ognat, and we have nothing to add to previous instructions in this matter. The consequences which may ensue from the decisions of the English Court are considerable. The king is waiting to see what may be the outcome of the negotiations with France in order to decide how to act towards the Swedes, who are trying to move England by representing their needs. All this demands your most diligent application.

Ayes, 85. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

* "An advocate of the Court of Holland, Graswinckle, has finished a book against Mr. Selden's '*Mare Clausum*,' but it is not yet allowed to be printed. Boswell to Fielding the 16 April 1637. Hist. MSS. Comm.; *Denbigh MSS.* part V., page 48.

1637.
May 29.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

230. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The usual uncertainty still prevails. As the season is so advanced without any apparent preparations for the war, one may believe that they will not make any great efforts this year either by sea or land, especially as they delay the sailing of the royal ships, although they are all ready. The Spaniards take hold of the opportunity for their own advantage. They make a great fuss about the levies granted to the Swedes, but actually it affects them but little as they know that with money short they cannot do much, and that before these men are in a condition to be employed in Germany, they will suffer infinite disasters, in the usual way. Yet Ognate does not cease his lamentations and he persists in the protestations I have reported. His duplicity is ascertained by letters from the Imperial Court to the effect that Castagneda* has declared that he cannot treat of the surrender of that part of the Lower Palatinate held by the Catholic, and that Bavaria will not listen to any cession of his. Ognate also talks of alternate possession of the electoral dignity between the Palatine and Bavaria, but they do not seem to pay attention here, possibly because they do not believe him.

Teller writes that the emperor is inclined to send an ambassador here to finish off the affairs in question, if they will give up treating with the French, and if they are sure that the ambassador will be properly received. They do not dislike the proposal, but object to the conditions, as they do not wish to break off the negotiations with the French or agree to recognising the legitimacy of the present emperor, so as not to prejudice the claims they wish to make, without security for a free accommodation. *But it is certain that all these things depend more on necessity than on the inclination of the ministers here, whose hearts are strongly impressed with the desire for peace, and probably they only pretend to desire war in order to make it more certain. If they press the French alliance, it is not because they wish to plunge with them into fighting, as the terms do not provide for mutual action if they cannot obtain satisfaction for the Palatine, it resting with them to withdraw; but because they are assured that if the Most Christian will not make peace without England's consent, they know that the Palatine's interests are in a most advantageous position; but they are glad that the assembly at Cologne should be delayed until something is settled about this.*

This week also another gentleman has arrived from Paris with letters from the Earl of Leicester, which serve to fill them with greater hopes for the ratification of the treaties. He asserts that in a few days everything should be decided and he himself might bring the news to his Majesty since with that affair settled there remains nothing further for him to negotiate in France.

The king, who seemed very happy, spoke in conformity with this yesterday to the Dutch ambassador, who came to complain

* Sancho de Monroy y Zuniga, marquis of Castañeda, Spanish Ambassador at Vienna.

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that the negotiations with France had not been communicated to his masters. The king assured him that no stipulation would be carried into effect without his being apprised, indeed there were many things to be settled at Hamburg with the assistance of their deputies. He has decided to send an ambassador there in due time, but they have not yet formally nominated anyone. Many think that Sir [Thomas] Roe may get the appointment, a man of tried prudence, and known sincerity.

The king is about to leave this city altogether with the Court, as the plague is still very considerable, but the marriage to be celebrated between the Duke of Lennox and a daughter of the late Duke of Buckingham, postponed because of the illness of the bridegroom, will make them stay somewhat longer.

I have received the despatches of the 8th May with the reply to Fielding. When an opportunity occurs I will speak to his Majesty and the ministers of your devotion to this crown and I will do everything to foster good relations, as I am instructed. I hope that the matter is now to be finally adjusted, and I take the opportunity to thank your Excellencies for the confidence reposed in me.

Fielding does not seem inclined to return here in spite of the pressure of his relations. I am assured on good authority that he has got his confidants to ask that he may not be removed so soon from his present position, and if the king objects, to obtain extraordinary commissions for him to the Duke of Savoy. This agrees with what he confided to the Count della Rocca from the very first. The generality, however, feel sure that he will be recalled. Those who pretend to succeed him, and they are many, have already begun their intrigues. Chief among them are Lord Harbert, who has been ordinary ambassador in France,* and Lord Canoe, son of the late secretary of state†. The first, with whom I am intimate, has confided his idea to me ; he enjoys good credit with his Majesty, and if they decide to send any one he may easily be the one chosen.

London, the 29th May, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 29. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

231. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The ministers here are still engaged on the question of opening free trade between these realms and the States of the Church, though in a very reserved way. Although it originated with them they wish to appear to have been asked. The papal minister, who perceives the interest, told them that the port of Civitavecchia was free ; the English might go there without danger and there was no need to bargain about their access, and in this way he compelled them to explain themselves more clearly. It seems then that they have decided to state that they

* Edward, baron Herbert of Cherbury, ambassador in France 1619–21, 1623–4.

† Edward second Viscount Conway, son of Edward Viscount Conway, secretary of state 1623–30.

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desire the same in the port of Ancona, and further that the merchants may be allowed to establish their houses on shore and receive English sailors and passengers freely, without inquisition about religion. On this side the only consideration is gain, which may not be so considerable as they imagine; but on the pope's side several considerations make it noteworthy. He also wants gain and flourishing trade, but aims much more at making the English people friendly, and at solidifying by benefits the structure of which he has already laid the foundations so carefully. But to admit English houses freely in the States of the Church is too great a step, and not approved by the Catholics here themselves, because instead of augmenting the Roman religion in England it might sow the seed of heresy in that state. It will therefore be a long business; but meanwhile the English have gained this much that their ships will be welcome at the port of Ancona. I have found out this much, although they have shown more circumspection with me than with any one else, possibly from the suspicion that your Excellencies will not like it, a consideration which moves me the more to send this account.

The rest of the affairs touching religion make good progress every day. The Catholics are no longer hated or persecuted with the old severity. The public services in the queen's chapel are most freely frequented by very great numbers, while those of the ambassadors are crowded, although the priests constantly celebrate mass in private houses without scruple. *The Archbishop of Canterbury, who has assumed absolute command in ecclesiastical affairs, so that they commonly call him the pope of England, is pronounced by the generality to be the protector of the Catholic party, because he not only does nothing against them, but because he seems to make a very close approach to the rites of the Roman Church. But the well informed know that his aims are very different, and that he lets things run with their present freedom not from inclination but from a forced connivance, because he aims at destroying the party of the Puritans, which has grown so much as to cause apprehension to the government. In order to abase them he can only adhere to those forms which are most objectionable to them. Accordingly he has ordered the erection of stone altars in all the churches, which he wishes to have adorned with candles and candlesticks, although not lighted; for this he has set up a great cross in the king's chapel, and adorned the walls with images; but what is more important, he causes auricular confession to be advocated from all pulpits as most useful and necessary, so that many have already begun to practise it. The king himself, having heard a bishop preach about it, stated publicly that he considered it most useful, and subsequently, when a minister revealed a great crime confessed to him by a penitent, he had him punished severely, absolving the delinquent from the penalty.*

Whether the above proceedings are due to connivance, artifice or friendly disposition, the papal ministers, with the priests and other partisans go about gathering the fruits which they produce, with the utmost dexterity, consolidating them as so much to the good, in the hope that increased by use and strengthened by

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God's help, they may be rendered permanent and unchangeable for centuries to come, even if the principles of the government change. It is certainly a wonderful thing to see in England a dependant of the Holy See not only living at liberty, but frequenting the Court at all hours with so much confidence, and having such familiar access to the king's ear, as if he was one of his most intimate servants, without any distinction of place or time. As a consequence of this even the most rigid and scrupulous Protestants esteem and honour him, visiting him frequently, even in his own house.

M. di Perone has gone to France to receive possession of the Bishopric of Angouleme, but he says he will return soon. *His watchfulness and artifices are the more effectual because less known, and they hope that they will form the most secure foundation for these admirable transactions. During his absence the queen's confessor remains practically as chief to direct affairs, and continues without fuss to make the most excellent progress.*

London, the 29th May, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 5. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

232. To the Ambassador in England.

On the 22nd ult. we sent you an office about the release of Boni, of which you will have informed his Majesty. We gather from your despatch of the 15th ult. that he was displeased with the action taken by his ambassador in the affair of Easter day. If he still retains any resentment against the ambassador on this account you will endeavour to remove it, not insisting upon the circumstances. As the principal affair has been adjusted we should like everything to be settled with mutual satisfaction. We leave to your prudence the nature of the offices to be performed with the ambassador's mother, the Marquis of Hamilton and others. The Ambassador Fielding has repeated his request for the punishment of the officers who exceeded their instructions. We have referred the matter to the chiefs of the Council of Ten.

Ayes, 87. Noes, 4. Neutral, 16.

[*Italian.*]

June 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

233. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Affairs here are in their usual state of fluctuation. Everything depends on the French alliance, which seems to be hindered by the non settlement of a stated period, on the expiry of which, if the Palatine is not satisfied, England is to declare open war on the House of Austria, and secondly by the disposal of hypothetical conquests in Flanders. The French want the term not to be later than the 1st September, and England wants more time, as well as security that anything won in Flanders shall be consigned to the Palatine as a pledge for the Palatinate. This last point might be arranged, but the other is difficult, because they hold fast to the principle here that they must avoid

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war as far as possible. They cherish hopes that if they have time to negotiate with the Austrians after the conclusion of the alliance by which they expect to cause them apprehension, they may compel them to act more sincerely about the adjustments which at present they probably only pretend to desire in order to gain time. Moreover they do not consider so few months enough to equip conveniently the thirty ships which England is obliged to contribute in addition to those of the Palatine, in case of a rupture. Thus far and no further has the treaty advanced.

Meanwhile they have delayed the departure of the Earl of Northumberland with the sole object of knowing the end of these negotiations first. He was ready and had indeed started to sail with the fleet. They say it will not sail so soon, as they wish to avoid an encounter with the Dutch fishermen, as with the strong commissions against them still in force, they do not desire anything to happen which might disturb the satisfactory position of the present transactions. Accordingly the Palatine will not put to sea either, with his few ships, as they are too weak for any considerable experiment, especially now that the Dunkirkers are making themselves so much stronger.

Under these circumstances the Ambassador Senneterre has persuaded him to get together what little money he can, both from the king and his friends, and to proceed without further delay to Germany, to avail himself of the offers of the Landgrave of Hesse, now that his forces are strong and his dominions free from the Croats, over whom he has recently won a great victory. The Prince approves the advice because he knows that his name is greatly acclaimed in Germany and would greatly advance his interests, but he has not the courage to act upon it, having submitted entirely to his uncle's direction, so much so that one may say that he wields nothing but the pen in support of his cause. New papers appear every day setting forth all the embassies and negotiations in which this crown has engaged with the House of Austria so vainly, all for the purpose of inducing it to take some generous resolution, its reputation being certainly greatly interested.

The king of Denmark has sent a gentleman here on a special ship.* He arrived at Court two days ago, and is to see his Majesty and present his master's letters to-day. The object of the mission is not known yet. People augur ill if it is about sea matters or the Palatine's affairs, both being equally perilous. Upon the first they know his pretensions are high, as he will not recognise the sovereignty of the English and even demands tribute of them for the Iceland fisheries, upon the second it is thought that he advocates his interposition with the emperor more with the idea of upsetting the alliance with the Most Christian and of wasting more time, than to establish any proper

* Henry Belaw "concerning the gentleman this king sent for England, your honour will excuse me if I did not write by him, both because I was then upon my visit of the Duke of Holstein and for the great secrecy wherewith this king's business are carried." De Vic to Coke the 30th May, 1637. *S.P. For. Denmark.*

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accommodation. They also resent here the mission of Count Benck on a conspicuous embassy to the emperor,* in short they are much afraid of Denmark linking himself closely with the emperor, especially if the duties on ships entering the Elbe be sanctioned, and also because in reply to requests for help for the Palatine he answered curtly. In addition to this they know that he is dissatisfied with England because of the recent seizure of some of his ships.

I have received letters from the Ambassador Giustinian in Spain about the parity of treatment accorded to him there. I will see that this reaches the Count of Ognat to give him an opportunity of declaring himself. Nicolaldi has said nothing so far to my confidant. I will show every courtesy, and if the results do not correspond, the reason will be apparent.

The king has stayed away from the city all this week, engaged in the pleasures of the chase, and he only returned this morning to dine. In his absence I saw the ministers, some of whom asked me with curiosity how Fielding's affair stood at Venice, as he had not yet written anything about it. I said that as he stated that he had authority to adjust it and knew better than any one else the respect which had always been shown to his house, I thought he would have done this by now. He told me that the Earl of Arundel was of this opinion, and was extremely glad of it.

London, the 5th June, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

234. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors are asking for a written reply upon their negotiations for an alliance with the crown. Leicester complains bitterly at the long delay, as his sovereign wishes to know whether France does or does not mean to attend to the matter. The king considers himself offended at this delay and at the refusal of what was so eagerly offered in times past by two of his ambassadors. The earl declares that it is only necessary to remove some formalities for the settlement of the matter. The king will never declare war unconditionally. He claims that princes shall be restored to their dominions on both sides, an occult reference to Duke Charles and Lorraine. England fears the aggrandisement of France as much as that of Spain. He fears that is the reason why they will not announce their acceptance of the treaty. He also wants cautionary fortresses given to the Palatine of those which France holds in Alsace or which they acquire. He says he hopes to leave the Court in a few weeks, although he has no orders on the subject, and that his king, seeing himself contemned and that they think of making a peace to the exclusion of the Palatine, will take sides with the Spaniards, to see if he can reinstate his nephew in his dominions

* Count Pentz, governor of Gluckstadt. He was sent to get a continuance of the tolls at Gluckstadt, and set out from Copenhagen on the 21st April. De Vic to Coke, the 3rd and 28th April o.s. *S.P. For. Denmark.*

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in some way, seeing that every one is looking after his own interests and not the general good or the common cause. Such views and others which he expresses to the same effect show that they are becoming very embittered, although the people of the ambassadors announce and the Ambassador Seneter writes from London to his friends that the treaty is practically concluded and he expected the news of it by the next courier.

Paris, the 9th June, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

235. The English Ambassador came into the Collegio and spoke to the following effect:

I think that your Serenity will be pleased to hear that his Majesty directs me to assure you of the pleasure with which he has heard of your good intentions, as represented by the Ambassador Corrar, for the public weal and universal peace, urging him to pursue the same object by sending ambassadors extraordinary to the emperor and the diet at Cologne, for the peace as well as the interests of the prince Palatine. His Majesty thanks the republic for its lively demonstrations of affection and he has charged me to assure you that he will always be ready to do everything to please the republic.

I may add here that his Majesty has the same objects of the public interests and peace, but it must be considered that he is hardly likely to feel disposed to take the necessary steps or to go so far without the certitude that the business of the Palatinate will proceed safely. It seems impossible on this account that a general peace can be made. However, his Majesty's aims are good and upright, and he has the utmost confidence in the republic and feels sure that it will do all that he could desire.

The doge answered, The republic loves and esteems his Majesty and will therefore seize every opportunity to show its perfect unity with him. We desire quiet and tranquillity with all our heart, and he will always find us ready to fall in with his wishes.

The ambassador replied, My king is sure of that, and with that object he desired me to perform this office. He added, I must remind you about the complete fulfilment of what was promised to me. I have received what I expected on the first head, and from the promise of such a great prince as your Serenity I must expect the fulfilment of what I asked. I need not blush at speaking first, but let me be appeased by the prompt satisfaction of the whole affair.

The doge replied, Your lordship may be sure that the Senate desires the termination of the affair, but the forms of justice must be observed. It is necessary to write and examine, but nothing is forgotten. It all requires time, but be certain that it will be done as soon as possible, so that you may have every satisfaction. The ambassador interposed some words to urge the more speedy despatch of the affair, bowed and departed.

[*Italian.*]

1637.
June 12.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

236. That the following be read to the English ambassador this evening by a Secretary of this Collegio :

We are pleased to receive all your offices in his Majesty's name, which correspond so exactly with our desire for universal quiet. We recognise his Majesty's inclinations in that direction and look to see results in proportion. Peace is desirable and that it should be on sound foundations. We leave the methods to his Majesty's prudence ; but he may rest assured that he will always find us ready to give him satisfaction.

With respect to your lordship's instances against the ministers, whom you complain of as having exceeded the limits, we have to say that in our desire to please you two of them have been arrested by order of the Council of Ten and if they are found guilty they will receive the punishment they deserve.

Ayes, 108. Noes, 3. Neutral, 7.

[*Italian.*]

June 12.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

237. To the Ambassador in England.

Two days ago the English Ambassador was in the Collegio. His office was under two heads : (1) the incitement given to the king by the sending of ambassadors to the congress at Cologne, and (2) his understanding that the republic means to support the interests of the Palatine. Your letters of the 22nd ult. report your offices with his Majesty and the ministers, from which we see that you have not gone beyond your instructions. You will confine yourself to similar generalities in any further conversations on the subject with the king and the ministers. We enclose a copy of our reply to the ambassador which will serve you as a model. We also enclose a copy of the decision of the Council of Ten about the officials and of the representation to be made to the Ambassador Fielding this evening. You will use this as you see fit, confirming our desire to gratify his Majesty and his ambassador.

We must not forget to add that this Fielding, to confirm the advantage he has possibly gained, sent one of his gentlemen after dinner on Wednesday with a paper which he said contained his exposition, under the pretence that he might not be well heard, seeing that he had been let blood that very morning. As the full body of the Savii of the Collegio were not assembled, and it is not customary to accept papers from foreign ministers except in the Collegio itself, he was told that if he liked he could come on Friday morning, when he would be introduced ; but the gentleman did not appear again. We tell you this for information, and so that you may be able to answer if anything is said on the subject. We enclose the usual sheet of advices.

Ayes, 108. Noes, 3. Neutral, 7.

[*Italian.*]

June 12.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

238. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Danish mission was not of the nature expected. That king merely requires an assurance that any military succour sent from here for the Palatine shall not land in his dominions or in

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the country of Bremen. The king has gladly agreed to this. Such was the ostensible object of this mission which really aims at discovering what the fleet means to do and what is said in England about the reported intention of the king of Denmark to attack the Hamburgers because they refuse to do homage to his son, now that he intends to put him in possession of the alternative jurisdiction in the Duchy of Holstein. But the causes of offence which that king brings against them so far as the impositions at the Elbe are concerned, create the impression that he sought this pretext for making war on them, in the assurance that by arms he can compel every one and the Hamburgers in particular, to agree to any imposition he pleases to exact on that river in the future. England has no intention of interfering in this matter, the less so because they believe that Hamburg stands alone without hope of aid from the other Hanse towns or the Dutch either; in whose distresses Hamburg has always remained neutral.

For these reasons and because the emperor threatens Hamburg, if she allows the enemies of the House of Austria to assemble there, the congress in that place seems to be considered undesirable. In discussing what other place might be most suitable it appears that the king intimated that he would accept Paris, possibly wishing the Earl of Leicester to settle the whole affair. But the Dutch do not approve of this or the Swedes either, as Oxistern proposes to attend the conference in person. All these hindrances are attributed to the Spaniards, who seek to prevent the conference in order to gain time in the present season. If nothing is done in it, they think that the peace negotiations which must arise in the midst of it must cause a change in present troubles, and as the King of Great Britain is not openly interested therein, and consequently has not taken action on the peace negotiations, the case of the Palatines must remain a victory for them without a contest, or will be settled in the way that they dispose.

Here they either do not perceive the artifice or they labour with more subtlety, as they do not seem to mind about delay. This makes the Dutch very bitter, *as it confirms their old opinion, that they have determined here not to abandon the enjoyment of the present repose and unique tranquillity for any reason, or rather, to speak more candidly, they rather lack resolution than the desire and opportunity to act. The interests of the Palatine, on the score of reputation and his own incitements stand nearest their hearts, but they are waiting, so they say, to see what the French intend, and as that nation seem always more involved with new and changing circumstances, it follows that the fleet remains idle in port, while they listen to the proposals of the Spaniards and the Palatine brothers themselves, allured by the pleasures of the Court, allow time to slip away insensibly, at the price of the inevitable ruin of their cause.*

As the fleet does not put to sea naval affairs also sleep. They observe with indifference the preparations of the Dutch for the protection of the fisheries, and the report that thirty ships are coming from Spain under the command of Captain Collart to

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reinforce the Dunkirkers, causes them no apprehension. They certainly attach great importance to the reports of a plan to establish a new port at Gravelines, seeing that if it is realised these realms will suffer most notable hurt. After many consultations about this and rejecting violent proposals, they decided to make strong remonstrances in Spain and Flanders, alleging that it is contrary to ancient agreements between the House of Burgundy and this kingdom, in which they contend it was agreed that the number of ports generally should not be increased with out a general agreement. If this argument is admitted it will be a great advantage to the Dutch, as they can show in the articles of the treaty concluded in 1495 between Henry VII and Philip, Archduke of Austria, that a reciprocal right to fish is clearly set forth.*

The Swedish levies proceed slowly, for lack of money but also apparently because Oxistern still hopes to make peace with the empire, and does not want to waste money on them to no purpose. This point deserves jealous observation, the more so as the tenor of several letters from Germany only serves to render suspicion of this more lively. The Spanish ambassador in imitation of the Swedes, makes a demand for fresh levies, besides the ordinary recruits, but does not obtain either. All his other demands are being treated in the same way, as the king and ministers seem to intend to deal with him in precisely the same manner as they dealt with the Earl of Arundel in Germany.

I have the state missives of the 22nd May about the satisfaction given to his Majesty's ambassador. I will acquaint the king and ministers with it on his return to London, which was to take place early next week.

London, the 12th June, 1637.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 13. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

239. I, Christofolo Surian, secretary, went by order of your Excellencies to the English Ambassador to read to him yesterday's deliberation of the Senate I was introduced to his Excellency. Before the reading he said, I wish to apologise for sending that gentleman with the paper, which only contained what I had said and was afraid I had not. Owing to an indisposition I was so feeble and depressed that I was afraid I had not made myself understood, and I wished to relieve you of the trouble of putting down my words. I also thought that the paper would be accepted.

I repeated what had been said to the gentleman, that a sufficient number of the Savii were not present, and that it was not usual to receive such papers except in the full Collegio. That was the reason.

He replied, I followed another example, as in the early days after my arrival I sent a paper. The secretary Rolanson took it, and it was accepted. It is true that I had expressed myself in French. However, I apologise. He then signed to me to read. I read the office, which seemed to please him. He asked

* The Intercursus Magnus, signed 24 February 1496. This would be 1495 Venetian style.

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permission to take a note of it, and did so with his own hand. He rose and said, I beg your lordship to give my thanks for the favour they have done me. He then said, Two were arrested. I replied, Yes, your Excellency. He remarked, They will suffer, for their fault. I said, Your Excellency may be certain of that, if they are found guilty. When leaving the room he said I am quite sure of the good will of their Excellencies and that they will desire me to receive satisfaction. He accompanied me towards the staircase, and insisted, although I tried to stop him from taking the trouble. Before we reached the staircase he said, The relations of the imprisoned ministers have been to beg me to have compassion on them. They are poor folk. To this I said, They are poor and miserable. He answered, That is true. He said no more and I departed.*

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

240. That the paper in which the English Ambassador asks for the release of two officers detained in consequence of his demands, be referred to the Chiefs of the Council of Ten.

Ayes, 103. Noes, 0. Neutral, 4.

[*Italian.*]

June 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

241. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I went to audience of the king on Tuesday and told him what I was instructed to say about the prisoners. I used the arguments I thought most suitable to justify the action of the state, but enlarged upon the promptness you had shown in seizing the opportunity to confirm your intention to gratify his Majesty. The king told me that he had a similar account from his ambassador. He approved of the decision, begged me to tell your Excellencies so, and thank you, especially for releasing Boni, since Nave was adjudged guilty of high treason, although, he added smiling, his penalty had been mitigated with great indulgence. He repeated that he was entirely satisfied and was much beholden to you. I told him that you always sought opportunities of gratifying him. The ambassador's protection has not prejudiced Nave, and possibly the Council of Ten had given the mildest sentence in order to please him. At this the king smiled again and taking me by the hand said, I am and wish to be content, pray write as much to the republic. When I had promised to do so he began of his own accord to speak of the Valtelline, asking me what recent yews I had. I told him what I knew and he remarked with heat, Those positions will not remain the hands of the Grisons but of the Spaniards and if the fortifications are dismantled, with the French far away, they will have time to make others before they can return. Decidedly in the common interests the departure of Rohan has been the worst

* Fielding reported the satisfaction he had received in his despatch of the $\frac{9}{19}$ June. He had caused the officers who had been arrested for his sake, to be released and they and their wives had been to thank him. *S.P. For. Venice.*

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fault, and the republic has more reason to regret it than any one else.*

I dexterously turned the conversation to the construction of the new port at Gravelines, to learn his views. He seemed much moved, saying that it was a universal interest to prevent the realisation but he feared that time will give the Spaniards every advantage.

On taking leave of his Majesty I saw the secretaries, who were both at Court, and afterwards the Earl of Arundel, at his house. Although they had heard before, they seemed very pleased at the confidence, especially Lord Arundel.

Fielding's mother, whom I saw on the following day, expressed her extreme satisfaction, which had caused her more delight than anything that had happened in her life. She declared that she had always borne the most sincere affection for the republic. She said that Contarini, now Bailo at Constantinople† could bear witness how she had taken the side of your Excellencies even against the late Duke of Buckingham, her own brother. She now says openly that even if her son stays a long time at Venice it will not be distasteful to her, although she is very anxious to see him married, and considers it necessary. I tried to return the courtesy of this lady and left her well content. And so the matter is settled to the entire satisfaction of the whole Court as well as of the parties interested, and all bitterness is removed.

London, the 18th June, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

June 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

242. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The States here are hopeful that the fishermen will not be troubled this year, as they think that England will try to keep up the appearance of a conclusion with France and that these Provinces will join, which they certainly would not agree to do if the fishermen were obliged to pay. They sailed last week with several men of war and frigates, to cast their nets on St. James's day as usual. The Princess Palatine says that they will not receive any molestation whatever.

The Hague, the 18th June, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

June 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

243. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I spoke yesterday to the gentleman, my confidant, about the continued reserve of the Count of Ognat in avoiding me, in spite of the orders from Spain and every incitement. It is now ten days since Ognat, either being or feigning to be sick, retired to

* The reference is to the evacuation of the Valtelline by the French, by a compact with the Grisons. Rohan left the country on the 5th May. Le Vassor: *Hist. de Louis XIII.* Vol. XV. pages 170–196; Siri: *Memorie Recondite*, Vol. VIII., pages 498, 499.

† Alvise Contarini ambassador in England from 1626 to 1629.

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his house and would not grant a moment to my friend to visit him, although he used to have free access. This renders me very suspicious of his intentions. I think that what has happened shows that my caution was justified, and I am determined to wait for the ambassador to make the first move. Once I am certain that I shall be received properly I will do all in my power to confirm friendly relations.

London, the 19th June, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

June 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

244. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Some gentlemen have arrived from Holland with letters to the king from the Princess Palatine, who requests that her son may not take command of the fifteen ships as his presence would do more good in Germany ; but she wishes them to be employed in his service. The Ambassador Senneterre proposes simultaneously that they shall be placed at the disposal of France for the common cause.

With regard to the Palatine, if he inclines to go to Germany, it is thought that they will urge it here, as they are eager to see him leave England for several reasons, but chiefly because, abandoned to pleasure and ease, he seems to give no more than a passing thought to the things which most concern him. Owing to this they have asked the agent of the Landgrave of Hesse who was about to depart, having lost all hope, to remain a few days longer, with the intention, it is supposed, of resuming negotiations with him, to see the lowest price at which it is possible to arrange with him for the Palatine's taking the field with the command of his army, which the Landgrave has frequently offered to him.

They will encounter many difficulties, however, in providing him with enough money, as the assignment of 12,000*l.* sterling a year made him by the king for when he goes, will not suffice to maintain him and the troops as well. Everything depends on the agreement with France, the settlement of which is not yet manifest.

Great anxiety is felt about preventing the formation of a new port at Gravelines, as the argument about the conventions with the Dukes of Burgundy which they advance does not suffice to prevent Spain from carrying out so great a design, though it is well suited to give them time to complete it successfully, as here they shrink from decided measures and place their reliance on the appearance in the German Ocean of Count Harcourt with thirty-five French ships, and in the Dutch ; they strongly urge both of them to show themselves there.

The Earl of Northumberland went yesterday to the fleet, but it is not thought that he will sail without fresh express orders from his Majesty.

The Danish envoy is not yet despatched. They say they are detaining him for a good object, but as a fact they wish North-

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umberland to be at sea with the fleet and beginning the operations with which he is entrusted before the envoy can get back to Denmark.

Nothing more is said about the Hamburg diet as the difficulties are constantly increasing. The Swedish colonels have received some remittances from Holland, but are slow in completing their levies. This arouses suspicion, which is increased by letters from Germany announcing the progress of an agreement between Sweden and the emperor. This subject is distasteful above all others, as once this fire has died out in the empire, it is believed that the hopes of righting the affairs of the Palatine will also be extinguished in great measure, as a consequence. The ministers here assert that Teller is acting in a private capacity, as the king has withdrawn his credentials, and if he is conducting any negotiations about the Palatine's affairs, he is doing so of his own caprice, without orders and without sanction from this quarter. But the Spaniards go about declaring the contrary and indeed add that he has new letters of credence for the emperor, which amounts to an open admission by his Majesty here that that monarch has attained to the empire in a legitimate manner.

The last letters that I have received from your Serenity are of the 29th ult.

London, the 19th June, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

June 20. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

245. To the Ambassador in England.

Both your letters of the 28th ult. contain matter of importance, especially about the establishment of trade at Ancona.* You will find out what objects and interests are moving the parties and prevent it if possible. You will contrive to get to the ears of those whom you think proper, how much the republic would regret it if her representatives, who hold the most stringent instructions, were compelled to carry them into execution against those ships that might trespass and cross the Gulf, of our ancient and undoubted jurisdiction, contrary to the public intention, in the very sight of Venice, the republic being unable to leave that passage free. You will in this way try to make the merchants realise how unsubstantial the matter is, and rather induce them to bring their ships here, to increase trade, with greater advantage and less danger to them and where we can offer them every facility. All your application and skill will be needed for this.

We enclose a copy of the memorial presented in the Collegio by the English ambassador. The Council of Ten released the two officers two days ago.

*On $\frac{6}{16}$ June Fielding wrote "The report of the endeavours of one Peterson, a Fleming, to invite the English trade to Ancona put them into a great jealousy lest that design should receive beginning and furtherance from England; which if they find any ground for (as contrary to their laws and preventions in their dominion over these seas) they will make great complaints to His Majesty and endeavour to prevent it. *S.P. For. Venice.*

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Letters from Spain repeat the assurances of reciprocal treatment. The Ambassador Zustignan reports that every sign of honour has been accorded to him as well as the title of "Excellency." Count Ognat certainly has orders to treat you in the same way if you go to see him. We leave it to you to decide whether you will pass the compliment. We enclose the usual sheet of advices.

Ayes, 106. Noes, 1. Neutral. 10.

[*Italian.*]

June 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

246. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Although the Spanish ambassador is really in bad health the gentleman, who is my confidant, has found an opportunity of conferring with him. The ambassador enquired whether he had seen me lately and if I had told him about the settlement of the differences with Lord Fielding, which seemed to him to have been arranged with but little honour to the king or to Fielding himself. The gentleman said that he had no information. The ambassador then began to say that he had always found me well disposed, and spoke highly of me. But while I stood upon punctilio he was always ready to treat with me on an equality, in conformity with what was done at Madrid and promised elsewhere. He had already expressed his intentions to the Master of the Ceremonies. He was personally much indebted to the courtesy of the Venetians, shown to him when he passed through Venice. He promised my friend that he would give me the title of "Excellency" as well as every sign of respect. Such is the present state of the affair and I think that it justified me in making a second venture. Accordingly I availed myself of the pretext of his indisposition to send to visit him again apologising for not going in person, because I was suffering from a catarrh, like himself, which actually confines me to the house. When the secretary went the ambassador was in bed with a severe cold in the head. He expressed his gratification at the visit, giving me the title of "Excellency." Such is the conclusion of the matter and good has come out of evil. I can now go and see him unreservedly and will do so.

London, the 25th June, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

247. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Secretary of the Earl of Leicester has arrived at the Court with news of the ratification of the treaties with the Most Christian ;* so the ministers here announce with one accord. The universal rejoicings testify to the same as well as the decision that they have since taken for the fleet to sail and for the Princes Palatine to take passage by it to Holland, without further delay.

* James Battyer ; his coming was announced by Scudamore on the 16th and by Leicester on the 19 June, n.s. *S.P. For. France* Vol. 103. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637, page 219.

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I have tried all this week to discover the object of this move ; but after comparing the statements of the ministers of the Court with what the French and Dutch ambassadors say, I remain in the dark. The former assert that everything is settled ; the others that the ratification of the allies is required. But if the articles are approved the treaty is not signed, and at the end of next month a conference is to be held at Paris, to which the Palatine is to urge the Dutch to send delegates. They also want the Swedes to be represented, and an express was sent off yesterday to the agent at Hamburg, to urge Oxistern to see to this.

The allied powers will be represented at that city. It is possible that they may not approve of what has been approved in France for the establishment of the auxiliary league, within the limit of time allowed for making their own intimations to the emperor, because they will not want to lose, for so slight an advantage, the benefit of the moment for negotiating a universal peace, on which question they strongly suspect the government here of scheming to disturb the effects. So this matter which has been so much discussed between the two crowns can only be finally settled when the allies finally ratify the articles, at least that is my conjecture.

With all this ambiguity and the armed ships for the Palatine remaining idle, I venture to conclude, though it differs from what is circulated from the Court, that nothing has yet been arranged beyond the projects which are to be laid before the congress assembled at Paris, to be carried out with their consent and approval. If this be so, as I do not doubt, it is easy to see that matters will drag on and that little will be done this year, as the season is well advanced, and the points to decide are possibly more difficult than they imagine.

The old treaties embraced two points. The English wished it to be merely auxiliary, the French offensive and defensive. This has not yet been settled and will be discussed at Paris. At present the king here is only bound to grant levies of 6000 men, to be paid by France, and to give fourteen men of war for the Palatine to harass Spanish trade. In return for this France is to pledge herself not to make peace without the consent of England. The second and more recent proposals arrange for England to declare open war against the Austrians, contributing her entire fleet.

Meanwhile Leicester's secretary has been sent back to Paris, whither he undoubtedly takes back the approval of what he brought here. In the future they will devote their attention exclusively to urging on the union of the allies. The Dutch want the Palatine to be accompanied by a gentleman of rank as ambassador extraordinary, to make the communications to them and the requests mentioned previously, and the Ambassador Beveren has said as much to him, intimating that without such support his offices will lack efficacy. But with time short and but scant inclination there is no sign that they intend to make any alteration.

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They assert that the king has directed the Earl of Northumberland not to molest the Dutch fisheries ; but this does not suffice to reassure them, as they are too much alarmed by what happened last year, and although present circumstances have altered the nature of the affair they say that when the English have struck them they will easily find excuses, so they want a written declaration, which the king here considers too detrimental to his prerogative.

The Ambassador Ognate is still unable to obtain permission to raise fresh levies, in spite of the repeated instances that he has made on the subject. Not only have they withheld this concession but they have not even granted the ordinary recruits. In his disgust at this he has been stimulated to speak unreservedly and to confirm his protestations that if the royal ships sail to the hurt of the king of Spain, whether they be commanded by the Palatine or by any one else, he is to denounce open war on them forthwith.

The Swedes are making up their regiments, although slowly, for lack of money, and several companies are now ready to start.

I have received the state despatches of the 5th inst. with instructions to remove any bad impression the king may have against Lord Fielding. But so far as I can see, since my last offices, everything is proceeding with the utmost satisfaction, and past affairs are entirely forgotten. Moreover the ambassador is so firmly established in favour that it would require much more violent shocks to destroy him.

London, the 26th June, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

248. The English Ambassador came into the Collegio and spoke to the following effect :

Since the answer you gave me, expressing your desire for universal peace, letters have reached me from his Majesty expressing the same views. I have come to inform your Serenity of this, as it cannot fail to assist the public good. His Majesty is so eager for this object that he will put his own interests on one side for its attainment, and those of the Elector Palatine also, although he ought not since it appears that those responsible for the most unrighteous aggression upon him have neither the will nor the inclination to make restitution. The king has waited with the greatest patience, although he has never seen any results, and he and his allies have been differently treated from his expectations.

In this I have no doubt but that all interests will join in common with your Serenity, just as I feel sure that it will arouse the most sincere feelings in your Serenity about what his Majesty desires, if this matter of the peace does not turn out as expected ; so that your Serenity, as a wise and prudent prince may reflect upon what will best suit the common service. His Majesty wishes to enjoy the advantages of a mutual understanding with this republic, especially in view of what is being done these

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current months in this province. He will always be ready to support the republic, even on the most important occasions against those princes who have different objects from peace. I shall enjoy the task, if I think that the advices which reach me from various places will satisfy your Serenity's desire. I would send to one of the secretaries or come myself, if I was not afraid of wearying you by coming too often. If you wish me to serve you in this way I will devote all my energies to it, from zeal to serve you.

The doge answered, We fully appreciate his Majesty's aims for the public welfare and general tranquillity. We shall always be glad to stand side by side with his Majesty, as our chief desire is to increase this relation especially with an ambassador, who becomes more and more devoted to our interests and worthy of the affection and esteem which we have for him. You will always be welcome and we shall esteem any advices as an additional kindness.

The ambassador made some complimentary remarks and said he would have brought the advices he had if he had not feared to be troublesome. The doge replied cordially, commending the ambassador's goodness and sincerity.

The ambassador then said, I have another matter. You recently gave orders about ships trading at Zante and Cephalonia, for the relief of English merchants. I hear that your officials are not carrying these out properly. It will be necessary to repeat the commands.

The doge replied, The republic desired his Majesty's subjects to be well treated and favoured everywhere, and the necessary orders shall be issued if we find that they need them.

The ambassador stated that it was the customers or their ministers in those islands who did not carry out the commands of the Senate, and asked for vigorous orders on the subject.

He went on, I must also ask you to protect our merchant Obson, whose affair was referred to the Five Savii for Trade, and is now before the Avogador Pesaro.

The doge asked that Obson should present a memorial, when the seniors should be assembled and something suitable ordained. Obson deserved favour, as he had dealt honourably with the Rectors and rendered good public service.

In conclusion the ambassador said, I must thank your Serenity for the favour recently received about the two prisoners, who have been released. I know that I ought not to mention a matter which has caused some dissatisfaction but I see by the results that your Serenity has desired to consider his Majesty's honour and prove the sincere friendship of the republic for him and I wish to express the pleasure that this satisfaction gives me personally.

The doge said that everything had been done in order to please the ambassador, and they would willingly do more to show their affection and esteem for him. The ambassador again expressed his thanks, bowed and departed.

[*Italian.*]

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June 27.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

249. That the English Ambassador be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

We are always glad of anything calculated to increase cordial relations between his Majesty and the republic and we welcome his Majesty's most courteous representations as we are always glad to welcome your lordship. The republic will rejoice at universal peace and will always labour for it. We appreciate your offer to supply advices and shall be glad to reciprocate. We have again written to Zante and Cephalonia in favour of the English merchants and we are anxious that they should be well treated in the interests of trade, both there and here, as his Majesty also desires. We will inform Obson of our intentions so that he may hope that his affair will soon be settled and that he will be able to enjoy the fruit of your lordship's interposition. We are much gratified by your expression of complete satisfaction and we hope that you will always find us ready to oblige you.

Ayes, 101. Noes, 0. Neutral, 8.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

250. To the Ambassador in England.

On the 23rd inst. in the Collegio the Spanish ambassador informed us of orders issued by the Catholic for the treatment of the ambassadors of the republic on an equal footing. We direct you to make request to visit the Count of Villa Mediana without delay, in such way as you think best, if you are first assured of equal treatment, and we shall wait to hear if the result corresponds with the assurances given.

We enclose a copy of the exposition of the English ambassador and of the reply given him. You will speak in conformity if the subject is raised. We enclose the usual sheet of advices and acknowledge receipt of your despatch of the 5th inst.

Ayes, 101. Noes, 0. Neutral, 8.

[*Italian.*]

June 30.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

251. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of England has sent a courier extraordinary bringing word that he has accepted the articles taken to him by the Earl of Leicester's secretary. In substance they contain that two treaties shall be made, an auxiliary one for the moment by which the King of Great Britain will send out the Prince Palatine with twenty five armed ships, with patents from the Most Christian, to attack the coasts of Flanders and take action against the Spaniards, with the obligation as well of defending the coasts of France and giving them permission to levy 6000 men with his own money in the kingdom. On to the other side the Most Christian will be bound not to make peace or truce without including the interests of the Palatine house, both with respect to the electoral dignity and his possessions too. Before the treaty is signed it will be communicated by his Majesty's ministers to the Swedes and Dutch for their approval. The other is that in

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the assembly of Hamburg all the claims of the princes concerned in these wars shall be regulated. A person sent by England will show these arrangements to the emperor and the Duke of Bavaria. If they are accepted, the claim being that all the princes shall enjoy their own as they did before these troubles, everything will be settled amicably and the negotiations will be completed at Cologne. If they are refused by the Austrians and the Duke of Bavaria, the king of England will sign an offensive and defensive alliance until he obtains complete satisfaction. He will agree, however, before beginning open war, with respect to the Palatine that as regards the electoral dignity it shall be exercised by the Duke of Bavaria during his life; but he means the rest of the possessions to be restored without any exception. All the friendly princes will be invited to take up a similar alliance.

Paris, the 30th June, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

July 2. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

252. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

A gentleman has reached the Princess Palatine from her son with the announcement that the treaties between England and France have been concluded and that ratification will follow at the diet. She has not heard any more and expects the Palatine any day. The Court considers this a trick, and the Princess herself admits that she is not entirely satisfied and she fears that the results will not correspond.

The States are pressing Sig. Grasvinchel for his reply to the English book. He is trying to gain time so that he may be able to wait for the sheets sent to your Serenity.

The Hague, the 2nd July, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

July 3. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

253. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Rusdorf, the Palatine's first councillor, left yesterday for Holland with the Prince's household and baggage, escorted by four of his Majesty's ships of war.* The rest of the fleet is all ready to accompany the prince himself, who will take the same route on Monday with his brother. Both of them take away liberal presents of jewels and horses made to them by the king and queen and by many of the leading lords here. Besides having all their debts paid, the king has ordered the payment of 3000*l.* in cash to the Palatine, and that secure assignments be given him for the yearly pension of 12,000*l.* and that he be defrayed and provided with everything that he requires until he reaches Holland.

The king assured the prince that he would never fail to protect his interests. He urged him not to lose courage but to remember

* From a letter of Capt. Edward Popham to Northumberland it would appear that the escort consisted of the Fifth Whelp, of the royal navy, and the "Pleiades" and "Industry," merchantmen in the royal service. The Whelp sprung a leak and sank off the coast of Holland, with 17 of her crew. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637, page 283.

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that he was not the first great prince of Christendom to experience rude storms, and with prudence and good counsel he would emerge happily. He added that by the measure of his actions he would be more or less ready to supply help. In short in a long and affectionate discourse he did his utmost to encourage him to procure his own advantage by industry, possibly finding him more tepid than he ought to be about his own interests.

The prince listened attentively to all. He said that not only the king's advice but his wishes would be a law to him always, and thanked him becomingly. He presented him with a new memorial, which contains enquiries what he is to do if he asks the States to enter the allianee with Franee, and on what terms he is to invite them if his Majesty does not propose to send an ambassador on purpose, who would go on to the Landgrave of Hesse and the Chancellor Oxestern, to make suitable overtures.

Also if the States ask him about his Majesty's decision on the question of the fisheries, what he is to answer, as if this point is not settled to their satisfaction it will be impossible to induce them to take any step in his favour.

Also what answer he shall give the Swedes if they ask help from this quarter in troops and munitions eorresponding to what is supplied by the Most Christian and the Dutch.

The Prince begs his Majesty to be pleased to declare openly his will upon all the above particulars and to give him suitable powers to satisfy the just instances of the allies, so that the good results which are intended may begin to flow readily without obstacles.

This paper is to be examined in the Council on Sunday, and the Prince will have his answer before his departure.

With respect to the matter of the Dutch fisheries I find that Northumberland has orders not to molest them, but it is also a fact that he takes with him 400 printed licences to be granted to those who ask for them. The Duteh object to this procedure because they say that when the fishermen meet the fleet, intimidated by what has happened before, they will make no difficulty about receiving the licences, and so, by a tacit violence, they will be compelled to pay, to the irreparable hurt of their rights. If this affair is not sincerely settled it will certainly stand in the way of every other satisfactory arrangement, since the Dutch are determined not to give this time without rceeiving.

The ministers here continue to announce the alliance with Franee as concluded, but give no details. This confirms my opinion, especially as I am sure that his Majesty has not signed the articles and it is uncertain whether they have even been signed by the ambassadors and commissioners at Paris, although everyone affirms it.

They declare that in the articles the emperor is only called King of Hungary, which they think is calculated to induce him to grant good terms for the general peace more readily.

Besides his other demands the Danish envoy asks for the payment of the old debts claimed by that crown for the pensions which it paid to the late King James at the time of the war with

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Cæsar. He also asked for an assurance that his Majesty will not prevent his master from trying to extort by arms the rights which he claims to receive from the Hamburgers. They told him that the debts were ceded to the Princess Palatine in payment of the value of the jewels left by the queen, her grandmother, to be divided between his Majesty and the said princess, his sister; and as for Hamburg, the king would be better advised to make terms than to incur the embarrassment of war, which cannot fail to injure the common cause. The envoy is to leave tomorrow. He will take word that the fleet is at sea, well equipped, numbering twenty four sail, besides the fifteen reserved for the Palatine, which is the point to which he has devoted most attention.

The Ambassador Ognate has fulfilled my expectations by sending a gentleman to thank me and leaving me nothing to desire. He is still very ill and in bed, which has prevented me from seeing him; but I have sent often to enquire after him and this has pleased him greatly. If he is better I hope to see him the day after tomorrow.

The Court has been away from the city three weeks,* They propose to go on with the progress, which they intend to make much further away than usual, to escape the dangers of the plague.

London, the 3rd July, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

254. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France to the Doge and Senate.

In the negotiations with the English ambassadors the Earl of Leicester has intimated that England will agree to France retaining the duchy of Bar after the peace, as her fief, as well as some places of Lorraine in some sort of way, either as deposit or purchase; also that the Swedes shall keep Pomerania or some places there. For the rest, everything shall be restored. But these particulars will have to be better established in the diet of Hamburg.

Paris, the 7th July, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

July 9. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

255. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Last Sunday I called on Ognate, who was still in bed very ill and weak. He was greatly pleased at the attention. He spoke to me in a very contemptuous manner about this Court. He said there was no school in the world where one could learn how to negotiate with the English, and he admitted that he was not capable of understanding their humours. He had proposed conditions here calculated to adjust the Palatine's affairs. They had either not listened or not understood them, and to his great astonishment, held them in so little account that in the very middle of them they had concluded an agreement with the Most Christian. That looked very fine, but it was not feasible, as the French lacked money and the king here was in no state to supply them with it.

* The Court spent the latter part of June at Greenwich. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637, pages 162, 193, 215, 228.

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He swore to me that his king earnestly desired a general peace and was obliged to your Excellencies for your efforts. He thought that one would be made as France would have to come to it though she did not want to. He asked me if it were true that the Sieur delle Tullerie had remonstrated about the Cavalier Pesaro being sent to Poland. I said I had no information, but his Excellency was excused from going to Cologne. He objected that France had allowed enough time for both missions, but the republic had done well; he only made the remark to show that the French were not sincere about a universal peace. I made a short reply and the visit ended.

London, the 9th July, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

256. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On Sunday last the Council discussed the Palatine's memorial, and as arranged the answers were given that same evening by the king himself to his nephew, in the following substance:

That it was unnecessary to send an ambassador to the States, the Chancellor Oxistern or to the Landgrave. With the advice of his mother and the Prince of Orange he could make his own arrangements with the first; and it is beyond a doubt that they are already well disposed and as their interests are deeply concerned that they will embrace the project and send their delegates immediately to ratify the articles of the alliance. The Landgrave had an agent here and his Majesty would see that he had the satisfaction desired. They did not yet know the real intentions of the Swedes and in order to learn them they had sent instructions to their agent at Hamburg to communicate the agreement with France to Oxistern and urge him to send some one to the appointed place with suitable powers. When they know what he intends to do there will be no difficulty, should it be necessary, about sending to him some special individual to concert with him what is to be done. Finally upon the question of the Dutch fisheries, which is the most troublesome one, the king told the prince that he had commanded his agent to assure the Provinces that they shall not be molested by his fleet in any way, so that there was no further occasion for him to discuss the matter. He would tell him for his personal satisfaction that the commander has instructions to treat the Dutch fishermen amicably.

With these replies the prince left on the following day, to wit the 6th inst. with his brother. He sailed for the Hague escorted by the whole of the royal fleet and accompanied by many of the leading lords here. The weather was favourable and it is reckoned that he will have arrived safely by now.*

* The earl of Arundel accompanied the brothers as far as the coast. The two princes sailed in the "St. George." They reached the Hague on the 11th July n.s. accompanied by the earls of Northampton and Warwick and the lords Grandison and Craven. Salvetti on the 14th July. Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962H. Boswell to Fielding $\frac{13}{23}$ June *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Report, page 221, *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637, page 307.

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I have been unable to obtain a copy of the treaty with France owing to the extraordinary secrecy observed, but I trust that the state will have received one from Contarini from Paris. However I have found out on good authority that to bring the auxiliary alliance into active existence the ratification of the allies is necessary, and in accordance with the teachings of experience they are devoting their earnest attention to getting these to meet. The ships which have been prepared for the Palatine and which by the terms of the alliance they are obliged to send out, are still kept close. *Although many here make a pretence of desiring* the offensive and defensive alliance, to be preceded by an open rupture with the House of Austria *it is well known that they are trying their hardest to prevent it coming to pass and they hope that by negotiating with Cæsar during the time that remains for the purpose, they may be able to get out of it. as they are very apprehensive about involving themselves in a long war without hope of much profit, and with the certainty of considerable losses in trade,* the more so because they have an idea that French vigour will keep declining, as they attach much more importance to the trouble caused by the risings in Guienne than to the successes of the Cardinal della Valletta in Hainault, or those which are not yet certain, of the Duke of Longueville against the Duke of Lorraine.

It is believed that they will find the advance of the latter very formidable and it is thought that they will require great efforts to resist it. In short such divisions in the country are considered here of great consequence, and not less so the difficulties which the Count of Soissons persists in raising over the adjustment of his affairs. Accordingly they have come to the conclusion that the undertaking of France not to make peace without their consent here is of very slight value, since she is incapable by herself of sustaining the war at the necessary pitch any longer. This point will ultimately prolong the effectuation of these treaties, even if they are quite matured by time and circumstance.

The Ambassador Beveren is about to take leave of the king, as he has no further negotiations upon the affairs for which he came. He received permission by his letters last week, and announces that the ordinary Ambassador Joachimi will arrive before long to continue his residence.

They still speak in different ways about the removal of Teller from the imperial Court. Most declare that he has been recalled, but with such reserve that I do not consider it certain. The Resident Ballarino will dispel this uncertainty. These masks over a simple matter of fact arouse the belief that they hide some important interest, *unless it be that the ministers here, by being so secret about everything, pretend, as the Spaniards say, to have the power, without hindrance, to regulate the affairs of Christendom according to their own satisfaction.*

From Fielding's exposition which reached me in the despatch of the 12th, I see the advantage he has tried to take, in making it appear as if I had urged his Majesty in the Signory's name to send ambassadors to Cæsar and the congress at Cologne, offering the republic's help for the Palatine. I assure your Excellencie

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that they have not so interpreted my offices here. It is an equivocation of his own, unless in their great desire to be asked they have decided to make use of artifice. If anything more is said to me on the subject, I will avail myself of the instructions sent, and will not go a step beyond the general terms to which I have confined myself in the past.

With regard to the detention of the officials at Fielding's instance, I have informed the ministers, confirming your desire to gratify his Majesty and the ambassador as well. The office pleased them extremely, and I know that his Majesty was very pleased. He is at present not more than ten miles away,* but he has decided after two weeks to go much further off with all the Court, as the plague has begun again, making considerable progress not only in London, but in the neighbouring villages. Owing to my illness and the inroads upon my fortune I shall have to stay behind, and I ask to be forgiven if my despatches are somewhat bare.

London, the 10th July, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 13. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

257. To the Ambassador in England.

We have received your despatches of the 18th ult. We have nothing to add about Ognate. You were chosen ambassador to France many months ago. It is desirable that the move of the ambassador from France to Spain, and from Spain to England as well as your own should be made with every due convenience, and you are to be the first to start. You are therefore to be ready to set out at the first opportunity.

That 300 ducats be paid to the agents of Anzolo Correr for couriers and the carriage of letters.

Ayes, 82. Noes, 0. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

July 13. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

258. The Senate's decision of the 27th ult. was read to the English Ambassador, who spoke to the following effect :

From what your Serenity says about universal peace I perceive that this is your sole object. I will inform his Majesty, who aims at the most perfect correspondence. It will confirm to him the excellent disposition of the republic.

I am pleased that the offer of my services has been accepted.

I see what the Senate has ordained about our merchants and expect the desired result. That is the case with Obson, whose affair depends on your Serenity's justice, and I need only thank you for what you have imparted to me about the orders in his favour. The republic in this, as in everything else has especial regard to the satisfaction of our nation.

The doge replied, From what has been read your lordship can judge that we aim solely at the universal welfare, and our special object is to maintain and increase the good relations with his Majesty. Obson shall have his cause decided by the Avogador

* The king was at Havering in the middle of July. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637, page 287.

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Pesaro, in conformity with equity and justice. You may rest assured that we have at heart the interests of English merchants at Zante and Cephalonia.

The ambassador said he could only thank the doge for the orders, and after some respectful remarks he bowed and went to take a copy of the office read to him. In doing so he remarked, I see that their Excellencies are very disposed to increase the trade by the orders they tell me of. I have performed every good office for this and will continue to do so, and his Serenity should also persevere.

I commended the ambassador's idea, saying it was worthy of his prudence. He replied that he would never fail to establish and increase the good relations with his Majesty and to develop trade, and departed.

CHRISTOFORO SURIAN, *Secretary.*

[*Italian.*]

July 14. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

259. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The treaty with England being concluded, both the Most Christian and the King of Great Britain, have sent to invite the Swedes and Dutch to enter the league and to send ministers to Hamburg to take part in the diet. The secretary of the Ambassador Leicester has arrived from England. The earl has not received leave to return home although he desires it greatly.

Paris, the 14th July, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

July 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

260. FRANCESCO MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prince Palatine has arrived escorted by twenty four English ships to Rotterdam. Both he and the English Resident asked the Assembly to send a representative to the diet. The States find it hard to believe that the treaties are absolutely concluded and the Court thinks it is an artifice of the King to send back the Palatine to Holland and to begin to shake him off. The Prince says that he will return to England, but he has brought all his baggage and no one believes it. The Princess Palatine admits that the ratification depends on what the Swedes decide and these States also. But the gentlemen of the Palatine and especially the Englishmen in his service declare that the only decision is to call a diet and that their king does not want a formal rupture, the feeling against France being too strong to allow an alliance.

The Hague, the 16th July, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

July 17. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

261. ANZOLO CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassadors extraordinary of France and Holland both demanded audience to take leave for last Sunday, but the Sieur de Seneterre alone availed himself of it the other pleading sudden

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indisposition. It is supposed that he did this because the sudden and simultaneous departure of these two was criticised as taking place at the very moment when the negotiations with their masters were becoming active in England, that Beveren was unwilling to offend the king and preferred to inform the States first, especially as Joachimi might arrive in the mean time. The Earl of Arundel and some other ministers tell me that the king resents the withdrawal of Senneterre, who, however, has received handsome presents, seeing that there are two English ambassadors at the French Court and an affair so important as the alliance should not be confided to a mere secretary. However the Ambassador left with every satisfaction in respect of his treatment and presents, as he told me yesterday when he called, and we exchanged compliments.

They have held long consultations and finally decided to set up a new Company to trade in the West Indies and acquire possessions, after the manner of the Dutch, with whom they are treating, to act in concert. The Dutch seem quite willing, but doubt whether the English will be prepared to get together the amount of capital required, and they would prefer to make some alliance with England first. Thus in this as in the common affairs, one sees the disputes about the fisheries removed by some legal paper not by words, as the Dutch know full well that the English persist in their intentions and pretend that the connivance which they offer this year does not prejudice them. The fishermen, intimidated by their encounter with the fleet, have come of their own accord to obtain licences, a point the Dutch fear as much as they detest it, because they see that it may become customary, and then it will be difficult if not impossible to abolish it.

The ill feeling is increased by a fresh incident which happened recently in sight of Portland. Five Dunkirk ships encountered four Dutch men of war there, and engaged in a long fight, but when the Dutch were gaining the advantage and almost sure of victory, a squadron of the king came out and separated them. This incident has aroused a great outcry and certainly it will not help the matters at present in negotiation.

As a counterblast to the treaty with France the Spaniards have had published the oath of fealty taken to them by the people of the Lower Palatinate, of which I enclose a copy.

They are persuaded here that the Hamburgers will permit the conference of the allies, and so they have sent instructions to the English agent, as they do not think it advisable to send any one on purpose, because the finishing touches are to be put at Paris.

They watch with interest for the news from Italy. They deeply regret the last received about the loss of Nizza and other places in the Monferrat, just as they rejoice at the French successes in Hainault and the county of Burgundy, although report makes the former much greater than the latter. In short at present this nation seems entirely on the side of France ; I must leave others to decide if the heart corresponds. I know that some of the ministers here took umbrage rather at seeing me opening relations

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with the Spanish ambassador amid these circumstances, but I have entirely dispelled their jealousy. That ambassador is still confined to his bed. He sent one of his gentlemen to thank me for the visit with every courtesy that could be desired.

The city has been greatly excited this week over a sentence against three persons who had written against the reforms introduced into the church by the Archbishop of Canterbury, bitterly libelling him personally as well as the king. The first is an ecclesiastic, the second a physician and the third a lawyer, a well chosen triumvirate. They publicly cut off the ears of all three, condemned them to perpetual imprisonment and forbad them the use of the pen for ever.* They defended against the Archbishop the party of the Puritans, that being the name derisively given to those who claim purity and dissociate themselves from the rites of the Protestants. This has now increased enormously, and being encouraged by persons of rank, they take all sorts of liberties and pretend to lay down the law to the government altogether. The king, seeing this poison spreading, tries to keep it far from his heart and to pull out its roots, but the more he tries to extirpate them the stronger they become. They do not care about their goods or esteem their lives when efforts are made to moderate their doctrines, or rather their ignorance. When the sentence in question was being executed, one could see even women and children collecting the blood of the victims, exalting their punishment and ignominy with tears and cries to the most exalted martyrdom. In short this pest may be the one which will ultimately disturb the repose of this kingdom. The Spaniards devote all their attention to it, to turn it to advantage in proportion as their differences with the crown increase. The Bishop of Lincoln is at present in disgrace for the same cause. I will send word of what happens, as I consider events of this sort well worthy of attention.

No letters have arrived from Italy this week. It is reported that the courier met with an accident at sea.

London, the 17th July, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure.

262. Copy of the oath taken by the people of the Lower Palatinate to the King of Spain.

[*Italian.*]

July 18. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

263. To the Ambassador in England.

Enclose the exposition of the Ambassador Fielding for information. Acknowledge his letters of the 25th ult. Commend his skill and prudence in the affair of Ognate. Will await further particulars with curiosity.

Ayes, 106. Noes, 1. Neutral 2.

[*Italian.*]

* Henry Burton, John Bastwick, and William Prynne. The sentence was carried out on the 30th June, o.s.

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July 18.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

264. The English Ambassador came into the Collegio and spoke to the following effect:

I recently offered to impart advices which might prove helpful to you and to the common service. I think that I ought not to postpone this office because I have something which I consider essential. I will not speak of what is passing in the Milanese or in the Valtelline and Grisons, as that is under your eyes. It will serve to help you towards general peace. I need not speak of the news which comes from your ministers, and only say that all that is taking place is of great importance and I am much excited.

I have very recent letters from Germany, and numerous reports corroborate. This much is certain, that the vanguard of the Duke of Waimar of 2500 men has entered Alsace, and it is thought that the duke has followed with the rest of his army, since his commissioner has gone to the Swiss diet, hoping to obtain from them among other things a free passage through their country in order to cross the Rhine. This will be difficult, because the Imperialist forces are gathering to prevent it. If the Duke of Lorraine is not too hard pressed, he is inclined to lay siege to Montbelliard, with the reinforcements of Giovanni de Vert, which were to reach him after the capture of Hermestain. They were expecting Piccolomini and his forces at Brussels. The Cardinal Infant sent for him to come at the earliest opportunity. Although they said the Count of Soissons would join the Cardinal, his loyalty and honour prevent him from meddling. Yet the Cardinal has tried hard, using as intermediary President Rosa, the leading minister of Flanders, who accordingly strongly opposed the treaty without greater advantages. However the Cardinal showed a letter from the King of Spain absolutely ordering him to take advantage of the opportunity and neglect no means of obliging him, so it was hoped that this would give a great impetus to the accord between them.

The governor of Landreci gave sanguine promises about the defence of that place, besieged by the French; but they are doubtful about the issue. They will feel the loss the more, since by taking it they opened the way to the very gates of Brussels.

The Dutch are only waiting for a million from the French before taking the field, by arrangement, with 260 companies of foot and five cornets of horses. The Swedish Resident recently left the Hague, very satisfied with his negotiations. He obtained promises and assurances, so that on every hand we see great preparations which afford material for prudent reflection.

In the midst of these unhappy reports about war I have some pleasant news for your Serenity, confirming my king's friendship for you, as he approved the accommodation made and was highly pleased with my account. He has charged me to assure you of his constant and sincere friendship. He has written a letter with his own hand expressing his desire to maintain this friendship.

The doge thanked the ambassador for the advices. They had heard of some, but he had given them other matter which required reflection. They rejoiced at his Majesty's friendship and hoped that these cordial relations might flourish for ever.

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The ambassador made some further complimentary remarks, hoping that he might be able to serve his king and the republic simultaneously, for the preservation of their friendship and confidential relations. He then took leave and departed.

[*Italian.*]

July 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

265. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Swedish ambassador reports that his country will be unlikely to send deputies to Cologne unless they see how things go at Hamburg, as the administrators of the crown have decided not to give up Pomerania. The Ambassador Leicester is confident they will be able to draw the King of Denmark into the league, especially about the Palatinate, and it seems that monarch intimated to M. d'Avo that he meant to do something solid for the Palatine house. But some attach little credit to these reports.

Paris, the 21st July, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

July 22. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

266. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Palatine's Agent came to see me yesterday to tell me of the prince's journey. He said he was commanded to maintain most cordial relations with the ministers of your Serenity, for which I thanked him. He went on to express the satisfaction felt by the Palatine House at seeing cordial relations opened between the Spanish ministers and those of your Serenity, as from this they might hope for fresh negotiations and other advantages. I perceived his object and answered with general compliments. *He then spoke of the advantage of the affair being in the hands of a neutral prince friendly to the general tranquillity. The Palatine did not expect much from the alliance with France, the House of Austria being too strong while France was feeble, the Swedes were ruined and the Dutch tired, and all of them together unequal to replace the Palatine by arms, or to maintain him even if they could. So the way of negotiation was necessary and could not be in better hands than those of the ministers of the most serene republic. He had addressed me before saying anything to his Majesty in order to hear what I thought.*

From his open and determined manner I concluded that this came from a higher quarter, which chose this way in order to avoid committing itself at the first move. Perceiving numerous difficulties I confined myself to generalities, expressing the esteem of your Excellencies *for the Palatine House. I said I should personally be proud to serve it, but I had to proceed to France. He replied that for such an important matter it would be worth while to prolong my stay here. He begged me to think it over and he would give me further particulars ; and so he took leave.*

From all this it seems clear that their hopes from this new alliance are very feeble and that they find themselves in an almost desperate plight and compelled to go about everywhere begging for assistance.

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Thus events themselves are bearing out what I wrote to your Excellencies, that the only steps taken here have been forced upon them, and abhorring the very name not to speak of the practice of war they are ready to do anything rather than become involved in it and to avoid being obliged to carry the affairs of the Palatine to the congress at Cologne. They believe that they will be at a disadvantage there, but more than this they would rather that it never took place, because although they affect to desire peace in Christendom passionately, it is certain that in their own interests they desire the continuation of the war with equal fervour, as for political reasons it is recognised to be to their advantage, since by means of it they are rendering themselves sole masters of the trade, and in the troubles of their neighbours consists the true security of their repose. I may leave your Excellencies to consider the effect of these circumstances in the conduct of the enterprise suggested to me, together with the peculiar difficulties of that most thorny affair, not to speak of what the French might think about it. I will await your commands for dealing with further advances from the Resident or from the ministers.

London, the 22nd July, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

267. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

By letters dated the 15th inst. the Palatine acquainted his Majesty with his arrival in Holland and how he had begun his negotiations, making overtures in the Assembly for a new alliance and asking them to send deputies to Hamburg to arrange matters with the other allies. He had not yet received a reply and he feared that it would not be favourable, as the States objected that the articles arranged with France had not been communicated to them at the outset and that he had said nothing about the fisheries. The prince thinks that it will be difficult to induce the Dutch to join a defensive and offensive alliance against the House of Austria without assuring them of some considerable advantage, as it is not in their interest to break the neutrality with the empire, a point upon which they have never wavered in past negotiations with the king.

To avoid incitement from this quarter, as they say, but really to save their reputation, the Ambassador Beveren has again received orders to return to Holland, and so, laying aside the considerations reported, he has arranged to take leave on Sunday. He leaves the affair of the fisheries in the usual position and the English would not put their concessions in writing and the Dutch are not satisfied with a tacit connivance, which would leave them always subject to fear and doubt.

The particular affairs of this kingdom continue subject to the most serious agitations, as the people have been greatly moved and exasperated by the recent condemnation of the Bishop of Lincoln. He had written about matters of religion, opposing the forms introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, cloaking his rancour under the veil of piety. He is to pay the penalty

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by a fine of 10,000*l.* sterling, by suspension from his charge and by imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure, or, as many insist, so long as the archbishop lives.* This and the examples of last week ought to subdue the insolence of that scandalous party; but it seems that the more they seek to abase it the more vigorous it arises, auguring ill for the outcome, and prudent people who know the danger are not a little afraid of it. At the end of next week the king will begin his journey. As it is long and very inconvenient, the queen has decided not to follow him, but will stay near by in places least affected by the plague.†

Before his Majesty's departure the Spanish resident also will take his leave, as he has to proceed to Flanders to the service of the Cardinal Infant.

I have the ducal missives of the 20th June this week with instructions about the efforts of ministers here to establish trade at Ancona. Before this I have intimated how much your Excellencies would regret any unfortunate incident, as your officers have very strict orders to uphold your undoubted jurisdiction. I find that this has made a considerable impression, the proposal has been considerably damped and there is little indication that they will do any more in the matter. If the idea is revived I will speak more plainly, disclosing the hollowness of the affair so clearly that the merchants themselves shall recognise it.

The Ambassador Ognate called on me the day before yesterday. He spoke of the Palatine and seemed very anxious to arrange that matter, if they desire either justice or favour, either course being indifferent to the emperor, so he says. Yet he does not propose to make new overtures to the king, saying that he has gone far enough for his side.

London, the 24th July, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives. Filza.

268. The Ambassador of Great Britain came into the Collegio and spoke to the following effect :‡

In my last audience I informed your Serenity of his Majesty's upright desire for peace. I now come to confirm it and to inform you of the conclusion of a treaty between his Majesty and the Most Christian to show his intimacy with the republic. The treaty concerns the interests of his Majesty and the princes Palatine, his nephews, and it may be called a new treaty, because it cements the friendship between the two crowns. That friend-

* The case was heard in the Star Chamber on the 16th June o.s., Williams had written a book entitled "*The Holy Table, Name and Thing*," in reply to "*A Coal from the Altar*," by Laud's chaplain Heylin. Gardiner: *Hist. of Eng.* Vol. VIII., page 253.

† The king was at Oatlands on the 26th July n.s., and does not seem to have gone further. On the 13th August he and the queen were present at the marriage of Lennox at Lambeth, after which they both returned to Oatlands. The king was away hunting in the New Forest from the 24th August to the 7th September, by which time he was back at Oatlands again. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637, pages 313, 355, 370–372, 387, 389.

‡ This exposition is taken from the filza as it is not entered in the Register.

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ship is likely to bring forth results such as his Majesty desires for the service of those princes. He feels sure that your Serenity agrees in wishing their welfare, and that he could do nothing better for the general cause. At the same time he must consider his own interests, in the present state of affairs, which requires him to act thus. He sees that he can hope for nothing by any other way, owing to the obstinacy of the Austrians, with whom neither offices nor promises avail. They also seem reluctant to grant passports to the princes and imperial towns, without which the French are determined not to agree to the congress at Cologne, which is not yet fixed. His Majesty feels sure that your Serenity will consider this treaty opportune and calculated to do what is necessary to overcome obstacles, where the claims of the Spaniards are such that it seems unlikely they will be overcome, to give what is justly demanded for his nephews. As nothing can be expected from Cologne, the arrangement between the two kings may prove a powerful means to obtain what would otherwise be difficult, and my king expects that everything will turn out satisfactorily to your Serenity.

The doge replied, We fully recognise his Majesty's good intentions toward the common service and peace. We thank you for the communication of the treaty. We had heard something about it, but we are glad to hear it from you. We feel sure it will conduce greatly to peace. We have always worked for this and will continue to cooperate. We are sure the alliance will help the princes Palatine, for whom we have always desired what is their due.

The ambassador continued, Your Serenity will have heard that the Prince Palatine and his brother were going to Holland, as the States General were to be informed of the treaty, and to obtain assistance from them. They are grateful for the favours received by their father and themselves from your Serenity, of which my king preserves a lively memory.

The doge thanked the ambassador for the communication. His Majesty might be sure that they desired the welfare of those princes.

The ambassador said, I thought it my duty to communicate this particular as I know that his Majesty wishes the republic to be satisfied. The doge repeated his thanks.

The ambassador then said, I thank your Serenity for the courtesy with which you received the advices I last brought. I only regret that they were not so recent as I could have wished, but as the information seemed important I thought it right to communicate it. My last letters say that the Duke of Lorraine was so badly beaten that he left more than a thousand men on the field* and he had to withdraw to Bisenzone, as he could not be safe elsewhere. The news caused some dissatisfaction in Flanders, and they blamed President Rossa for being too tardy with the negotiations, so that the blow could not be remedied. I thought it essential to add this. If anything more comes I will impart it.

* At Ray sur Saone at the beginning of July, by Weimar.

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The doge said, We are glad of your advices, although they agree in part with what we hear from elsewhere. We esteem them because they come from you. We thank you and we shall always appreciate them. With this the ambassador bowed, took leave and departed.

[*Italian.*]

July 30. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

269. That the English Ambassador be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

His Majesty is operating most prudently and in conformity with his most just intent towards the public weal. We have learned with pleasure what you have told us about his alliance with the Most Christian. Our wishes correspond with his Majesty's desires and we wish him every success, hoping that it will all lead to that universal peace towards which our republic is always ready to contribute its good offices. We thank his Majesty for the confidence shown and your lordship for the advices, which we value highly.

Ayes, 133. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

July 30. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

270. To the Ambassador in England.

We enclose a copy of the exposition of the English ambassador about the treaty between his king and the Most Christian. He gives no particulars, which corresponds with the reserve shown on the subject in England. We have received some particulars of the matter from France. We are sure that you will send us the articles and the opinions of the Court. With the Palatine Princes gone the operations of the king and his ministers will disclose themselves, when they no longer have the impulse of the presence of those princes and you will see what direction their resolutions take. We enclose a copy of our answer to the ambassador, in which we confined ourselves to generalities, corresponding with his office.

We have learned with peculiar satisfaction of the visit of the Spanish ambassador and that you had his response without difficulty and the title of "Excellency." You have done very well in the management of this delicate affair.

Ayes, 133. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

July 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

271. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The furious storms which have raged at sea all this week have left this kingdom utterly in the dark about foreign affairs. The king is very upset because he has had no news of his fleet since the Palatine arrived in Holland, and because he cannot hear what that prince has done with the States, his last despatches being filled with confusion rather than hope.

The Ambassador Beveren took leave last Sunday without saying a word about the fisheries. This causes them more

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anxiety, as it looks as if the Dutch, neglecting to compound their more important interests with this crown, had begun to think of other expedients, which would be more distasteful here. Yet his Majesty received the ambassador very graciously, assured him of his steadfast devotion to the common cause, told him that he eagerly desired to hear good news of the Prince of Orange, and begged him to urge his masters to make up their minds as soon as possible upon the subjects which his nephew is now proposing. But even this show of friendliness did not satisfy the ambassador, who would have liked to take something more solid to Holland about present affairs, and the fisheries in particular, upon which he may have hoped they would say something to him.

It is indeed with astonishment that one observes they wish with the one hand to keep the Dutch checked and in subjection at sea, while on the other they pretend to dispose of their arms and affections as if they had no wills independent of this crown, yet all the time the Dutch show themselves so courageous and strong in their determination not only to assert their rights, but in declaring that they will not give without receiving.

This departure of Beveren under existing circumstances alarms the Council, who perceive that the good result of the treaty with France depends on the Dutch, as they believe the party of the Swedes not far from ruin, if not there. The Spanish ambassador publishes as much already, and advices from Germany bear it out, so the king here no longer fixes his gaze in that direction, but looks to the fortune of the Dutch as the orient of his designs.

A courier arrived recently from Spain brings word that the French friar* was on the point of leaving that Court without having settled anything substantial in his negotiations. The matter has excited much attention here and they have heard the news with particular satisfaction, as it is utterly impossible by any means to uproot entirely from the minds of the ministry here the suspicion of a secret intelligence between the Courts of France and Spain for an armistice or a truce.

The Resident Nicolaldi took leave of their Majesties on Tuesday, and yesterday the Court was almost entirely disbanded, the king, with a small company starting on his progress, from which he will not return before the end of September. The queen meanwhile will stay partly at Oatlands and partly here at Richmond. I have also come here, so as not to be totally cut off from intercourse and so that I may have access to their Majesties if necessary, without suspicion of bringing the plague, which is raging in London. I shall try to do what little I can for the service of the state, in the hope of being released from this expensive embassy, and that on the return of the king, at least,

* He is referred to in a despatch of Scudamore of the 6th March n.s. "Here is one Basili of the order of the Minimes who hath lately been sent hither from Anjou and is upon his journey for Spain where he hath lived many years and is well known to the Conde d'Olivares. The pretence of his journey is to perform of some religious vow; but it is conceived he goes furnished with instructions to treat a peace. *S.P. For. France*, Vol. 103."

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if there is no previous opportunity, I may have permission to take leave and proceed to my new post in France, where I shall have greater opportunity, if not more ability to show my devotion.

The state despatches of the 27th ult. with the exposition of the Ambassador Fielding and the Senate's reply reached me last Saturday.

Richmond, the 30th July, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

July 31. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

272. The English Ambassador was summoned to the Collegio and the Senate's deliberation of yesterday was read to him; he spoke to the following effect:

I am much gratified that your Serenity appreciates what I said about my king's desire for general peace. He has no other object in all that he does although he must also consider the interests of the princes Palatine. His alliance with France cannot fail to produce the good desired. I am sure he will be glad to hear that the republic approves of the treaty. He will always show his confidence and I shall take the greatest delight in fostering this intimacy. I thank you for the reception of the advices which I have communicated, and I hope they will always help the republic and the cause of general peace.

The doge said that his offices could not be other than acceptable, because of his manner of presenting them. They were sure he would represent to the king their sincere devotion to the interests of the princes Palatine, and they prayed God that all would turn out to their advantage, as they believed it would, from the alliance with the Most Christian.

The ambassador thanked the doge and said he would try and show himself a good servant of his Serenity. With this he took leave and went to take a note of the office read to him. When leaving he said that he could assert that although the alliance with France was for the benefit of the princes Palatine, it would also help towards the general peace that being his Majesty's intention. If news arrived worthy of his Serenity, he would send it; and so he departed.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

273. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Bailo at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Learning from the Consul Orlandini of Cyprus that the English consul there* was claiming to reduce the payment on all goods from 5, 7, and 9 per cent. *ad valorem*, to a uniform rate of only 3 per cent., I took steps, not to oppose the grant of this favour to the English, but to prevent unequal treatment as between one nation and another. The Basha promised me that no wrong should be done to any one.

The Vigne di Pera, the 1st August, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

* Richard Glover.

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Aug. 6.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

274. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Freneh and Duteh ambassadors extraordinary both departed this week, with seant satisfaction to the Court, who seem displeased at the removal of these two ministers under present eireumstanees, before the ordinary ambassadors arrive, as they feel sure these will not come soon, although that is announeed. Although they make it appear that this feeling arises from regard for the treaty, the real vexation is due to offended pride, as England has two ambassadors in France, while the Most Christian is not represented at all here. Both Beveren and Senneterre departed very well pleased with their personal treatment, especially the Dutehman, who boasts that at his last publie audienee the king made him mount the steps of the dais, an honour never done to any of his predeeessors, or to himself either at his first audience. This will serve to increase the pretensions of the Duteh as well as those of other ambitious princes who wish to put their ambassadors on a par with those of erowned heads.

The Prinee Palatine writes that the States have made a general reply, though full of friendly expressions. They said they eould not deeide to send a minister to Hamburg before they had reeeived overtures about the agreement with Franee, otherwise they would be negotiating in the dark. Here, on the contrary, they want the minister sent to Hamburg with full powers, to whom the artieles aforesaid will be communieated upon the faet only, to decide thereupon what may be found opportune. But if the Duteh persist in withholding their assent I think it likely that the Palatine will give way to them and in that ease he may go even further in order to make sure of sineere aetion on their part.

The allies eonsider this undignified, and hence it is inferred *that the English do not really attach so much importance to the matter as they pretend and ought, and that they would not mind if something occurred to delay the conclusion, especially if they were sure that the general peace will not be concluded, as they seem to hope more and more, so far as such scanty indications as exist testify.*

In the event of any diffieulty about arranging a eongress at Hamburg, England is content to have it held at the Hague or in some other plaee which may be considered most eonvenient. But wherever it may be held they are determined not to send any one there expressly, but that the commissions whieh have been given to the Agent at Hamburg shall remain in foree or in ease of need that they shall be transferred opportunely to the Resident at the Hague.

The eouriers, detained by contrary winds, arrived at the beginning of this week. They bring good news from Germany and the Netherlands ; that the Swedes only abandoned the port of Turgo for laek of food, and then they withdrew in good order, evading a trap laid by the enemy. That the Prinee of Orange, giving the Cardinal Infant the slip, has laid siege to Breda, and

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hopes to take it easily. Both events cause great satisfaction here, and so do events in France, comprising the accommodation with the Count of Soissons, the surrender of Landrecies and the success of Duke Bernard in Franche Comté, although some cannot hide their regret at the capture of the Duke of Lorraine.*

His Majesty's fleet has returned from Holland with a favourable wind, and is now in the Downs awaiting orders to sail. But they have not yet decided where it is to go, as they do not wish to molest the Dutch fisheries, and cannot determine on anything before they see what decisions are taken at the conference of the allies. The ships, which are under the command of the Earl of Northumberland, comprising the fifteen which are set apart for the Palatine, do not at present exceed twenty five in number. It is true that they have sent six to the Barbary coasts† and they are keeping four here to convoy merchandise, and if necessary these can join the others.

Yesterday I had a long conference with the Spanish ambassador, being at his house for the second time. He talked about nearly all the affairs of Europe and a general peace. He accused the French of delaying the congress at Cologne. *He spoke of the restitution of Lorraine and Pinarolo. He did not consider it just to take the latter from the Most Christian. If the Duke of Savoy chose to break his head, he must do so. The King of Spain was not called upon to be a father protector to the Italian princes. This was his own opinion and his master's too. I declined to express any views. He spoke at length about the affairs of the Palatine, trying to prove that it was not in the general interest to treat of these in the general peace. They have nothing to do with the present war and the difficulties in the way would prevent a conclusion of themselves, as it is impossible to take from Bavaria what he will not concede. So this matter should be dealt with separately, and some third party, not interested, should intervene. The chief points were only a matter of show which could be adjusted. He was ready personally to do all that was in his power, though he knew it was useless. He then asked how much longer I was staying at this Court I told him very little, I believed, but I was not sure as it depended on the state instructions. He said he was sorry. I fancy he wished to intimate that he would like to treat of the affair with a minister of your Excellencies, and this confirms my idea that what the Palatine's Agent said to me was not done without previous arrangement with the ministers here although he has not been to me again.*

I have received this week the ducal missives of the 4th ult.

Richmond, the 6th August, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* The events alluded to are the escape of Baner from Torgau and the toils of Gallas ; the opening of the siege of Breda on the 23rd July ; the settlement with Soissons on the 26th July ; the fall of Landrecies on the 25th July ; the defeat of the duke of Lorraine by Bernard of Weimar at Ray sur Saone, but the duke was not captured.

† The Salee expedition under Captain William Rainsborough. He sailed in March with the "Leopard" and "Antelope" of the royal navy, and the "Hercules" and "Mary," merchantmen. The "Providence" and "Expedition," pinnaces of the royal navy, were sent out to join him, at the end of May. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636–7, page 449, *Id.* 1637, page 150.

1637.
Aug. 8.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

275. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

They are very apprehensive about the declarations of England. Teller maintains that they will not take place although it is more than likely that they will supply some help covertly to the enemies of the empire. Although news to the contrary has come from London, yet they suspend judgment until there is more thorough confirmation. This may arrive with the first letters thence. One thing is certain that this English minister keeps alive the hopes of an adjustment, and he labours hard to obtain from Cæsar some final decision, with which he promises absolutely the abandonment of all thought of any movement of that crown and the Palatine in favour of Cæsar's enemies. It is added that a letter has appeared these last days from the Earl of Arundel to the Bishop of Vienna. Although it contains no business yet it appears that it is couched in terms of great cordiality, a tone which he has not adopted hitherto. It looks as if England was developing a disposition to determine the present controversies by way of negotiation rather than that of arms, especially considering the irresolution of Denmark and the promises made to the emperor by Castagneda in the name of the Catholic, that they mean to put a term in Spain, with entire advantage to those here, to every pretension of the Palatine. This causes them to keep their hand raised as peradventure it would be easier to concede greater satisfaction.

Vienna, the 8th August, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 14.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

276. To the Ambassador in England.

We approve of the manner of your reply to the Palatine's agent. If he returns and raises the subject again, you will say, as if on your own responsibility, that the republic desires nothing more sincerely than the prosperity of the Palatine House and will always welcome opportunities of serving it. Your departure for France is at hand and you cannot delay it because of the season of the year. You will thus cut short the matter while assuring him of our good will. We commend your action with reference to the Ambassador Ognate. We enclose a copy of an exposition by the English ambassador.

You are to proceed to France as soon as possible, arranging the time with the Ambassador Contarini. You will direct the Secretary Zonca to remain until the Ambassador Giustinian arrives. You will present Zonca, on your taking leave of the king, as the minister and resident who is to act until Giustinian arrives. For his equipment, maintenance for horses etc. he will have as a donation 300 ducats of lire 6 grossi 4 each and 130 crowns a month for all expenses except for couriers and the carriage of letters. You will also give him provision for two months on the day you leave for France and give him the donation of 300 ducats as well with some money for couriers and letters.

Ayes, 110. Noes, 0. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

1637. Aug. 14. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venotian Archives.

277. The Ambassador of Great Britain came into the Collegio and spoke to the following effect :

Your excess of favours towards me makes me seek every opportunity to give you pleasure. As you were pleased to hear of the alliance I am sure you will be glad to hear of its progress. I have no doubt you will have heard of the arrival of the Palatine in Holland and of his meeting with their High Mightinesses. Although he received a general reply, it was very favourable, so that there is hope for better results.

I have letters from Brussels of the 1st inst. informing me of the accord between the Most Christian and the Count of Soissons, which he reported. The Queen mother and Prince Tomaso did not believe it. The latter wrote to the count to remonstrate, because he had used him as his mediator with the Catholic. The queen mother said that she must now seek a reconciliation, as she clearly saw the results of the alliance between the Most Christian and my king, and other advantages might be expected therefrom.

I venture to inform you that the news of the truce is confirmed, showing the success of the Duke of Candales. Landresi was taken and he advanced to the gates of Nave in Hainault,* only meeting with a slight resistance, there being only the Count of Buquoi, who raised a small force constituting the principal power of the Cardinal Infant, and under the Duke of Balanzon, but incapable of resisting Candales, the garrisons being scattered in various places. We hear that the army of the States consists of 15,000 foot and 5000 horse and that they intend to besiege Breda. This is important news because of the consequences. I have only to add that these great affairs require great reflection. Your resident at the imperial Court knows this. In spite of his efforts to obtain passports for the Protestant princes he has not succeeded. The nuncio also proposed an armistice, but it is not expected, as the Spaniards desire a peace not an armistice. From this it is clear that their objects are very various, and one may infer that the Austrians merely aim at transferring the negotiations from Cologne to Rome. It is therefore necessary to keep one's eyes open, to avoid the harm that such ideas may cause, and your Serenity should keep wide awake.

The doge replied, Your news of the alliance between his Majesty and the Most Christian is very gratifying to us, and we consider your remarks on the subject very prudent. It should be enough that the Count of Soissons has returned to his obedience, and we are very pleased, especially as we understand that it may have been due to the accord between their Majesties. We thank you for the advices. We had heard them but not with so many particulars. The nuncio's proposal for an armistice is indeed worthy of consideration, and even more so the idea of transferring the peace negotiations to Rome. It will be necessary to keep our eyes open, as you say, and to see that the peace negotiations, which were to be managed at Cologne, shall be carried on there.

*Probably Bavay is intended. The duke proceeded to Maubeuge.

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We pray God to inspire the princes to peace. We can only praise his Majesty for aiming at this particular object, and your lordship for your devotion to it. The ambassador made some complimentary remarks, rose from his seat, took leave and departed.
[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

278. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English have proposed that the congress fixed for Hamburg shall be held at the Hague. Although they have instructed M. d'Avo to attend it the Cardinal fears there may be difficulties about the Hague because the States are unwilling to meddle in the affairs of the empire so as not to have too many enemies and to avoid stopping the trade which is very important to those Provinces. It is observed with some astonishment that the ambassadors here seem in no wise moved by the reports circulating of an armistice, as if this is concluded on the basis of everyone keeping what he holds the Palatine house will be deprived of its dominions, and the treaty agreed upon between France and England but not yet signed here, because they have not obtained the assent of the Swedes and Dutch, will remain incomplete and useless.

The Chevalier Seneterre is here back from London. M. di Bèllievre left for that city a few days ago with the title of ambassador extraordinary, although he will stay there a long time, practically as ordinary.

Paris, the 18th August, 1637.
[*Italian.*]

Aug. 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

279. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The last letters of the Palatine of the 10th August announce that the States referred him to the Prince of Orange, whom he found so strongly entrenched under Breda that all the forces of the Cardinal Infant have not sufficed to disturb him, and so they will not be able to prevent him taking the place in a short time. The news gives great satisfaction here, *and with the House of Austria at a disadvantage they hope to settle the Palatine's affairs peacefully, since they perceive that it cannot be done by arms and that time is being wasted to no purpose. This is why they are proceeding so languidly to bring about the union of the allied powers to stipulate the treaties concluded in particular with the Most Christian. They are indifferent as to whether present circumstances afford the best opportunity for carrying into effect the proofs and deeds. To the amazement of everyone in a matter which they have pushed with so much vigour the ministers here now show themselves very tepid, and care little or nothing about the reports arriving from France and Germany, which gain more and more credit, that negotiations for a truce are in close negotiation between the House of Austria, the Most Christian, the Swedes and the Dutch. This attitude gives just cause for believing that they always intended*

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to attain their ends more by the name than by the essence of this alliance. It may be that it did not suit the particular interests of this kingdom, which is seriously disturbed internally over questions of religion and the extinction of the liberty of the people, to engage it in a foreign war, which would be long, costly and dangerous, with the even greater peril of kindling a yet greater conflagration in their own midst to extinguish which it would be necessary to abandon the other war, with loss of honour as well as of money, and possibly involving the necessity of making some concession to the people, which they would wait for in vain without such an opening.

This then is the real question which forms the subject of all their deliberations, and I know for certain that they have been frequent even during the king's journey, so this view is not far from the truth. It has come to my knowledge from a very safe source, that the Spaniards are already beginning to carry on very secret intrigues with the malcontents, to supply them with money so as to start a great rebellion and even take the lead of it openly, if at any time the king decides to declare war openly on them. I find, however, though I may be wrong, that though appearances seem to show an exactly opposite sentiment, yet for the reasons aforesaid, it would not displease them if the truces were concluded at the earliest opportunity, if it were possible with any real hope of success to revive such a business by the adjustment of the affairs of the Palatine, that might serve to determine the matter suitably, and this would be by entrusting it to the hands of some third party, as I have written before. In the mean time, so that there may be no apparent lack of vigour they go about declaring the resolute steps they mean to take and that they will carry them out sword in hand.

They still allow the Swedes to take levies; only this week Colonel Leslie, a Scot, obtained a patent to raise 500 foot. The first levies have almost all gone and they circulate rumours of fresh reinforcements for the fleet; but in spite of this the Earl of Northumberland remains idle in the Downs with all his ships, without orders or occasion to sail soon.

News has come that they have captured some Turkish pirates off Barbary, making rich booty. They rejoice greatly on the score of reputation, being avenged for the damage done them by these same pirates last year in Ireland, and because they hope that the people will support the burden of the contributions more patiently than they have done hitherto, when they see that there is some advantage in being compelled to support the fleet.

The Resident Nicolaldi, having taken leave of the king, has visited all the ambassadors except me. He is dissatisfied with his present, which was such as is usually given to an agent. They make no distinction here between Agent and Resident. Nicolaldi claims as being a Resident and a degree above an agent. They laugh about it at the Court. As it is never their practice to alter old rules, especially where it is a question of giving, if he persists in this mood he will leave in that frame of mind, and will not get anything more.

The Ambassador Ognate also seems very ill content as he claims greater privileges than are due to his charge. They complain

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in partieular that when some of his familiars were passing the time with two loose women in certain fields, a constable recognised these women and carried them off under their noses. When his men told the ambassador, he sallied forth, sword in hand, followed by all his household, armed, forced the house where the women were guarded and took them away, placing them where he thought they would be safer. He afterwards gloried in the action as a conspicuous sign of his power. The incident displeased the king who intimated his sentiments, warning the ambassador that if he eame to harm while he was behaving in this fashion, he would have to put up with it.* The dissatisfaction of this minister, which increases daily for many other reasons which I need not narrate, may ultimately give rise to unexpected accidents affeeting matters which touch the interests of the common cause, if he does not soon leave this country, as in his extravagant way he says he will do before long.

I beg to thank your Excellencies for granting that I shall be the first of the three ambassadors to move to my new appointment. I hope to start very soon, directly the king has returned from his progress.

I received last week the state despatehes of the 11th ult. together with advices.

Richmond, the 21st August, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

280. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

With respect to the treaties with England the Swedes raise strong objections against accepting the first treaty. They say they will not agree to it unless the King of Great Britain joins in taking his proper share in supporting the war. They are also afraid of the existence of secret articles in addition to those published. Here they declare that they will act as mediators with the Swedes and Dutch also, to overcome the difficulties, as they want to lead England gently on to what they desire and not to offend her on any account. It is not yet fully decided whether the eongress will be held at Hamburg or the Hague, but thc latter is considered the more probable.

Paris, the 25th August, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Vcnetian Archives.

281. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador has expressed the readiness of his master to interpose for a general accommodation. They replied that the intervention of that crown would always be acceptable,

* Salvetti gives some further particulars in his despatch of the 25th August. "Due gentilhuomini o servitori del Sig. Conte d'Ognat . . . essendo stati trovati con due donne di cattiva vita poco distante della casa del padron, furno essendo riconosciuti per quelli erano rilasciati e le donne poste in prigione. Il che da essi riferito a Sua Eccelenza e parendoli che tal caso derogasse alle sue prerogative, chiesta l'armi e fatta armar la famiglia ando alli carceri di dove tolse le due donne." Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.*, 27962H.

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and that it may even render itself arbiter of the public peace. When that is once established the House of Austria will not aim . . . . .* on any account, intimating that if France will surrender all Lorraine the Austrians will do the same with the Upper and Lower Palatinate. These are all devices to render vain the negotiations of that crown with France and to gain time, which is considered the most remunerative investment.

Madrid, the 27th August, 1637.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Aug. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

282. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After the Spanish ambassador had heard the remonstrances reported, he set out for the Court under the pretext of other important negotiations, and sent to ask audience of the king on a day when it was not convenient to receive him, it being appointed for continuing the journey. His Majesty sent him word that if the matter was important he would gladly wait to hear him on the following day. Accordingly an appointment was made, apparently to the satisfaction of both. When no news came of the ambassador the whole day, while his Majesty was waiting, various conjectures were made, but towards night a messenger arrived with news that he had fallen ill and had been compelled to stop and postpone fulfilling his charge until a more convenient occasion. It is probable that this was really the case, but circumstances often affect the interpretation of things, and so they did not believe him, and his Majesty is exceedingly offended, being persuaded that the Spaniard meant to avail himself of the meeting to kill two birds with one stone, indemnifying himself for the audience which was not granted as he wished and leaving them in doubt about what he was to represent.

Such an accumulation of unpleasantness on both sides may well make one despair of opening fresh negotiations with this minister. He is so austere and punctilious personally that now he is offended one doubts if he will not stir up fresh ill feeling. In order to forestall him they have sent this week to the Ambassador Astney in Spain, representing the affair from their point of view, *so as to keep up relations with the Spaniards and above all not to offend them.*

In the meantime it seems that they think little or nothing about hastening on the congress of the allies, to put the final touches to the treaties with the French. Two months have now passed uselessly since they were arranged. Everything goes to show that they will prove lengthy rather than solid, and ultimately they will push on the negotiations for the truce, the less they seem to believe it here or to care about it; but if this is concluded and the affairs of the Palatine have to remain dormant for six years more, or are only kept awake by the resolutions of England, the wisest think, with reason, that they may be considered utterly lost because if this nation shows itself sotepid amid so many inducements, it seems most probable that it will let them drop altogether when it has not such incitement.

* Original torn.

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There is a report, though not yet authenticated, that the Palatine has gone on to Germany from the Prince of Orange's army, in order to confer with the Landgrave of Hesse, but if so, he has done it without informing his Majesty first; but the king will not mind, indeed he will be very pleased if the Palatine makes some satisfactory arrangement without his having anything to do with it. But there is scant ground for this because it is well known that the Landgrave does not want commanders but money to maintain his force. They are eagerly waiting for authentic news.

Very bitter news has been brought from Scotland this week about religious matters, owing to what may ensue and to the encouragement they fear it may give to troubled spirits in this kingdom also; accordingly the ministers have devoted all their attention and labour to it. It is reported that when the Bishop of Edinburgh was performing the liturgy at the newly erected stone altar, wearing his cope and acting according to the forms set up by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the people, scandalised by his dress, the altar and other ceremonies, suddenly rose up against him and those who were assisting him, and not only stripped off his vestments and trampled them under foot, but handled him and the others so savagely that they barely escaped with their lives. Following the example of the cathedral all those assembled in the other churches did the same against their ministers, so that they say even the women and children used their teeth and nails against them, forming an extraordinary spectacle. They afterwards went all together before the magistrate of the city and made a very strong protest that they would never tolerate such innovations in the church, even if they were sure that to support the old institutions would cost them their lives.* *This has exceedingly afflicted and depressed the Archbishop of Canterbury both because it concerns interests of state and because it may stir up revolutions among the people here, who are no less scandalised and discontented than the Scots. As he laid the foundations of his supreme authority upon obedience to these innovations, which he arbitrarily commanded, he sees his authority waning now that they are not only overthrown but contemned. He may also apprehend losing the king's favour when it is known that his counsels produce such dangerous results. In the mean time they are thinking of bringing the leaders to trial, but he is eagerly trying to prevent them from taking any steps in this first ardour, and to save up revenge for a more opportune time, making a law of necessity for the moment, in order to appease the tumult quietly with as little disadvantage as possible, as it might give rise to much greater scandals, for which things are disposed everywhere. But as the Spaniards secretly foment this material with all their might, your Serenity may easily conclude how little occasion they have here to think of foreign affairs, especially those which involve long and costly wars, and before they can see what will be the final result of the articles arranged*

* This riot in St. Giles cathedral Edinburgh took place on Sunday 23 July—2 Aug.

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with the French, which are held in such veneration and which they are trying to hide with such art.

I have received this week the state despatches of the 18th and 24th July, which arrived together, and the accompanying sheets of advices.

Richmond, the 28th August, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 1. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

283. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The letter found in the coat of the queen's groom was from the Marquis of Mirabel, acknowledging the receipt of hers, thanking her in the name of the Cardinal Infant for the information, urging her above all to prevent the conclusion of the treaty with England and to think of ways of upsetting it. The queen, being thus convicted, had to sign a paper containing four heads, they say, that she sent word to Flanders of the weakness of some of the frontier fortresses of Picardy ; the defects of the Government ; the means of upsetting this union with England, about which she is greatly concerned, and to keep a look out in Spain on the Minime friar.* The queen signed that before witnesses and undertook not to write any more out of the realm unless the Marquise of Senesse had seen the letter first. The enemies of the government say these are all inventions and that they made the queen say what they wanted. She has instructed her groom to tell all he knows. The king seems to lay great blame on the Duchess of Chevreuse, who supplied the queen with her information in England for preventing the alliance with this crown, *a person of position tells me that the queen has written a letter to the king of England begging him to give up all thought of any such step.*

The Earl of Leicester says that if they wish to make a truce or peace here, his king will do nothing to prevent them doing what they please ; but if the Prince Palatine is abandoned there is no sign that the king of England will restore his nephew to his dominions single handed. They would like the Most Christian to ratify the treaty, seeing the difficulties raised by the Dutch and Swedes about it, representing that with these two crowns agreed about everything it is not to their credit for others to have the power to delay the consequences.

Paris, the 1st September, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 4. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

284. To the Ambassador Correr in England.

Enclose his commissions for France together with his credentials to the king there.

Ayes, 138. Noes, 0. Neutral, 32.

[*Italian.*]

* Father Basili. *See* No. 271 at page 249 above and note. The groom was Pierre de la Porte, who was arrested on the 12th August. The queen's confession was made five days later. Bazin : *Hist. de France sous Louis XIII.*, Vol. IV, pages 13, 14 ; Le Vassor : *Hist. du Regne de Louis XIII.*, Vol. XV., 272–282.

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Sept. 4.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

285. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince Palatine's agent, fresh from the Court, called upon me the day before yesterday. He says that all the negotiations of England with France are worth nothing and that the prince will end by finding himself without either territory or rank ; the Dutch are slow to join the league, and the Swedes, overwhelmed by reverses, have retreated upon Stettin. He then suggested, more openly than on previous occasions, that your Excellencies should negotiate for the Palatine with the emperor. The king would approve and the only doubt was whether your Excellencies would agree. But I evaded the point, while expressing the republic's wishes for the welfare of the Palatine House, and so the field still remains virgin for any answer your Excellencies may think fit to give. In short it is no longer open to doubt that both the Palatine and the English themselves have utterly abandoned hope of doing anything by force, although they pretend the contrary for the sake of appearances. This may be due to a conviction of their weakness, to the small inclination of those who ought to help them, to a realisation of the difficulties after making trial, or to other and more recondite causes, in short it is certain that they are looking for means to take up the negotiations with honour, looking for a disinterested prince as mediator. They wish the republic to accept the office, as it is also to have a hand in the general peace. The Earl of Arundel gave me a distant hint of this, saying that as they saw everyone was trying to settle his own affairs separately, it would not be bad for the Palatine to do the same, but the chief difficulty was to find a suitable opening, unless some prince friendly to his house took it up for the common benefit. I think it my duty to tell all I hear.

With this opportunity I ascertained that Teller is still at the imperial Court, by the king's command who certainly is very pleased to learn that he is being well treated by the emperor, although they try to make people believe that he is only there in a private capacity for his own pleasure. This has always made the French jealous, and if they make any private treaty with the Austrians they will probably seize upon this as their excuse. There are whispers that the Earl of Northumberland has already left the Downs with all his fleet, with orders to approach the Dutch fishermen, to compel them by fear to ask for licenses and to pay the recognition claimed. If this prove true, as there is some indication, it means that they have taken advantage of their weakness, it being known that the Dutch have recently been very roughly handled by the Dunkirkers ; but as this is not the way to induce the Dutch to take up the proposals made to them by the Palatine, one must either believe that it will not be carried out, or else that they have really changed their principles, and that they only think of negotiating in the manner mentioned.

News comes from Flanders that the Spaniards, rendered suspicious by the proceedings of the queen mother, that she was carrying on secret intrigues with France, have caused her house to be thoroughly searched by the Burgomaster of Brussels as well as all her papers and those of all the French, using such insults and threats as to cause her the greatest agitation. The queen

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here is sensible of the affront and deeply sympathises with her mother, possibly imagining things to be much worse than they really were. She has consequently fallen sick of a fever, with sluggishness of the stomach and other circumstances, which make it much worse. The curious speculate whether this event will lead to the queen mother leaving Flanders, and to the revival of the negotiations for her coming here. It will not be difficult if the king does not object, as the queen mother is at present in a great state of alarm and most anxious to come ; *but the king has always seemed to object strongly and he will stop it, unless he yields to his wife's prayers, not because he is afraid of offending the Most Christian by receiving her, as that sovereign might even wish to see her end her wanderings here, but because he is afraid of burdening himself with so much expense, and because he fears that she may bring trouble with her which will upset his present repose.*

Last week when I went to kiss the queen's hands I also visited Lady Denbigh. She thanked me for the treatment received by her son, and said that if embassies were perpetual she would fain render that of Venice hereditary in her family but that as Fielding's three years had nearly expired she wished to procure for him a mission to France, and the queen, considering him suitable for that post might speak about it to the king. I therefore infer that Fielding will be recalled and be replaced by a person of equal rank.

Your Serenity's letters of the 30th ult. just received report the representations of Lord Fielding about the treaty with France. The general terms in which he expressed himself agree precisely with the talk of the ministers here, from whom it certainly is never possible to extract any formula in writing or even to hear them speak a sound word on the subject. They always evade telling the true state of affairs by using ambiguous phrases.

Richmond, the 4th September, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 8. Senato Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

286. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

To the offices of the Ambassador Leicester, who wants the king to sign the treaty before the Swedes and Dutch have assented, they reply here that there is no indication that they can do so without their allies. They have become very suspicious that England does not mean to do anything and is procrastinating deliberately. Leicester, on the other hand, labours to persuade them that his king will make suitable declarations in due time. He represents that it would not be decent for his king to espouse the quarrels of others while France might want to keep Lorraine and the other places of Alsace for herself ; that before beginning overt war it is necessary to adjust the pretensions of the parties at Hamburg or the Hague, and then they will see that the King of England will break with the Spaniards, not with thirty ships but with sixty and more and will also supply his nephew with troops to form an army in Germany and go and recover his own.

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The Queen Mother has written to inform the king of her ill treatment at Brussels and to ask his permission to go to England, as the king there will not receive her without their assent here. It appears they have intimated to her that if she goes to that kingdom, they will pay her the allowance she used to have a long time ago, when in France.

Paris, the 8th September, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 10. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

287. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Three days ago the Ambassador Ognate came here to ask my advice. He said he came from Coruna on board a royal ship, whose captain had also taken charge of ten cases of reals belonging to a Genoese merchant named Giovanni Nicolo de Franchi. As Franchi had not paid duty the Catholic desired Ognate to seize them. He did so, giving security to the English commander. Franchi came to England and brought an action against the captain, which he won, and in virtue of the security which the captain apparently made over to him, he seized Ognate's property, money and his merchants and the merchandise shipped by him for his king in Spain.

Ognate declared that this was a violation of the privileges of ambassadors, as they pretended to adjudicate here upon something that happened in a port of Spain, in which no Spanish subject was concerned. I expressed my regret and the opinion that when the king had heard what he had to say he would be sure to give him satisfaction. When he pressed for advice I told him that he could do far more than I. He spoke very strongly and even told me that he had advised them in Spain to take away all the privileges of the English ambassador. He said he would wait for orders from his king.

The arguments brought against him here are that as the money was on a ship of the King of Great Britain it ought to be as safe as if it was in his own chamber, and the captain could not allow it to be sequestrated by any one soever. As the money had not remained in Spain, but had actually been unladed in England as belonging to a foreigner, and consigned to a servant of his Majesty, he was obliged to have it restored, as he could not judge a question of contraband which took place outside his kingdom, or allow others to lay hands by justice or by authority upon what was actually in England. Such is the actual state of the affair. The money is here and the ambassador has received it. If, as he says, he has left something else as an equivalent for it in Spain, that does not concern them here, so they think he will have to accept the inevitable, as the king is determined that the Genoese shall not suffer, and the captain has protection in too high a quarter to be subject to the pain of making payment.

After this Ognate began of his own accord to speak of the truces, which, he says, are in negotiation between the House of Austria and the Most Christian and his allies. He said he knew that the disposition of the French to conclude them went far beyond

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the common benefit and in particular that of the princes who were shut out from the possession of their territories, who would have to languish in wretchedness so long as the truces lasted. He mentioned particularly the Dukes of Lorraine and Mantua. On these grounds he did not think that the matter could be carried through. He enlarged upon this, saying that it was not to the interest of the House of Austria, while she was victorious, to make a peace unless it was universal. He heard from Germany that there was no sign of the congress of Cologne meeting soon owing to the difficulties raised by France. He asked me if the Venetian ambassadors had set out yet for the Imperial Court. I told him I thought they had even arrived in Germany. By this and much more the ambassador has taken pains to show me that he desires to encourage confidential relations, and I have responded, but within modest proportions.

Richmond, the 10th September, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 10. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

288. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Resident has seen the commissioners appointed to meet him and read them the articles agreed upon with France. It seems that the States refuse to speak about it as being something ridiculous and not worth consideration. It has certainly confirmed their idea that there is no real agreement, and that the only object is to gain time. They particularly notice that the French have said nothing to them about this alliance. No deliberation has been held and some think a reply unnecessary ; but they will wait for the States of Holland. Everyone says that under existing circumstances and in their present exhaustion these Provinces ought not to start fresh troubles as they have not the strength to direct them.

The Hague, the 10th September, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

289. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

When the news of the queen mother's misadventures at Brussels reached the king, and of the whisper that she might ask permission to come here, he forthwith sent a courier to his Resident Gerbier to put a stop to any such idea at once, offering, if she wishes, one or two ships of war to take her to Spain or Italy, to be promptly supplied, as although he knows he will offend his wife, he is determined not to admit her, and not even to let her cross to this realm.

This decision is concealed from the queen as yet, and will not be disclosed to her in all its rigour, so as not to trouble her, seeing that her great affection for her mother transports her to violent passion which prejudices her health. Her fever of last week has left her extremely weak. They will let her know gently, by degrees, and that will be the end of the matter, so far as these parts are concerned.

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Il Rey, secretary of state of the King of Poland* arrived here recently with special commissions as ambassador extraordinary at this Court. He has remained so far in a village without making himself known, as he may not have thought it advisable to do this before the king's wishes about his reception were known. This course was not ill advised, because his Majesty freely told a gentleman whom he sent to Court to notify his arrival and to obtain some orders for his reception, that he had better return by the way he came, as he would not receive or see him on any account. The ambassador does not seem dashed by the refusal, but hopes to find means for being introduced. He has already outlined some business with the Earl of Arundel and another of the leading ministers, for this effect. His Majesty's action was induced by the knowledge that this person came to inform him of the marriage between the Polish king and the emperor's sister, and out of shame, one may say, at the negotiations conducted with him for his niece, he cannot with dignity receive to his face such news as the king's letters contain. The Polish ambassador who last treated of this affair offended him by making unreasonable proposals more in the form of protests than negotiation. So it is better to let things go on as they are than to give new cause for trouble to those who are already irritated by past events.

There are various opinions about the consequences of this affair. The Spaniards enjoy the business beyond measure, as it seems just their game that quarrels with this crown should accumulate, since it may all be set down to their advantage. They do everything to increase the quarrels with Denmark and the Dutch, especially in disputes about maritime questions. I have gathered something to bear this out from Ognate's own lips, who recently told me that he had worked hard to get the fleet sent against the Dutch fishermen, and had obtained as good as a definite promise; but if they did so it would be to keep him quiet. Three ships which were sent recently against the fishermen, perhaps to satisfy him, have not attempted to do anything, and it is not thought that they will, since present circumstances do not allow it, but induce them rather to caress the United Provinces, both to avoid forcing them to come to terms with the Spaniards, and to get them to favour the interests of the Palatine.

They keep working slowly at these negotiations, relying more on their hopes than making sure of advancing them successfully. The Agent Bosuel writes from the Hague that he can obtain no categorical reply upon the Palatine's proposals, which he has repeated. The States object on the question of the fisheries saying clearly that they will not enter upon any business with this crown before this question of the fishermen is settled to their mutual satisfaction. If they persist in this, it will ultimately upset everything.

With regard to the French alliance which I announced by his Majesty's command, the more I investigate, the more objections

* Andreas Rey de Naglowi.

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I find. The French now say that it is no good stipulating the treaties if the King of Great Britain is determined not to declare war against the House of Austria, and they practically intimate in spite of the promises they have from England to the contrary, they are sure, if they can peacefully settle the Palatine's interests with the Austrians, they will abandon every other thought. Their mistrust offends the king extremely. He says his words are simple and sincere ; the French have no reason to doubt him and if they pretend to, their sole object is to gain time to carry on their own secret agreements with the Austrians. Amid this mutual recrimination the matter remains unsettled. The Palatine suffers and the House of Austria and the Duke of Bavaria enjoy the results. But some hope that matters will all be put straight with the arrival here of M. de Bellievre, who is expected from France within a month, as they think he will bring the articles signed.

Meanwhile they keep their eyes fixed on Swedish affairs, as they certainly desire to see them as strong as possible. They rejoiced to hear of their strong recovery after the retirement to Stettin, and that a part of their forces is about to invade Silesia, while the other is strong enough to confront the imperialists. Although the latter declare themselves 40,000 combatants strong it is hoped they will soon have to divide their troops in many corps, for lack of provisions.

His Majesty's fleet under the Earl of Northumberland proceeded northwards last week, with the purpose of scouring the coasts to the very ends of England. When it returns they think it will enter the river and that the ships will be dismantled for this year.

The disturbances in Scotland about religion have calmed down in great measure, as they do not think it expedient to proceed severely against the prime movers. They say however, that the archbishop does not mean to pardon them, but that he is waiting for an opportunity to punish them without a fuss, hoping that with the leaders extinguished or crushed (*estinti o mortificati*) the others will have to yield to his ordinances, a difficult and possibly dangerous business where men are so bitterly inflamed against these new institutions of his.

M. di Perone, Bishop of Angouleme has returned from France, whither he went for his consecration. The Catholics are much rejoiced at his coming, and especially the pope's agent, who through him is accustomed to overcome many difficulties for the service of the church which he could not do alone. People speak in various ways about the death of Prince Tomaso, announced last week. The Spaniards attribute it to accident, the French to design. Here they do not seem sorry, as they never thought much of that prince.

I have received this week the state despatches of the 7th August.

Richmond, the 11th September, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

1637.
Sept. 11.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

290. The English Ambassador came into the Collegio and spoke to the following effect:

Through the intercepting of the letters of last week I have suffered great inconvenience. Owing to the absence of news I have not been able to come to your Serenity with anything. The news of this week is not satisfactory to the common interests. The Duke of Vaimar is practically besieged by Gio. de Vert in an island this side the Rhine. While Vert was trying to stop his passage he captured a number of the duke's men. The duke can hardly maintain his position. He offered battle twice to Vert, with his customary courage, but Vert thought it better to wait for the Duke of Lorraine and General Mersi, who are expected at Brissac.

I hear that the Prince of Orange keeps pushing forward his trenches under Breda, and he is already near the outskirts. The Spaniards realise the impossibility of relieving the place or of hurting the prince. The Cardinal Infant has decided to abandon it and turn his attention elsewhere. I hear that he has taken Venlo and is going on to Rurmonda.* The Duke of Candales continues to progress. Since Landresi he has taken another place near it,† but perceived that he could not hold it unless he had Valentiana, and so he proposed to besiege it. In Italy the Spaniards show as much weakness as the allied princes, so there is the appearance of an armistice, although none has been arranged. I may add that I hear from Rome that the pope is very angry with the Spaniards because they seemed pleased at his death, although it is not near. As a sign of his wrath he decided to form an army to be used according to circumstances. When the Spanish ambassador at Rome heard this he sent immediately to tell the Viceroy of Naples, so that he might make the necessary provisions. I thought it my duty to tell you this. I regret deeply that the province of Italy cannot enjoy the peace for which it yearns, and my king, who loves this republic greatly, will be most sorry for this. He regrets the disturbances of Italy and would rather see fighting elsewhere. He will not fail to show his good will to the republic.

The doge said, We are very glad of your advices. We have heard some from other quarters, but you have told us some particulars of moment. We rejoice greatly at his Majesty's friendship for us and we shall respond with our affectionate esteem. We thank you for your kind expressions and we commend his Majesty's zeal for the public welfare and the common quiet.

The ambassador replied, I am much gratified that your Serenity appreciates what I have said. I shall always try to show myself a good servant of this republic. With this he bowed, took leave and went out.

[*Italian.*]

* Venloo was taken on the 26th August and Ruremonde on the 30th. Le Clerc: *Hist. des Provinces Unies*, Vol. II, page 168.

† Maubeuge. Bazin: *Hist. de France sous Louis XIII.*, Vol. III, page 240.

1637.
Sept. 12.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

291. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

With respect to the movements of England Cæsar has been informed that the ardour of the young Count of Ognat has upset all transactions, and Teller declares that this is so. All the same he goes about fostering confidential relations with the ministers here. It is not yet known whether this is by order of the king his master, or if he is merely following his own private inclination. This much is certain that he has been observed, with great astonishment, to be negotiating at length with Count Slich, and in the midst of all the existing ill feeling he is well received and treated amicably.

Vienna, the 12th September, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

292. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Although the Duke of Chevreuse obtained from the Cardinal that his wife should not be molested, yet she has suddenly left a place near Tours, dressed as a man, with only two servants,* and proceeded towards La Rochelle, it is supposed to embark for England. This has led them again to wish to investigate her transactions with the queen, as they fear that the duchess is more bent than ever on upsetting the alliance between England and this crown; in other respects her flight is of little moment.

The Swedish ambassador says that although that crown might send plenipotentiaries to Cologne at the instance of mediators, yet they abstain for three reasons, one of which is that the English have invited them to send deputies to Hamburg or the Hague to arrange matters for the peace and have them all ready before going to that congress.

Paris, the 15th September, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 17.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

293. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Resident presses for a reply to his proposals, but the States remain undecided. The French secretary suggests sending Cracou† to Hamburg. They feel sure that England is both unwilling and unable to make war, because they cannot trust France. They know the state of England's purse and the differences which she has with France and these Provinces.

The Hague, the 17th September, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

* She fled from the chateau of Couzieres near Montbazon, on Saturday the 5th September, and escaped into Spain. *See* Batiffol. *La Duchesse de Chevreuse*, pp. 138–170.

† Carel Carelszoon Cracouw, the Dutch ambassador in Denmark.

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Sept. 18. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

294. To the King of Great Britain.

Notification of the appointment of Giovanni Giustinian as ambassador, to succeed Anzolo Correr, who is appointed to the embassy in France, with request to give him credence.

Ayes, 92. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

295. To the Queen of Great Britain.

The like.

Ayes, 92. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

296. To the Secretary Zonca in England.

Notification of the coming of Giovanni Giustinian as ambassador, with instructions to hand over to him all public papers and the cipher, and to give him all needful information. He is then to follow the Ambassador Correr to France.

Ayes, 92. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

297. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

So soon as the king heard of the queen's illness he came to her without loss of time. Finding her at Oatlands in excellent health, although greatly distressed on her mother's account, he left her to go on with his hunting, after staying two days. During that time I went to Court to offer congratulations on the queen's recovery, and to return thanks for the confidential communication of the French alliance. Among other things the king said that he placed the republic first among the powers with whom he was on friendly relations and therefore thought it right to communicate his most important interests among which he considered those of his nephew the chief. He trusted his negotiations with France would produce the desired result, and the application of the Venetian republic and of the King of Great Britain would suffice in the end to do away with the storms which at present agitate Christendom and bring it peace. But violent evils required violent remedies, and there will be nothing astonishing if she passes through them to become whole.

I made a suitable reply commending his Majesty's prudence and watchfulness. The republic would do all in its power to secure repose for Christendom. At this his Majesty poured out abundant protestations of his friendship for your Excellencies and your sincere desire for the public peace. In my response I endeavoured by suavity to induce him to say something particular about the alliance with France, and in this way I have obtained confirmation of what I have written before that the alliance will be called auxiliary at first, and become offensive and defensive later, when the intimations have been made to the emperor. For the first the king here will only contribute the fifteen ships, and for the other his entire fleet.

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As these agree precisely with what I discovered, I feel sure that the others must be equally true about granting levies and about France not making terms with Austria without their approval here; but only time can show if they take effect.

When I was about to take leave the king approached and asked in a very low voice what I heard about negotiations for truces or armistices which the papal nuncios had gone to Paris and Vienna to propose. He understood that the French not only listened to them but had practically pledged themselves to conclude them if the King of Hungary, so they still call the emperor here, had not upset it all by wishing to exclude the Protestant princes of the empire. This method of procedure seemed to him very rude, and very unlike his own candour. However he kept his eyes wide enough open to prevent him suffering for his sincerity. I told him I had heard some talk on the subject, but I did not believe that the Most Christian, who had always shown so much devotion to the public interests and the Palatine's, would show any lack of sincerity in this important particular. I then changed the subject, as having discovered his real sentiments I thought it better not to go on.

The king said he had heard something about my going away soon; he was sorry for it, but he supposed it was not immediate. I told him it depended on the state instructions, otherwise I should wish to remain a long while to serve him. After similar courtesies and honours, which made me blush, I thanked him and took my leave.

From the substance and manner of the king's talk I gathered that he thinks little and hopes less of the alliance with France; that the fear of being deceived, which is deeply impressed on his heart, daily renders him more tepid in pressing it forward, and he rather turns the other way in seeking openings for reviving negotiations with the Austrians. I guess from other quarters that if he could find a way which saved his face, to enter upon a conference with them he would trouble but little if the negotiations for an armistice went forward, but not those for a general peace, as they consider the quiet of their neighbours, especially of the Spaniards and Dutch in the Netherlands, is harmful to the interests of these realms, just as their own secure repose consists in the troubles of these neighbours and is of inestimable value to them.

Richmond, the 18th September, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

298. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The affair of the Polish ambassador has been the chief subject of negotiation at Court these last days. After the king's refusal,* he tried to get an introduction through all the ministers, one may say. To the Earl of Arundel he wrote letters, presented pictures and tried every other way in the hope that he would take up his interests, but all in vain, his Majesty being absolutely

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determined not to see him, and Arundel and the ministers have not ventured to speak; so he will have to put up with this mortification and go away with nothing done. Meanwhile he has published the chief reason why he came, namely to inform his Majesty of the accidents which legitimately upset the marriage with the Palatine princess, to express the constant friendship of that crown, especially towards the Palatine House and a desire to assist it always. These announcements have only excited his Majesty's wrath and given him an opportunity to make known his grievance, by publicly showing the letters of the King of Poland, in which he repeatedly asks for his consent to marry his niece, with assurances that besides his own resolute intention he had the universal approbation of the states of the realm. To aggravate this, after he had consented, and when he was expecting the results to follow, they sent instead an ambassador to protest that the princess must become a Catholic before starting for Poland and go publicly to mass, a way of negotiating that he had never heard of between great kings. It was thoroughly impressed on his memory so that he might respond with equal measure when the time came. These are the exact views expressed by his Majesty since when he has hated to hear a word said on the subject, and so it has ended. The court, the nobles and persons of every kind generally approve of the king's decision. This is a new and striking proof of the deep affection of the people here for their master's sister and her progeny. New and serious accusations have even been raised against the Agent Gordon in Poland, who has had a hand in these affairs. Many tax him with being bribed by Cæsar, and having gone over to his side, working against the interests of the Palatines in this marriage and thwarting his Majesty's orders. He will have to come in person to clear himself of these charges, and letters recalling him to England have already been sent.

The disputes with Ognate are not yet settled. His money is still sequestrated. He makes vigorous complaints to all the ministers, but he has never cared to speak to the king, possibly in order not to lose, through an unqualified refusal, his right to prosecute his cause. But his position is unfortunate anyway, as they have no idea of restoring what was taken from him but rather intend to compel him to pay the remainder.

The Resident Nicolaldi is also very offended. In the end he openly refused his present and left the Court. The rank he claimed has caused the trouble and it may have been the reason why he never thought fit to come and see me.

Northumberland has finished his coasting and is now in the Downs awaiting further commands from the king and apparently impatient at being kept idle. It is thought that he will receive

* The refusal does not seem to have been absolute. Among the state papers is a memorandum dated the 8th October, in the following terms: "S'il plait à M. l'ambassadeur de signifier par escrit sous sa main a M. le Chambellain de Sa Majesté qu'il demande audience pour les affaires publiques de la Chrctienté et le bien commun des deux couronnes, quittant le point de ses instructions touchant l'invitation aux noces, alors Sa Majesté lui octroyera audience." *S.P. For. Poland*, Vol. 10.

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orders to bring the ships into the river, as it is beginning to be cold, the winds are high and worse than usual this year, and it seems necessary to disarm them. After all the Dutch will have enjoyed their fishing in peace. The pressure of the Spaniards did not suffice to make them resolve to do anything against them, as they thought more of the interests of the Palatine, under present circumstances, than of anything else. The ministers have intimated, however, that the Dutch must not take the present connivance as a precedent, as courtesy does not make laws, and it must not prejudice their just rights in any way.

With the news that arrived last week of his Holiness's recovery there comes a report of the promotion of new cardinals. Among these should be George Coneo, a Scot, who acts as the pope's agent here. The Court is full of this rumour and it quickly reached the king's ears. Many observed with interest that he seemed pleased. It is thought that the pope has caused this report to reach here with design, in order to see how the king would take the nomination of a subject as Cardinal, considering it important for religion to create him, but not enough if it means offending the king, and consequently his subjects. Now it is certain that his Majesty will not be offended, every one concludes that the pope will renew the honour in this nation, in order to sweeten past bitterness by public affection, and also, if there is a person of authority at Rome experienced in the humours of this country, he may serve as a base for upholding the relations which have been begun, for which purpose Coneo is considered most suitable. Such are the bases upon which the Catholics here found their chief hopes of liberty. On the other hand the Protestants are extremely bitter about it, and already they fear that the new regulations made by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the church are means whereby it is intended to lead them insensibly to Catholicism.

I have received the state's despatches of the 14th ult. directing me to answer the Palatine's agent in general terms. It will be observed that I have already acted as instructed.

I have to thank your Excellencies for permission to conclude my service in England. Accordingly so soon as the king returns to this neighbourhood, which should be in two or three weeks at most, I will seek an opportunity for taking leave and for presenting Zonca, with whom I will leave all that is necessary for serving the state, and the money, as commanded.

Richmond, the 18th September, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 22. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

299. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Various couriers were sent to the ports of Britanny to prevent the Duchess of Chevreuse from leaving the realm, but she travelled fast and before they came up she took a small boat and proceeded to the island of Zerze, belonging to the king of England, to whom it is felt certain she will go, in order to do her best to upset the

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union between the two crowns. She decided to flee because she guessed that the King's Council had decided to shut her up in a castle of Guienne because of her intrigues against his Majesty's interests.

Paris, the 22nd September, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

300. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

When the Polish Ambassador found that all his attempts to be received at Court were vain, he changed his mildness into rigour and his instances into threats. He protested through his secretary that the King of Poland would show himself very sensible of this affront, and would have cause to obtain redress. There were 40,000 Scots scattered about Poland, and it would not be a bad thing to expel them. He did not think it would be unjust, since they thought it expedient here that the correspondence between the two crowns should be interrupted, treating the ambassador of a friendly king worse than is customary with those of enemies. But these ideas make no impression on the ministers here, who treat them with contempt. They say if the Scots are expelled from Poland they will take refuge in Sweden, and perhaps the Poles may not come off best. That it has become quite clear that the King of Poland never intended to marry the Palatine princess, but only to obtain from this crown by artful negotiation assistance in men and ships against Sweden. This stroke failed, but it has shown how far his falseness was from the sincerity with which they always dealt with him here. Thus they exchange biting accusations, increasing the bitter feeling, so that there seems little chance that the matter can be accommodated, or that these two princes can soon be reconciled again.

Religious affairs in Scotland are still troubled, the people being more incensed than ever against the new institutions. The king, fearing some fresh disorder from this, seems to incline to milder ways to pacify them. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, on whose advice alone his Majesty decides in these matters, pertinaciously upholds his regulations and will not listen to anything different ; so that with the Scots urging the settlement of the matter, if the archbishop has his way, a general rising may be feared, with the danger of its spreading to this kingdom, where the people, no less than the Scots seem greedy for an opportunity to extricate themselves from the yoke to which they are being subjected insensibly, little by little. *A report has got abroad that the pope's resident has had a hand in this, and that he has encouraged the efforts of the archbishop, hoping either that the people will yield to his ordinances, which approach nearly those of the Roman Church, or by opposing them they will bring about a civil war between the Protestants, with considerable advantage to the Catholic party, to whom the archbishop would have to approach more and more nearly in order to suppress the other. Such are the suspicions that the Puritans have about him, not without reason.*

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The king, on the other hand, is no less suspicious of what he may be plotting with the Catholics and the Jesuits, and although he hides his fears from the queen, and the Court does the same, to please her, I know on very good authority that they observe the actions of this minister very carefully, and more since a certain foreign friar has reached him with letters the source of which they do not know, although many believe that they come from Cardinal Richelieu or the Ambassador Ognate, the majority believing that he also has a part in the concert, and indeed the manner in which he behaves and speaks gives great colour to this, as I have observed in his talk with me that he has frequently shown not a little passion in this.

Ognate himself assured me the day before yesterday, and he goes about stating the same thing publicly, that he has the most authentic information from his Court that they will not listen in Spain to the negotiations for an armistice proposed there by the nuncio, because they consider it too disadvantageous for themselves under existing circumstances. The ministers here have noted these opinions and it has given them food for much thought.

The alliance with France is now only mentioned under the breath, so the likelihood of its being established is very far off. *The recent instances of the earl of Leicester for the signing of the articles were more to satisfy the world than for anything more solid.*

Fielding's last letters have filled his Majesty and the ministers with the greatest suspicions. He states that there is an intrigue on foot to take the congress for a general peace to Rome.* The more stress is laid upon this because it is borne out over the truce negotiations that the Spanish nuncio asked that ministers should be sent to Rome with suitable powers from which they argue that the pope intended to get all present affairs under his roof. This is the more important *because a universal peace is generally detested on account of the consequences*, and if it were established at Rome they believe that it could not fail to be full of things prejudicial both to the Palatine and to England.

A person of standing asked me if I had any inkling of what your Excellencies thought about it. I replied that I was quite in the dark, but I did not think that a conference could be arranged at Rome because so many Protestant princes were concerned. I saw that this opinion pleased him.

The Swedish levies continue with rapidity and will be much more numerous than were granted there being no one to see that the captains do not levy more than their patents mention. This connivance greatly displeases the Spaniards, but not so much as the transport does the French, which they continue without interruption, of money from Spain to Flanders upon English ships. Only last week a royal galleon escorted a considerable sum to Dunkirk.

The news of the death of Prince Tomaso, reported as certain by his Majesty's resident at Brussels, proves a mistake, it is only

* "The treaty of Cologne not going forward the Spaniards are endeavouring to bring it to Rome, hoping thereby to exclude the satisfaction which will be found due to the Protestant Princes of Germany which the Cardinal Cornaro hath received advertisement of from Rome." Fielding to Coke, the 4th Sept. 1637, n.s. *S.P. For. Venice.*

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true that his very serious illness is dangerous, from which the resident says he has not entirely recovered. The resident continues to report the intention of the queen mother to come to this Court, in spite of his offices to prevent her. Here they remain determined not to have her, but if she comes suddenly, as is believed, they cannot refuse to receive her ; though it will certainly cause the king unspeakable annoyance, and for that reason she may not be much respected. Her servants, who are here in great numbers already, announce her coming as certain, and declare that it has already been arranged about in France.

I have received this week the state despatches of the 20th ult. with instructions about taking leave. The function cannot take place for another three weeks as the Court is away.

Richmond, the 25th September, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in Italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 25. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

301. The English Ambassador came into the Collegio and said :

I have previously told you of the alliance between my king and the Most Christian. Its object was to succour the oppressed princes of Germany and the Palatine in particular. The two kings have now arranged by a new treaty to invite the King of Denmark, the crown of Sweden, the Dutch, and the Protestant princes of Germany to meet at a convenient place to arrange what is required for the common service and the public tranquillity, to decide upon arrangements according to circumstances and to make an offensive and defensive league. The two kings will communicate what is decided to the King of Hungary, and if it is not received, what is decided at the congress will be carried out by the allies. His Majesty orders me to communicate what is happening to your Serenity, at a time when things are much disturbed in these parts by the events of the Valtelline, and those of Sabioneta Mirandola and Mantua, by the Duke's death.* My king will be glad to hear the prudent opinions of your Serenity and to do anything which may redound to the service of Italy and of the republic in particular. He orders me to say this.†

The doge expressed his thanks. The republic would cooperate with all zeal sure of his Majesty's affection for the welfare of this province. The Signory would deliberate upon his exposition and let him know. The ambassador expressed his thanks and said he would report everything to his king. He added I must also thank your Serenity for despatching the case of the merchant, which shows your kind desire to favour me. The doge said, Your lordship is greatly loved for your merits, and we are glad to please you. The ambassador promised only to make just requests and he would always remember the favours shown to him. He then took leave and went out.

[*Italian.*]

* Charles I, duke of Mantua, who died on 21 September.

† The state papers contain the draft of a letter from Coke, dated the 15th August n.s. in which he announces the conclusion of an agreement with France and tells Fielding what he is to communicate to Venice on the subject, inviting them to join in if they show any inclination to do so. *S.P. For. Venice.*

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Oct. 2.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

302. To the Ambassador in England.

The enclosed papers will show the circumstances of an accident in the Piazza caused by two of the ambassador's servants.* The arrest was made in order to save them from the fury of the mob as much as because of the act itself. So far no request for pardon has been made. This is for information to be used in the public service.

Ayes, 71. Noes, 0. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

303. That a secretary of this Council be sent to read the following to the English Ambassador :

The incident that occurred in the piazza of San Marco on the last days of last month, through the wounds inflicted on a citizen by one of your lordship's household, although accidental, caused great disturbance and confusion in a place where great respect is usually observed and is due. Two persons were arrested by the officials, in the proper discharge of their duty and we are glad of it, as it proved fortunate for the delinquents, to temper the rage of the populace and prevent worse accidents. Tempering justice by our desire to show respect for his Majesty and esteem for his minister, we have decided to order their release, being sure of your displeasure at the event and of your intention that those of your household shall not commit offences in the future which deserve punishment, or that those who have received pardon shall again take refuge under your mantle.

That the two prisoners, servants of the English ambassador, be set at liberty.

Ayes, 40. Noes, 3. Neutral, 6.

That the present question be postponed :

Ayes : 51.

As that ballot only has two votes more, it is not announced as carried.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

304. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.†

The opinion of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the matter of the Scottish disturbances has finally prevailed, against his own

* Fielding sent the following account of the affair in his despatch of the 2nd October : " Upon Tuesday last [29 Sept.] two of my footmen, one a subject of this state, were carried by the Captain Grande and the sbirri to prison for drawing their swords in the defence of another servant of mine and hurting a Venetian in the head, who was ready to kill a Piedmontese in the company of my other servant which was the ground of the quarrel . . . the hurt man is in the way of recovery which takes from me the fear of their looking back upon tho precedent in England in the imprisonment of one of their ambassador's servants [*Venetian Calendar* Vol. XXIII, page 437] . . . . howsoever I cannot expect but a fair coming off." *S.P. For. Venice.*

† Among the *Domestic State Papers* (Vol. CCCLXIX. Chas. I. No. 41 ; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637 page 468) are two sheets, one in Italian, which appears to be a digest of the first two paragraphs of this despatch, tho other a translation of the same into English. The wording of the opening sentence is identical. There is nothing whatever to show the provenance of these papers.

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first intentions, the king having ordered that all the ceremonies introduced into the church there shall be continued, which means that the archbishop's precepts and reforms shall be obeyed entire. The decree has passed the Council and they have ordered its publication in Scotland. It only remains to await the issue, which will be interesting, as it seems impossible that the Scots will sit down under such a rigorous ordinance when they opposed the last with such loud clamour and such violent action. All speak about it here just as they feel, whether it be fear or respect, in no wise concealing their prejudices in a matter of such importance. The majority seem to think that if the Scots do not at once break out into serious revolt, it will be because they are planning something more deliberate, and that the longer the fire remains hidden the more vigorously it will burn. The matter certainly involves serious difficulties and if it ends well the king will have won a great point as the reins will remain free in his hands to guide the consciences of his subjects in the future as he pleases. If this happens the pope will find the way made more smooth for the establishment of the confidential relations with this crown which he seeks, and consequently the practice of the Roman faith will be much freer and safer for all, unless by snatching too violently at results they make matters worse instead of better. The pope's minister here, with his too fervent zeal, is continually rousing suspicions which render his actions as conspicious as they are jealous. His frequent consultations with the two foreign religious, one French and the other Scotch, both sent, they say by Cardinal Richelieu, have excited much remark. If they are about religious matters they are very conspicuous, and if not, even more so, as persons of that description cannot fail to be suspect here, where they are naturally hostile.

The queen mother has sent M. de Monsigot, her secretary here, they say to make arrangements for her coming to this kingdom. Last week he saw the queen, with whom he had very long interviews in order to make the idea acceptable; but on going on to the Court afterwards and having audience of the king he spoke to him secretly upon quite a different matter. I made efforts to discover the substance of this *and have found out on very sound authority that it was about an enterprise against France, to be arranged between that queen, the Cardinal Infant, the Duke of Orleans and the Count of Soissons, whose dispositions he asserted he was in full possession of. He asked his Majesty to assist in this with his naval forces, as a partner, or as chief if he wishes. The Spaniards would attack by land and the English by sea, and with the help of the Princes of the Blood in the interior they reckon on winning considerable successes. They propose that the King of Great Britain shall have Britanny, Calais, Havre de Grace and other places formerly possessed by this crown across the water. After the king had heard the statements of this person three times patiently, he told him that he must put his projects in writing, so that they may be properly considered, and to this after some hestitation, he consented. My informant told me that the king listened to this*

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*out of mere curiosity, considering it chimerical; he did not believe that the queen mother any longer had an understanding with those princes, but it had been made up by this Monsigot. and two individuals, Cogneus and Fabroni, turbulent and desperate men who influence her wishes. The ministers accordingly pay no attention whatever to this, but all agree that as soon as he has stated his chimaeras they will send him about his business without an answer; and this is probably what will happen. However, I will see what takes place and send much information as seems opportune.**

This Monsigot has brought assurances that the Cardinal Infant has latterly shown every honour and respect to the queen mother, assuring her that he had nothing to do with what happened recently, but everyone forms his own opinion about this.†

A report has spread that the Duchess of Chevreuse has fled from France and taken refuge at this Court, to escape what she fears may befall her. She has not yet appeared, but if she comes she will be well treated. The queen in particular, from what she said to me, bears her a special affection, as she attended her when she came from France, and the king also, who got to know her at that time, esteems her very highly.

The Earl of Northumberland has returned to Court, having left the fleet under the command of the Vice Admiral,‡ and although the disarming is not yet settled it is certain that he will not go back to sea this year. His Majesty complains that now the Dutch have got their way about the fisheries they seem reluctant to send their deputies to Hamburg, raising objections which only serve to show how little inclination they have to interest themselves in what they previously proposed themselves so eagerly.

The quarrels which are reported from Italy to have broken out again between the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Crichi are considered here an artifice. One of the ministers most in credit here assured me that in their opinion here it was a trick to cloak their idleness, which is in reality due to a definite armistice arranged secretly in that province for some days, which, in the course of time will be extended so as to become general, and end finally in a truce for a long period. Since they received a hint

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* This notice seems somewhat belated. On the 19th July o.s. Coke wrote to Gerbier in Flanders: "For Monsigot His Majesty hath commanded me to let you know that he found by his first discourse he came hither to embroil business; but His Majesty quickly put him into better temper, assuring him if she [*i.e.* the Queen Mother] will remit herself and her business entirely to His Majesty he will undertake to mediate for some accommodation for her. This Monsigot hath promised to persuade her to, and so he was put clean out of his fence. His Majesty finds him an ingenuous man and much pities his condition." *S.P. For. Flanders.*

† See No. 285 at page 261 above. Owing to the fears of a French invasion feeling ran very high in Flanders and the Queen Mother's French followers became the objects of much suspicion. Owing to this the local authorities sent to her quarters in order to make a register of the names of her followers, and while this was being done the house was thoroughly searched. The Queen Mother complained to the Cardinal Infant of the insolence shown to her. *See* Gerbier's despatch of the $\frac{5}{15}$ August. *S.P. For. Flanders.*

‡ According to Northumberland's journal (*S.P.Dom.Chas. I.*, Vol. CCCXLIII. No. 72) he landed at Yarmouth on the 9th October o.s. and travelled thence to Court. Sir John Pennington was left in charge of the Narrow Seas, as Admiral on the $\frac{18}{28}$ September. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637, page 425.

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here that this might be settled in Rome they have become much more attentive and jealous.

The Polish ambassador has asked and obtained a passport from the king for his journey. He will sail to Holland on a Danish ship with the first wind and proceed thence by Dutch ships to Danzig. They have not been able to discover here whether he was charged with any business by the Dutch. The Spanish ambassador means to call on him and has tried hard to persuade me to do the same. I made an ambiguous reply, leaving me free to do what I think best when I hear how the Court takes his visit, after he has made it; as it is already whispered to me that the king will be offended. In that case I think it better to take no notice of the ambassador's coming, as he is first in one place and then in another and practically in hiding, than perform an action at which his Majesty might take direct umbrage.

I have received this week the state despatches of the 29th August and the 4th September.

Richmond, the 2nd October, 1637.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 3. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

305. That the proposed offices with the English ambassador about the wounding affair in the Piazza be postponed until the next meeting of this Council.

Ayes, 36.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

306. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duchess of Chevreuse has fled from France disguised as a man. She reached the kingdom of Aragon in a single post and sent letters thence to the king, queen and Count Duke, who forthwith sent some one to fetch her to the Court.

The ministers here seem to wish that the States of Holland would undertake to contribute their fighting strength to the forces of France and England in the cause of the Palatine, as they believe that this would draw the emperor from the neutrality which he observes towards those Provinces. On the other hand I hear that the English are treating with the Most Christian for the restitution of Lorraine in exchange for the Palatinate.

Madrid, the 3rd October, 1637.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Oct. 4. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

307. I, Antonio Antelmi went to read to the English ambassador the deliberation of the Senate. He said to me in reply, I am always bound to be expressing my gratitude. Undoubtedly I much regret that the officials of justice have laid hands on those of my household, but I regret still more that my servants should give occasion for it, as I wish to live within the limits of propriety and reserve. I know that every respect ought to be shown to the sacred spot near the palace where all the nobility congregates, but men cannot avoid accidents, especially

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the lower orders, who do not enjoy the advantage of foresight. This favour increases my desire that my people shall occasion no further trouble. The ambassador admitted the risk run by his footmen and repeated his thanks. I went away and when I reached the Palace I sent the two servants to his Excellency's house in a gondola, accompanied by an esquire of his Serenity.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia, Venetian Archives.

308. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors have had another interview with M. di Bullion and it seems they have decided that the congress shall be held at Hamburg, whither England will send a person of distinction.

Paris, the 6th October, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

309. To the Ambassador in England.

We have received your despatches of the 18th ult. The delays over the congress for peace render its results doubtful. Hence the union between France and England is the more necessary. It is accordingly desirable to consider deeds rather than words in the reply given by the Senate to the ambassador when you use it to renew offices with the king to conciliate his confidence. The English ambassador subsequently presented a memorial about the accident in the Piazza and we readily granted the release of his servants and had the enclosed office read to him.

That 300 ducats be paid to the agents of the Ambassador Correr for couriers and the carriage of letters.

Ayes, 82. Noes, 0. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

310. That the Ambassador of the King of Great Britain be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

In the present disturbed state of Christendom his Majesty's efforts to relieve it are worthy of all praise. The republic has heard with satisfaction of the league concluded with the Most Christian and hopes that subsequent events will be propitious. We warmly thank his Majesty for your lordship's offices and we are sure that the king will operate for the welfare of this province, in which this republic is so deeply interested and for whose prosperity and liberty she incurs such heavy expenditure. We are directing our ambassador in England to perform similar offices.

Ayes, 82. Noes, 0. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

* In his despatch of the 9th October Fielding reports that his servants were returned to him "last Sunday," i.e. the 4th October. *S.P. For. Venice.*

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Oct. 9.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

311. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Last Saturday the Secretary Monsigot presented to his Majesty in writing the substance of his charge, begging him for a speedy reply. His Majesty received it with a smiling face, read it with great care and told him he would consider it in due course. He then kept it to himself without communicating with any of the ministers, and let the whole week pass without speaking about it, to the distress of the secretary and leaving the Court in interested suspense about his Majesty's intentions. Some conclude that this secrecy clearly shows that he thinks something of it; others that his silence proceeds from carelessness about it, which may well be nearer the truth, as keeping silence is not the way to conclude but to break off negotiations. It is impossible to find out what the paper really contains before the king speaks to others, *though it is supposed to deal with the proposals against France already reported.*

Meanwhile Monsigot is looking out for a residence in the city, and as fresh servants of the queen mother arrive every day in Court, they are very jealously observed, as it is feared that they are the precursors of her own sudden arrival. They are exceedingly apprehensive about this although Gerbier always declares that it will not happen without permission, owing to the troublesome consequences and the expense, as they do not count on the Most Christian's promise to contribute her revenues, once she has arrived safe in port and will not cause him further anxiety, as they feel sure that he will gladly leave to others the trouble of supporting her; and this will always be the insuperable obstacle to the adjustment of the matter. There is some indication that the Duchess of Chevreuse may have crossed to England. In their eagerness for certain news their Majesties have sent a gentleman to Portsmouth on purpose to find out, a further sign that she will be greatly honoured if she comes here.

The Prince Palatine reports that he is with his mother, having left the camp under Breda on purpose to visit her. He says little about his interests and here they seem to care about them less. The hesitation of the Most Christian to sign the alliance and the difficulties raised by the Dutch about sending deputies to ratify, pass without remark, the complaints raised by the ministers here against the Dutch in this matter being merely to save their face. That and the wish to show constancy in their resolution for a conclusion are the reasons why they have sent further orders to the agents in Holland and Hamburg, so that an English minister may be ready to assist if the conference is held in either place.

The Court has heard with great satisfaction the confirmation of the news that some of his Majesty's ships in concert with the King of Morocco have captured the port and fortress of Salla with other positions held by the pirates on the Ocean as a magazine for their booty. The commander writes that they have set at

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liberty more than 800 slaves.* He has made a compact with the King of Morocco for liberty of trade for the English in all those ports, without any charge, in the future ; a matter from which, now the Strait will be much safer, they hope for considerable reputation and advantage here. The rest of the royal fleet is staying in the Downs and will enter the river one day soon.

The king came to Hampton Court on Friday in last week, where he ended his progress. On the following day he went some miles below Greenwich, with the queen and all the Court, and stayed there three days to take part in the solemn function of launching and naming a very fine galleon, which has been building for some time by the most renowned craftsmen of the realm. They say it is the largest and finest construction ever seen in England. It will be of 1,800 tons burthen at least, will carry 86 large pieces of ordnance and when complete will cost the king more than 150000*l.* sterling.†

The severity of the plague in London and the surrounding villages has almost entirely ceased, and they hope that the cold will clear away the remainder. Confiding in this the Court will transfer itself to the city for all the rest of the winter at the beginning of next month. Meanwhile I have begun to arrange with the Master of the Ceremonies for the audience for my leave taking, for which I am pressing, and I hope it will take place the day after tomorrow.

The ducal missives of the 11th September reached me this week.

Richmond, the 9th October, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 9. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

312. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish ambassador has at last paid a ceremonious call on the Polish with his coaches, on an appointed day when he happened to be in London, so that the ceremony might be the more conspicuous. The king arrived that same day at Hampton Court, and when he heard of it he seemed to resent it deeply expressing forcibly his displeasure at the act and the manner of it, and complaining that others should publicly honour to his face those whom he had publicly ignored in their capacity. The ambassador excused himself saying that the Pole could not divest himself of his character as ambassador and as such he was obliged in the interests of his master to render him every sort of honour.

* Rainsborough's despatch is dated the 8th August o.s. Sallee was not captured by the fleet, which had been blockading it, but on the 28th July terms of peace were arranged between the town, the king of Morocco and the English commander. Rainsborough encloses a list with the names of 271 slaves released on this occasion, *S.P. For. Barbary States, Morocco*, Vol. 13. The news was brought by the Vice-Admiral Capt. George Carteret, who reported to the Admiralty from his ship the " Antelope " in St. Helen's Road on the 21 September, o.s. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637, page 430.

† " The Sovereign of the Seas " built by Phineas Pett at Woolwich of 1522 tons burthen, and 100 guns. Her cost without her ordnance was £40,833. The date of her launch had been fixed long beforehand as the 25th September, o.s. Oppenheim. *Administration of the Royal Navy*, pages 255, 260. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637, page 212.

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This did not satisfy his Majesty, who pretends that the ambassador embraced the opportunity of offending him on purpose, as it is neither obligatory nor customary to visit ambassadors before they are received and honoured by the state as such.

The Secretary Coke expressed his Majesty's sentiments strongly to me and assured me that I had greatly obliged him by abstaining from this superfluous function. I told him that I always measured my actions by his Majesty's satisfaction, and on this occasion I had acted to please him. He assured me that the king would take my sincerity in excellent part, as that was all that was necessary to satisfy him ; but if I wished he would speak to his Majesty so that he might know what was required of ministers of the republic upon this occasion. I left it to him to do what he thought best, being resolved not to give offence and wishing them to know it. This morning he came by his Majesty's particular command to express his high appreciation of my respect for his wishes, and saying that he would express his thanks the first time he had occasion to see me. Accordingly I am pledged to let the compliments with this ambassador drop. There is nothing to oblige me to them, as he has no fixed abode and the time of his stay here is uncertain, depending on the wind. So I think I have done right in respecting his Majesty's wishes, expressed by one of his leading ministers ; if not, I beg you to forgive me, as well as all my other failings.

Richmond, the 9th October, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

313. The English Ambassador was summoned to the Collegio and the decision of the Council of Eight of this date was read to him, he said :

I will report to his Majesty what your Serenity has set forth. The king will especially welcome your prudent opinions. Without a doubt he will work for the service of Christendom in all occasions and for the greater advantage of this republic.

In fulfilment of my duty I decided to send to the Princess of Mantua to perform offices in his Majesty's name upon the duke's death.* In the midst of her tears she seemed to find her chief consolation in confidential relations, and she greatly desired your Serenity's paternal protection. My king would rejoice to see the republic act thus for the advantage of Italy and the profit of her own dominions. I may add that Count Martinengo showed the utmost courtesy to my secretary. This increases my obligations. I greatly regretted the incident about my servants in the Piazza of S. Marco. I know the respect due to the place and I rejoice to show it to all the nobility. The officers, in doing their duty, obviated the greatest dangers, taking them in order to punish them, and your Serenity has shown your kindness in their release, for which I thank you.

The doge said they were always glad to show their esteem for his lordship. The incident was really perilous ; they were sure

* Charles I, duke of Mantua died on 21 September. The princess is presumably his daughter in law, Maria widow of Charles II, duke of Mantua.

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he regretted it, and would prevent a recurrence. They had performed offices with the princess of Mantua becoming their friendship with that house, as well as with the new duke. Count Martinengo had acted as the republic would have wished. The Senate's reply covered everything else.

The ambassador replied, The case of Mantua demands your Serenity's consideration, and the protection of that prince and the preservation of the duchy, in the interests of Italy and of this republic in particular. The doge said their friendship for the house of Mantua was patent and they would continue the most sincere demonstrations. The ambassador commended this, bowed and departed. After he had finished writing the reply he said that he had been greatly favoured therein. His secretary had brought word from Mantua of the death of the bishop. It happened at a bad time because he was a good servant of the house and would have been useful for the duke's education. There was not time to know it any other way, as his secretary had come post. He had not told his Serenity, but he believed the news to be true,* and he asked me to report it to the Savii.

Valerio Antelmi, *Secretary.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

314. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I paid my respects to the Cardinal at Sciaron the day before yesterday. I tactfully enquired if the treaty with England was progressing. It pleases the English, he replied, to see all the Christian powers fighting and they would like to commit them to supporting the Palatines while they themselves do nothing. We are always thinking of making the negotiations reasonable, and not in words. The Spaniards and English have their finesses, but if we do not think a thing is right we let our allies know. We have shown them several times by our ambassadors that if they wish to do anything they must enter the dance and take a hand. They will not hear of this. We all agreed, the Swedes and Dutch also, to send to Hamburg, and now it seems they propose the Hague. It is true that it is forbidden to do anything against the empire at the former city, but so far no one has been expelled. Denmark, the Landgrave of Hesse and possibly Luneburg would go there, at Denmark's invitation; and when the citizens saw that something great was being done for Germany, they would be delighted. We wish we were mistaken about the English doing anything good. The Earl of Leicester, who is here, has the most excellent intentions, but there are so many at that Court who take pleasure in nothing but making delay and creating obstacles, so that we cannot say what we may promise ourselves. He said a great deal also about Germany and Italy.

Paris, the 13th October, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

* The news was not true as Vincenzo Soardi bishop of Mantua survived to 1645.

1637.
Oct. 10.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

315. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador has made known his master's dissatisfaction with the young Count of Ognat, saying that his offices are not calculated to bring matters to a happy conclusion. He stated afterwards that he hoped the negotiations would be brought to this Court with expectation of success. Here they persist in their determination to send to England another individual, and it is thought that this will be Don Christofforo di Benavides, who was formerly ambassador to your Serenity.

Madrid, the 10th October, 1637.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Oct. 14.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

316. The English Ambassador came into the Collegio and spoke to the following effect:

Anthony Watts, master of an English ship, arrived in this city three or four months ago, and has been sentenced to five years imprisonment for infringing the sanitary regulations. I know how delicate is this matter of health. I do not complain of the severity of the sentence, and still less do I excuse the fault of that poor man, who should have been more careful. I pity his misfortune and his very numerous family, as well as the loss to the ship and sailors. I have therefore come to ask your Serenity for grace. I can assure you that the poor man did not sin from malice, or from desire for gain, which usually tempts that sort of man to do wrong, but merely from ignorance, as a foreigner. I therefore hope for clemency. I may add that no harm has resulted from his fault and all my king's subjects will behave with obedience and reserve, as his Majesty desires. I leave a memorial sent from the prison.

In the absence of the doge, the senior councillor Pietro Foscarini replied: You have recognised the need for severity in sanitary matters, but these Signors will consider the matter with every desire to gratify you and the king you represent.* They will try to think more of your intercession than of the fault, since the intercession rests upon two such excellent bases as the favourable inclination of these Signors and your lordship's merits. The ambassador thanked him and departed.

Filza.

Memorial of Anthony Watts, Captain of the *Elizabeth Dorcas*, to the English ambassador.

It is about four months since I reached this city with my ship, laden with goods, consigned here. When I was preparing to depart I was accused before the Magistracy of Health of concealing the place from which I had come. Although at my examination I answered all that was asked, the magistracy sentenced me to five years' imprisonment, and I have been here two months. I appealed to the Avogador Donado, who laid the matter before the Quaranta Criminal, who referred it back to the Board of

* "At my return from the Colledge, one of the Prince's servants brought him free to mo." Fielding to Coke $\frac{6}{16}$ Oct. 1637. *S.P. For. Venice.*

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Health. I fear the issue of this, and my miserable detention brings ruin not only on my affairs but on my wife and eleven children, as well as the interests of my owners and the fifty sailors who are wasting their time at great expense, Moreover the merchants of this mart, who have hired my ship for Spain, have drawn back since this trouble, and will not lade their goods. I therefore beg your Excellency to intercede for my release, so that I may pursue my voyage.

1637, the 14th October.

By order of the Collegio the Board of Health shall answer this memorial without the slightest delay.

Gio. Batta. Gratarol, *Secretary.*

Reply of the Board of Health.

On the 19th of August last our magistracy condemned Anthony Watts to five years' imprisonment without light because on his arrival in this port he omitted to state the first place from which he set out, which was the port of Dover, suspected and banned, and because he had laded 17 bales of goods of Flanders, where the plague was raging, so that the crew and the rest of his goods were suspect. He deceived the representatives of Health at Zante with manifest peril to that island, under the pretence that his first place of lading was in Spain, and he obtained a legal permit from that board, by which our magistracy admitted him. Being miraculously warned of this before the ship began to unlade and any harm could happen, the crew and goods were sent to the Lazzaretti for quarantine. We consider the sentence well grounded because of the necessity for preserving the public health, and to prevent similar offences by making an example. We considered that the crime deserved a greater punishment, but we took his nationality into consideration and some other considerations of state. The Avogador Donado referred it to the Quarantia Criminal, where they considered the sentence too severe and referred it back to us. The sentence seems just, but your Serenity can always exercise your munificence, especially when you consider that it is in the interest of the state, and we are glad that we have nothing more to do with the case than the carrying out of the sentence. We therefore refer to your Serenity's decision.

Dated at the office of Health, the 15th of October, 1637.

Anzolo Contarini, *Proveditore.*
Francesco Maria Zen.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

318. That the ambassador of the King of Great Britain be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

Your lordship has received every proof of our disposition to gratify you. The English shipmaster who has been arrested is scarcely amenable to pardon because of the nature of the offence and the example to others. We have pointed out the

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difficulties to you, but we have ordered his release out of consideration for you, feeling sure that he and his fellow countrymen will be warned not to commit similar faults again, which would be more blameworthy than the original error and more severely dealt with.

That the shipmaster named Antony Watts be released by the authority of this Council.

Ayes, 88. Noes, 17. Neutral, 15.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

319. Francesco Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Princess Palatine told me in confidence that in a few days the Prince Palatine is going to East Friesland to take command of his troops and decide upon the best course to follow. The Palatine family hope that England will grant liberal supplies of men and money and she also hopes that the prince will soon have a strong army with which to enter Germany and undertake something really important.

The Hague, the 15th October, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

320. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Secretary left here by the Dutch ambassador went last Sunday by express order of his masters to inform his Majesty of the surrender of Breda, which took place, he says, on the 10th inst. From what was observed the news pleased him exceedingly, and he expressed this emphatically not only to the secretary but to the lords of the Court also. He asked the secretary for the particulars and when he had heard them he said that he rejoiced sincerely and now was the moment for the States to enter the alliance he had arranged with France, as the present weakness of the Spaniards promised every advantage to the arms of the allies. He asked him to urge them in his name to send their deputies to Hamburg where he had a minister ready to put the finishing touches to the matter. The secretary readily promised to do so. On coming to me afterwards to tell me about the surrender, by order of his masters, he said, he began of his own accord to tell me what the king had commanded him to write, pointing out that it was not so easy for his masters to commit themselves to an alliance with the English, with the memory of past events so fresh, and the experience of how little can be hoped here in any event. It was not to their advantage that this alliance should be effected now, since little can be done now and even less in the coming season, while in the spring a change may have taken place. It was always a very difficult question for the Dutch to make a league against the House of Austria in general, without very considerable and assured advantages, as it was not in their interest to break the neutrality with the emperor. These opinions which are based on reason and reasonably set forth

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clearly show that this allianee will not be seen soon, *especially as they are only pressed here on the ground of reputation, while they can say that they have done their part they will always be pleased at delay, since it certainly is not England's interest to intervene openly in the war, because those who are so eager for change in the interests of religion and parliament are only waiting to see the king compelled to have recourse to his people to make him accept what laws they wish, or to enable them to arouse dangerous movements in the state without hindrance.* The Royal Counеil has duly considered this and it will not take the step in any event without corresponding deliberation. Their chief attention is now direeted to Scottish affairs, as a matter of immediate urgency, as by the confused reports whieh arrive thence there seems a strong disposition to disturbanee. They speak of a protest to be signed by the nobility and the leaders of the ehurehes to send to the king, of tumults among the lower elasses and other serious scandals, but I have not had time to find out about it yet.

No further news has arrived about the Duchess of Chevreuse coming to Court as his Majesty's efforts have not obtained him further information. They have not answered Monsigot, and his papers have not left the king's hands. He himself feels more than eertain that his proposals will die without result ; but this does not excite him and he hopes to start something more satisfaetory. They say this will be the reeoneiliation of the queen mother with the Most Christian, to be managed by the king here with full powers from that queen. If that be so, and hopes of an adjustment are not too remote the king will not objeet to acting in order to rid himself of the eonstant importunity to have her here, which eertainly distresses him greatly.

All the knights of the Garter took part with his Majesty this week in the usual eeremony at Windsor ehapel. This usually takes place on St. George's day, but this year it was postponed on aecount of the plague. At the first meeting they nominated the prinee to give him the order at the earliest opportunity, as he seems to desire it exeeedingly. The Polish ambassador was present ineognito in the ehurch, at the banquet and at all the other ceremonies whieh were public. His Majesty observed he was a foreigner, sent to learn who he was, and on finding out, seemed eontent. On this oeeasion the ambassador had an opportunity of speaking to more than one of the lords of the Counеil, and they say he began again about his reeeption. He might even sueeeed in this in the end as determination and patienee aehieve great things, the eharacter of this eountry being what it is.

I received the state despatehes yesterday about the English ambassador's information upon the eapture of Venloo and Ruremond and other partieulars. Sinee the news of the eapture of Breda it is understood that the Cardinal Infant has suffered a considerable defeat losing his baggage and guns, while the Duke Bernard has inflieted an even greater one on Giovanni de Vert, and they say the Swedes have gained an important advantage over the Imperialists. All those events have exeited great

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attention at Court, where they reckon that when added to the loss of Landresi, la Capella, Mobeusa, Breda and other important places in such a short time, they will make the Spaniards anxious for the friendship of England, and consequently will try to give them proper satisfaction about the Palatine. Thus do those who value the reputation and weal of the Palatine flatter themselves, but they would not go so far as war to win them.

My audience for taking leave has been postponed until tomorrow because of the Garter ceremony, and at present the Earl of Denbigh, Fielding's father, is deputed to take me to it. I must admit that all delay is both inconvenient and painful to me as I have been tired a long time of living idle here, an unprofitable servant of your Excellencies.

I have just received the ducal missives of the 4th ult. by way of France with my credentials and instructions.

Richmond, the 16th October, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 16. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

321. The Senate's deliberation of yesterday was read to the English Ambassador, he spoke as follows :

I am constantly receiving favours from your Serenity. I regard this, of the release of the English captain as one of the principal, as the question is a very delicate one. I will apply to my king to express suitably his satisfaction. In this affair your Serenity has united justice with clemency, both attributes of a great prince. This favour and the severe sentence will serve as a warning to our nation and oblige them to show circumspection in the future, while it will encourage my king's subjects to resort to this city more gladly with their capital. I will try to keep them all within the limits of their duty.

Pietro Foscarini, the senior councillor, in the absence of the doge said that they rejoiced in his gratification. The request was a difficult one owing to the delicate nature of the affair, which concerned the interests of all, but the good will of the Senate towards his lordship and all his Majesty's subjects had prevailed.

The ambassador expressed his thanks and departed. In going out he said to me, the secretary, I shall not take a note of this office, as it is not one to write in ink but in letters of gold.

Antonio Antelmi, *Secretary.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

322. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Swedish ambassador has remonstrated with the English ones on behalf of the Chancellor Oxestern because their king only showed an extract from the articles of the alliance between France and England. He said they must see the whole treaty, and if there are any secret ones which it may not seem convenient to publish to every body they will be content in Sweden if the

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Chancellor alone sees them, and the Prince of Orange might do the same for the Dutch but it is not likely that they will commit themselves in the present way of doing things.

Paris, the 20th October, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

323. The secretary of the English ambassador came to the door of the Collegio and said to me, the Secretary that his master had received some advices, and thought of coming in person to impart them to his Serenity, but fearing to inconvenience him be sent them in writing, judging them to be of some importance. He handed me a sheet, which I took to his Serenity, who ordered it to be read. He also ordered an answer to be made to the secretary, thanking the ambassador.

Rosso, *Secretary.*

Advices from Vienna of the 10th October.

The Swedes, exhausted by war are disposed to peace and an accommodation with the house of Austria. Casimir, brother of the King of Poland, is about to marry the heiress of the kingdom of Sweden, on condition that the King of Poland abandons his claims to that crown, and that it is recognised by the emperor as a crowned head, about which that Court will raise no difficulty. That the Swedes shall be satisfied with a great sum of money for divers expenses on the war, and in order that they may keep some ports and places in Pomerania, the Spaniards will undertake to satisfy the duke there. They are very anxious to enter again into treaty with the King of Great Britain for the settlement of the Palatinate. This is confirmed by the news from England that the Spanish ambassador has proposed to that king to send his ambassadors to Brussels where the Cardinal Infant has full powers for the adjustment of that affair; but that king has made no reply, being too deeply offended by past affairs. Duke Bernard of Vaimar, having an unsatisfactory union with the French, is treating for an accommodation with the King of Hungary, but very secretly. Nothing more is said about the departure of the Prince of Eembergh for Rome.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

324. To the Ambassador in England.

Incidents are frequently occurring which make it necessary for justice to take note against the people of the Ambassador Fielding. After the one of the Piazza, in which we showed our usual good will, as you will have made appear to the public service, an arquebus has been fired at San Moise by a servant of this ambassador, mortally wounding a man and causing great commotion. The barques of the officials hastened to the spot to prevent disorder and do their duty. On being informed of this the Chiefs of the Council of Ten sent one of their secretaries to the ambassador to inform him of the event, and ask him to hand over the man who committed the crime, to prove what he

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had often professed, that he did not shelter or encourage such persons. He told the secretary that the servant had already been dismissed. The case was merely what you will see from the enclosed exposition which he made in the Collegio this morning, when he also made a mild complaint against the officials. Since then the Council of Ten has had the man arrested, with the decision of which we send a copy. This will all serve to enlighten you, so that you may speak with your customary prudence when you hear the matter discussed, when you will point out our excellent disposition and the respect we have shown towards the ambassador, with occasions for offence and scandal constantly multiplying, and the necessity for taking action in this matter, where a detestable weapon was carried by day loaded and cocked. We are making no further reply to the ambassador at present, as delay is more dignified and of greater service to the state.*

The same ambassador, after thanking us very heartily for the release of the sailor, guilty of an important breach of the sanitary laws, sent his secretary with the enclosed sheet of advices. This will show you that you had very good grounds for what you wrote about the intrigues of the queen mother and the measures taken by her in the interests of religion in Scotland to exclude or remove rigour from the transactions and conclusions between that crown and France. You will carefully observe what further troubles and disturbances arise in this matter.

Ayes, 78. Noes, 2. Neutral, 4

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

325. The Ambassador of the King of Great Britain came into the Collegio and spoke as follows :

I have hardly had time to enjoy your last favour before another incident has occurred to perturb me and bring me here to represent what has happened. I am sure you will purge away all contrary thoughts, although I myself cannot be satisfied with what I have seen recently in this cause, against my house, without regard to the honour of myself or my king. One of the secretaries of the Council of Ten came to my house yesterday, I do not know his name, to ask me to hand over to justice a certain person who had caused some disorder. You will have heard what I said, but I wished it to be known from my own lips. One of my men

* Fielding's despatch of the $\frac{10}{20}$ October throws some light on these recurring incidents. He writes : I send a relation of an accident which was an occasion of great disorders, since the hurt man is dead ; not that the wound was mortal, but because the surgeons are unskilful here. The Council of Ten upon this man's death hath banished my servant their dominions, and in case he be there, have sentenced him to be hanged at St. Mark's place with a pistol at his feet. The Venetian ambassador will perchance make complaints of the insolencies of my servants, which though I cannot altogether excuse, yet I may well imagine that the ill usage they receive here may have made them so ; for I had one of my footmen hurt in carrying my letters to the post, which had like to have been taken from him, and a gondolier of mine being slain in a tavern, the murderer being taken was only condemned to four months' imprisonment. *S.P. For. Venice.*

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went to take two pistols to be repaired. He happened to meet a friend, and they began to lark about and to try the pistol, when owing to the defect for which it was sent for repair, it went off and hit a poor boatman who was behind. Although I knew this was a pure accident, I dismissed the servant immediately, as I did with the two footmen, dismissing one and punishing the other, as it is right to be inexorable in such cases, because I wish to cultivate the good relations with my king, although all sorts of misfortunes occur to render it difficult. What I lament on this occasion is that my house was immediately surrounded and practically besieged by boats of officials, and one boat, full of arms, muskets, falconets and so forth, stood still as if it was moored to it, an offence against the immunities of ambassadors. They all seemed ready to attack the house of a king who has such friendly relations with your Serenity, a king who has such confidence in your Serenity that if he had no other enemies he would entrust his arms, ships and vassals to you, one who will allow his men and ships to come and serve the republic, a king who sent me here to foster friendly and confidential relations. I cannot think that your Serenity ordered this, because I know your good will; but meanwhile I have suffered all the prejudices. My house has been made the mark of all the indiscretions of the officials, surrounded and menaced. When I write to England I should like to continue to report acts of confidence.

The doge replied, Yesterday morning we suddenly heard, and the report circulated throughout the city, that shots had been fired at S. Moise, that is, at the mouth of the Piazza. Justice requires that the officials should hasten to the place where a tumult takes place. This is what happened, and no orders were given to attack your house or to cause you any offence. We love you and desire to give you every satisfaction, as we have always shown. Our affectionate esteem for his Majesty is patent. You should not object but be glad that justice is on the alert when shots are heard, wounds given and people run together. The Avogador was there and drew up the process in the usual way. He tried to obtain information, and you may be sure that no undue prejudice will be caused. The presence of the officials on the spot was not meant to prejudice you. The republic wishes to remove scandals but that every honour shall be shown to the ambassador.

The ambassador replied, I take comfort at hearing from your Serenity's lips that these acts were not intended to prejudice me or to offend my house. I thank you and hope that such an answer will come to me that I shall be able to satisfy the very delicate and jealous ear of my king, as I promise myself from your Serenity's kindness. I assure you that these frequent occasions for coming to annoy your Serenity are a torment to me, but I beg you to consider my sincerety and to give me a reply which will in no way disturb the confidential relations. The doge said they would not fail to do what was right and proper. He then bowed and went out.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 23.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

326. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I went to my publie audience last Sunday, accompanied by the Earl of Denbigh, in the king's eoach, followed by many others and a large company of eavaliers. On being introduced to their Majesties, who received me most graciously, I duly performed the office of leave taking, making the proper compliments to the king. He responded with the most cordial expressions towards the republic, and of his desire to give proof of it. I responded by announcing the coming of Giustinian from Spain.

I turned to the queen and performed the proper offiee with her, to which she also responded expressing her eonstant affeetion for the republic.

After the compliments the king spoke of the present state of Italy, saying that the death of the Duke of Mantua might rekindle serious disturbances. He seemed very sorry about it, both because of the esteem he said he had always had for that prince and beeause of the evil eonsequences. I assure you, said he, that I consider the interests of Italy and those of Venice in partieular as my own, and I shall miss no opportunity of showing myself their good friend.

Two days after the Master of the Ceremonies intimated that his Majesty intended to honour me as had been eustomary with other Venetian ministers at their departure; so I went again to a private audience. When I entered he chose to dub me knight, with the usual ceremony, an honour I value solely in my eapacity as servant of the state.

As instructed, I introdueed to his Majesty the Seeretary Zonea, who will aet here until Giustinian arrives, as he did after Sig. Gussoni left, in a manner that won him great repute here. At the private audience I had occasion to speak with his Majesty about current affairs of Christendom, as I shall relate in the next despateh. I shall now try to diseharge the rest of my visits as speedily as possible; this will involve some delay, but I ask you to believe that this is unavoidable owing to the distance away of the ministers, the diffieulty of finding them and the shortness of the days, as my own desires and interests eoncur in hastening my departure from this kingdom.

Riehmond, the 23rd October, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

327. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The arrival of the news of a serious defeat of the Spaniards in Languedoc and of the succour received by the Freneh at Leucate,* with the reverses of the Austrians everywhere have led to a diseussion in the king's most seeret Council as to whether they should take advantage of circumstances to obtain some-

* On the 28th September, the Duc d'Halluin attacked the Spaniards besieging Leucate and inflicted a complete defeat. Le Vassor: *Hist. de Louis XIII.*, Vol. XV., page 250.

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thing definite for the Palatine from the Spaniards, who so greatly desire their friendship here in their own interests. There was much debate and many opinions about how they could introduce the matter honourably, but all seem to have agreed that the way of sound negotiation was better than the troublesome and costly one of war, from the uncertainties of which they think it wise to keep aloof as much as possible, seeing the uncertainty of the alliance with the Most Christian, which he has not yet signed and the allies have not ratified, and with Scotland so disturbed. Nothing is settled, but the result may be guessed from their past lukewarmness about the Palatine's fleet, and giving men to Prince Rupert to go with him to Germany, while the way in which the rumours have been allowed to die away suffices to indicate the result.

The Spanish ambassador observes everything and says nothing, being the more ready to embrace an opportunity for instituting some profitable negotiations. Although his private interests make it rather necessary for him not to appear at Court, he told me seriously that if he became aware of an opportunity he would go gladly and wait for another time to speak of his affairs. These remain as they were ; the money has not been restored to him and they claim the payment of the rest. He does not press his interests too much, waiting for directions from Spain, to act more safely.

The Polish ambassador persists eagerly in the attack he began again at Windsor for his reception. To facilitate this he says he will not speak of the marriage but of other matters touching the public weal. The Earl of Arundel and the Secretary Coke strongly support him, trying to induce the king to receive him. They say he may do so with dignity, seeing that a public affront has already been put upon him and the subjects on which he may speak have been restricted. The king, however, remains very determined, saying that he has the best reasons for not desiring any correspondence with the King of Poland ; but those who know his character believe that he will ultimately yield to the persuasions of his ministers. Events will soon show which is right.

Since the capture of Sale and other positions in Africa the King of Morocco has sent 370 slaves here mostly English, who were subject to those pirates. He first gave them all clothes and paid their expenses of transport. This has pleased his Majesty exceedingly and will serve to establish a solid friendship and trade with that state.

As your Serenity's letters of the 25th ult. with the English ambassador's exposition about the alliance with the Most Christian reached me before my last audience of his Majesty, I thought it well to thank him on behalf of your Excellencies for the confidential information, and particularly for the concern he showed for the welfare of Italy. His Majesty replied that he wished your Excellencies to be kept fully informed of his intentions and operations. He spoke especially of his concern for Mantua, for whose protection your Serenity was a sure bulwark. I thanked him and told him that your steadfast aim was to secure the peace

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of Italy. His Majesty asked me to write to the Signory what he had said and I promised to do so. His Majesty then went on to speak of private matters, and that over, I took my final leave. From the way in which he spoke I was able to perceive much more clearly that he is very unsettled in his mind, observing the course of current events, anxious to have some share in them, but afraid of the surprises and dangers of war, in which he will certainly do his utmost not to involve himself (*havendo anco dal modo del suo parlare rimarcato e conosciuto molto piu chiaro star ella con animo molto sospeso osservando gl'eventi delle cose correnti, bramar haver qualche parte in essi ma temer gl'incontri ed il cimento della guerra in cui certo fara tutto per non impegnarsi.*)

Richmond, the 24th October, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

328. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Levies have been granted of 3000 Irish. This affords just grounds for consideration whether this has been done through connivance or by the deliberate complacency of England.

1000 crowns a month have been assigned to the Duchess of Chevreuse for the time of her stay in Spain. The person sent to her by his Majesty has returned. They have sent a Franciscan friar to Saragossa to bring her to the Court, whence she will proceed to England, to plant her foot there.

Madrid, the 24th October, 1637.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Oct. 24. Senato, Secreta. Relazioni Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

329. Relation of England of Anzolo Correr.*

As I am going to the embassy in France, it seemed to me that instead of giving a long relation of England and France on my return, I might give your Excellencies now a brief and compendious account of the present state of affairs in this kingdom, to avoid wearying you then and also escape the danger that changing circumstances after my departure may render it useless and out of date. I therefore take leave to say :

Charles the first of his name, King of Great Britain, was born in 1600 and is therefore in the flower of his age. Nature may thus be expected to give him a free course, subject only to those chances from which princes are the less exempt because they venture more than private persons in the game of fortune. The account I shall give your Serenity is of things that are in being at the present time, and if they are to serve as a guide to the future I hope it may not be considered a fault if time shows them to be mistaken in some respects. The future is only present to God, and conjecture is only a shadow of His rays granted to human reason, under conditions which make it impossible to locate it in any position at will. Thus if it is difficult to light on the truth

* The text of this Relazione is printed by the editors Barozzi and Berchet in their *Relazioni Veneti Serie* iv, Vol. *Unico, Inghilterra*, pages 321–340.

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at any time in the actions of princes, it is certainly so in the case of his Majesty, because he has changed the principles by which his predecessors reigned, and one can only examine future events in the mist of appearances, and cannot see if the road he has taken will lead him to absolute royalty, which is definitely the goal he has set himself, because the limited sovereignty, restricted by the laws and by disorder, was plotted against by his subjects in an indiscreet and ill advised manner, thus putting him under the courageous necessity of extricating himself from their tutelage. The task is certainly difficult, but if it succeeds it is the greatest and most glorious that a prince ever took up, even if he is compared with the most celebrated kings of England, the glory of a prince consisting no less in prudence and good counsel in time of peace than in valorous action in war.

Since the transfer of the crown to the house of Scotland England seems to have changed so much that not only their dress and habits but their humours and sympathies are entirely different. Whereas in times past they acted as a counterpoise to balance the power of Christian princes, they do not now seem inclined to take an interest in anything apart from themselves, unless it be so far as the interests of the Palatine compel them to do so, and even then on the score of reputation, as I shall show in due course.

Thus a people that once was fierce, fond of liberty, lavish and warlike, has become meek, closefisted, submissive and pacific, proving that the world conforms to the example of those who rule it. Because the late king wishing to lay the foundations of peace by introducing lavishness in dress, the table and pleasures, caused his subjects to become so immersed in these that they have given up not only the exercises but the love of war. Accustomed to ease in such a fruitful country, they are reluctant to be taken elsewhere to seek the honours of war, which are just now little esteemed in their country, at the cost of misery and toil. A pernicious innovation, but one that does not abolish natural characteristics, which are not so easily lost. Daily experience shows that the English troops in the Netherlands still fight with the same valour that they showed two hundred years and more ago against the French, and in the days of Queen Elizabeth against the Spaniards in Ireland, and in France for Henry IV against the league.

This innovation of the late king was not fortuitous, but because he hated war and did not wish his people to love it; and he would have removed the name as well as the sentiment if he had been able. Thus if his position had not helped him he would have found himself badly off in the upheavals which ensued, since he would have run the risk of perishing himself with the loss of military reputation.

The present king, although born with very different characteristics from his father, has encountered circumstances which make him follow the same rules. He is pacific, but by necessity, as certain indications show his inclination for war. He would make it if he had not been compelled to abandon the idea to avoid

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subjecting himself to the indiscretion of his subjects. He is not prodigal like his father, but neither is he illiberal, when the limits of his treasury are not the cause. He has no vices or lusts, he is just but is rather severe and serious than familiar. He does not grant pardons readily, except in matters of life and death, provided the case is not extreme. He handles arms like a knight and his courser like a riding master. He is not subject to amours, and since the death of the Duke of Buckingham he has had no favourites. He selects his ministers not from affection but from his opinion of their capacity. He is extreme in nothing, except that he persists with his sentiments, and anyone whom he has once detested may be sure that he will never recover his favour. He has literary erudition without ostentation, possessing what befits a king. He inherits two things from his father, namely hunting and the aversion not to say hostility of the people. This is well known to be the final guide of his movements, the sole reason which makes him pacific, and the touchstone which will declare whether he is doing well or ill. As he has given up governing by parliament, as his predecessors did, it remains to be seen if he will go on and if he will be able to do by the royal authority what former kings did by the authority of the realm. This is a difficult matter and the more perilous, seeing that if it be true that the estates are perturbed about the two great causes of religion and the diminution of the liberty of the people, he has perturbed both, and will be very fortunate if he does not fall into some great upheaval. I will set forth both to your Serenity after I have described the nature and prerogatives of parliament, a thing which must be known first.

The authority of parliament resembles to some extent the diets of Germany and Poland and the assembly of the estates in other kingdoms. It is composed of prelates, lords and deputies from the towns and country who have a voice in it by privilege. It is very ancient and its most extreme defenders make it as old as the kingdom. Enough for us that the present line of kings dates back to William the Conqueror, who by conquest destroyed all liberty. He maintained this absolutism over all those who came with him from Normandy, who could only build their fortunes on those of the native English who could only be ousted by destroying their liberties and laws. Thus the king and his successors became absolute. But in the course of time the Normans from being foreigners, became natives and chafed at the yoke which their fathers had put on of their own accord. Thus no sooner did the kingdom become disturbed by the usurpation of certain unlawful kings than they seized the opportunity to shake off the yoke. They made terms with the kings and gained many privileges from one and another which reduced the previous absolute authority of the crown.

While these privileges, if not abused, would serve to check the disordered passions and caprices of tyrants, they would have constituted the most perfect monarchy in the universe. But in maintaining them they sought to increase them, bringing royalty

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into subjection, and in avoiding the tyranny of kings, arrived at the point of being tyrants themselves. It is true that although the kings lost their original power they did not become so feeble after these concessions had been violently wrenched from them, as not to preserve the reins of authority to bridle this liberty, because parliament never meets but at their command, its deliberations are invalid unless confirmed by them, and if they do not do what the king desires, he dissolves them. This is a good expedient to prevent them from excess, but one that involves harm as well as good. Thus if the king asks for subsidies, he cannot have them if parliament does not vote them, and it will not do so if it is not satisfied. It never meets without asking for something, and things once granted serve as laws for future concessions. It makes laws and in doubtful cases interprets them. It judges everything, censures councillors, calls tribunals to account and especially punishes those who have violated the laws out of submission to the king, if the king is weak enough to permit it.

But in my opinion nothing is more extravagant than their claim to grant the king for life the duties on exports and imports. This pure prerogative of princes the kings of England have only enjoyed if granted on their accession. The grant to their predecessor does not include the successor, but each king has to obtain it personally, with the duty of maintaining a force to secure trade, for which purpose it was anciently given. This rule was observed with all, but not with the present king, because by dissolving his parliament in disgust, the grant of the duty, which had already passed, was dissolved. The people were deceived in thinking that the merchants would force a new parliament by not paying, as the king has not only levied the duties like his predecessors, but has added a fresh impost, increasing them by 80,000*l.* sterling, or 480,000 ducats of the currency, a question on which they are more aggrieved than about many others.

The hardness shown by them led to the change in the old principles of government, and to inventing ways of getting on without parliaments. According to them this is impossible, as the king's father left him more than 1,200,000*l.* sterling of debts, and he became indebted for more than 400,000*l.* in addition over the expeditions of Spain and Rochelle, and there was no way in which he could obtain relief except by parliament, because by the laws he could not compel them, much less force them by arms, as the force resided in themselves. This was the reason, while Buckingham was alive and even later, they were treating about bringing men at arms from Germany, a dangerous plan, calculated to make the kingdom revolt, as it was not possible to hire enough troops to keep it under, and considering the few individuals to be put down by him without difficulty (*e le poche soggette con niuna difficolta ad essere costrette da lui*). Accordingly the king, moving slowly through these rocks, but steadfast in his determination, thought of opening the door by the key of the laws, and so proceed to absolute authority without opposition, as he is

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doing. Having shaken off his fears he has had the laws interpreted in his favour by the lawyers of the realm, assembled for the purpose, there being no parliament to say him nay, and as private persons cannot refuse what is demanded according to the law, he has succeeded in raising large sums of money. Having thus paved the way to absolute authority by the laws and while the people were still stupified thereby, he set out to lay upon them not casual charges, but perpetual yearly taxes by virtue of his royal authority, to wit upon hops, which are used to make beer, wine, taverns, tobacco, coal, soap, etc. which added together amount to a very large sum. Thus while at his accession he had a revenue of 500,000*l.* sterling or little more, he now has 800,000*l.*, and if he goes on he will exceed the million in a short time.

Some consider that his Majesty ought to rest content with these advantages, without going further, as important actions require corresponding causes ; but he has thought differently, and wants to strike the iron while it is hot. He has made up his mind upon two points, and if he carries these he will encounter no further difficulties. The first is to make all the houses of the kingdom, in towns and out, pay a tax in proportion to fortune and titles for the maintenance of the fleet, which costs more than 200,000*l.* sterling a year. The other is the matter of the forests.

As for the tax, this is the third year of payment. Many have refused to pay it and from these they have taken pledges, without taking criminal proceedings or exacting more serious penalties. Even if they did those who will not pay would not mind, their object being to make it known that they have not consented to pay. They attach themselves to the laws as to an asylum and dispute the question under the protection of these, their sole aim being that the laws may be seen to be violated and they themselves acting under compulsion.

The question of the forests is at once more difficult and more odious. It seems to be a question of depriving men of their property which they have held for many centuries, without the crown raising any claim. The royal claims are that the forests belong to him, and the counties, except three, having all been forests for the most part, they ought to make restitution to him, with penalties for having usurped and enjoyed them for so many years, penalties which no one in the world could possibly pay. The people on their side say that this question was raised by other kings, that the forests which were granted for money by the conqueror were demanded back by John, Henry III, and Edward II and Edward III, who were pacified by a fresh money composition in perpetuity. But when his Majesty demanded the deeds few or none of them had any, and the transactions with the kings in question, which ought to be found in the registers of the realm in the Tower of London, are not found there, the kings being accused of having had them burned. This suit has not yet been promoted with the county of Essex, from fear that if everything was thrown into disorder they might revolt, but for the only composition which has yet been made in part they require 300,000*l.* sterling to settle it. As there are twentynine

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other persons in the same position the people would be ruined by it and the crown enriched. It is unlikely, however, that the king will ever go so far as this, as he knows the danger very well, and he will not forget the example of Henry III who suffered such prolonged disasters and troubles for this cause in what was called the Barons' Wars.

These are the main causes which render the people disaffected, to such a pitch, that if they had leaders, which they have not, it would be impossible to quiet them.

The secondary causes, which from all appearances seem more likely than the others to disturb the felicity which this pacific kingdom at present enjoys, are about religion. As this was introduced into England for mundane reasons and by authority of the state, it is not astonishing that they found it easy in a very few years to pass four times from one side to the other without those upheavals of the state which happen when such changes are due to rooted opinions and cultivated by the persuasion of private individuals. In spite of this, England has never been able to secure conformity to a single faith, or to avoid the difficulties caused by a multiplicity of factions, as elsewhere. The Catholics who clung to the ancient faith were at once opposed to the new one. The others, with no reasons of state to move them or inquisition to bridle them, and divided even among themselves, have developed a third party. This is formed of the bulk of the people, of the lesser nobility, of some of the bishops and not a few of these lords who either from detestation of the servitude or because they are offended have not acccss to the Court. Taking the doctrines of Calvin as a basis, for the reform of bishops and parliaments, as too liable to approach the Roman faith, they have gradually become utterly opposed, desiring worship to bc stripped of the ceremonies and prayers retained in the ancient liturgy, and performed in its purity, as they put it, that is without a vestige of the old institutions, so that they abominate the rites observed in the churches of the Protestants hardly less than the mass itself.

If they were content to stop there they would not be so hateful and dangerous as they are. But they became contumacious against the king and against the bishops also, writing against both, as if it were possible to live in civil affairs without a magistrate or in spiritual without a hicrarchy ; so the late King James, who had experienced in Scotland the insolence of the Puritans (so called in derision of their pretended purity), declared himself their open enemy, considering them the servants of schism in the spiritual and of rebellion in the civil. As he had replaced in Scotland the bishops, altars, organs and other similar things, he might possibly have stamped out thc Puritans in England, if he had had time, relieving the kingdom of the dangers that threaten it. Careful examination shows that this is the sole cause why the present king cultivates the Roman faith so much, because he introduces into the Protestant churches ceremonies which conform to that more and more. But the results are very different from his Majesty's intentions, because the more the

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bishops dress themselves out with the new constitutions, the more the Puritans cling to the bareness of their worship and what is worse, many of the Protestants themselves, scandalised by the new institutions, become Puritans from fear of falling into Catholicism if they follow them.

At all events such a contest is not without its advantage for the Catholic faith, because the division not only prevents the opposite from propagating but is an inducement to many to become reconciled with the Roman, which has no division in itself. Thus the king, standing between one side and the other, is constantly making fresh enemies, some seeking the democratic state which does not exist, others the monarchy, which exists, but is the Spanish one. Although the Catholics are not divided upon the essentials of the faith yet they have disputes among themselves, especially about accepting or not in good conscience the oath of fealty. Some think that the pope can absolve them from it, and dispense them from the subjection due to their natural lord, which means in a word that he has the authority to depose princes. Others hold the contrary. A great part of the religious and the Jesuits in particular agree with the first and many with the second, while all claim to have their consciences free, the article being problematical, as the Church has not yet made a definite statement.

The coming of the bishop of Chalcedon was the cause of another division. He was sent to England four years ago with an apostolic brief.* All the Regulars, including the Jesuits, revolted against him, and as books appeared contumelious not only against him but against the episcopal order, the Sorbonne condemned them at Paris, and the pope decided on sending Sig. Gregorio Panzani, doctor and priest of the Oratory, to put an end to the disputes. There were many reasons by which they justified their contumacy against the pope's commands and writs. One of these was that they had lived quietly in England without bishops, and the appointment of one had only served to arouse fresh persecution; because he wished to set up an ecclesiastical tribunal and they could not accept this without falling into the penalty of treason, since the innovation was against the laws and the practices of the ordinary tribunals of the realm. They added that bishops were only necessary for the ordination of priests, and that was not required in England whose priests were ordained beyond the sea. But neither these nor numerous other reasons adduced by them, with which I will not abuse the patience of your Excellencies, could conceal their real artfulness, as time and experience clearly showed that they opposed the bishop in order to avoid correction and reform, of which they stand in great need, to restrain the scandalous licence with which many of them live, and that they might continue

* It should be fourteen years. William Bishop the first bishop of Chalcedon arrived in England in July 1623. He died in April 1624, and his successor, Richard Smith reached England in May 1625. *Venetian Calendar*, Vol. XVIII, pages 103, 292; Vol. XIX, page 52.

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alone to govern despotically the consciences, affairs and actions of the Catholics, as the Jesuits do in particular.

Panzani's negotiations were very far from what he was supposed to have come for. Having been well received by the king and queen, he did not lack the means of insinuating himself with any one he required. He selected two great personages of opposite parties, whom he visited frequently, one a friend of the bishops, so that he might have a friendly understanding with them through him, the other an enemy, to escape the hatred and jealousy of those who do not love them.* His first request was for a promise to establish a Catholic bishop, a subject of his Majesty and nominated by him, and only to act in conformity with orders which his Majesty should lay down beforehand. Although they did not like the demand, yet upon reflection they asked if a bishop would be admitted who considered the oath of fealty lawful, or would at least tolerate it, but when Panzani replied that he had no instructions about this, the matter fell through. However discussion was not discontinued, the question being an important one, indeed the bishops intimated to him soon afterwards that the king would have declared that he did not intend the oath to prejudice the spiritual authority, as he only claimed from his subjects the fealty to which they were bound by God and Nature. If he had been able he would even have changed it, removing some words, although there were none, derogatory to the spiritual authority, but as parliament had drawn it up, only they could alter it. Panzani replied that his Majesty was king, and without prejudicing the intentions of parliament they might change the words without altering the sense.

But it is impossible to find any real solution in things which are mutually destructive, as with the subject binding himself to fealty by the oath, and the king wishing it unalterable and free, the pope cannot permit it consistently with the maintenance of his authority, except subject to a reservation about his right to depose the king and to absolve his subjects from their oath. The bishops hoped to overcome this difficulty for two reasons, one because many Catholic doctors, in spite of papal bulls, maintained its lawfulness in speech and in writing, the other because they thought the hope of reconciliation should persuade the pope to yield a point which they believe just, in conscience. But they are mistaken, because the pope sees that which is, and accordingly does not hope for what cannot be, esteeming any union hurtful under any laws but the old ones, because once these are removed or weakened, the superiority he exercises over others is also removed or weakened, since princes must all be measured with the same compass.

It is at any rate worthy of remark that these two courts of Rome and England, which for so many years have had no other commerce, but hostilities, should have unexpectedly come together

* From Conn's letters (P.R.O. *Rome Transcripts* Series I, Vol. 124) it seems probable that the two intimates referred to were Sir Francis Windebank, the secretary of state, and William Alexander, earl of Stirling.

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at the first bound, the time and the disposition of their princes as well as their interests having induced them to meet, without precautions, intermediaries or negotiation. I am persuaded that the first overtures date from the time when the king as prince had occasion to treat about Spain at Rome for the dispensation for his marriage with the Infanta, who is now empress. His subsequent marriage with a princess of France, as a Catholic whom he loves greatly, has confirmed him in it. His Holiness has appreciated the good treatment of Catholic subjects so that whereas Englishmen were previously in great danger in Rome, they are now as safe there as in their own country. Finally the residence of Panzani at this Court and of Hamilton at Rome as agent of the queen with the pope, make their relations appear such that the Protestants of other nations and the Puritans of England have good cause for suspicion, and the world for expectation.

I will try to state briefly what negotiations have taken place for the complete reconciliation of the English church with the Roman, and the difficulties that have arisen therefrom, although they would require many sheets for an adequate account. Rome claims to be unable and unwilling to concede anything in the matter, while England will not come to terms without advantages. They indicated to Panzani for this purpose eleven bishops who with a good number of lords, the Court, the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the Protestants who were not squeamish (*non Scrupulosi*) were to carry the matter through, if the pope, on his side, in proportion as they abandoned their old opinions, gave in on some of his own, to meet them. Those which the English were willing to embrace were that the Roman is the true church ; the pope is superior to the bishops and it pertains to him to convoke Councils ; that it is lawful to pray for the dead ; altars should be built of stone ; auricular confession should be introduced, but by degrees, to avoid scandal ; finally to believe all that the pope teaches, but not the Roman Court, a distinction which spoils everything. Seeing that he could not make any progress with this point, Panzani let it drop, and asked that a nuncio or agent might reside with the queen, who could treat of this or other matters which might arise. He obtained this, but on condition that the agent was not a priest. They sent Sig. George Coneo, a Scot, canon of St. John Lateran, who renounced the canonicate before leaving Rome. He is full of good qualities, and acquainted with the country and the Court, and so he was very well received. Shortly after his arrival Panzani left. It is difficult to say what Coneo will do. He is a taciturn man and has his drawbacks as a courtier. I fancy two things will injure him, first his ability, which may be read in his face and will certainly rouse the jealousy of that suspicious people, who are always afraid of being deceived ; and then he is too close with the Jesuits, who, in the general opinion, admitted by Panzani himself, in spite of their apparent zeal, are not a whit less opposed to the reconciliation than the Puritans, so that they may not lose any of the influence which they at present enjoy over the Catholics.

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As I said before, these negotiations have caused many difficulties, because the bishops, by restoring in their churches some rules of slight moment which had fallen into desuetude, have made the Protestants suspicious and the Puritans desperate. Thus many of the former, out of zeal for their faith have abandoned themselves to Puritanism, while the latter have committed themselves to such fury that a great part of their ministers have been deprived of their benefices for refusing to approve of such regulations. Some have ventured to write books accusing the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Treasurer of undermining religion in order to erect popery on its ruins. These have been most severely punished; three of the most eloquent* in particular have had their ears cut off, been branded on the forehead, condemned to perpetual imprisonment and forbidden the use of the pen for ever.

When they were before the tribunal and undergoing their punishment, they showed a brazen audacity beyond description. The wisest were disgusted, but the senseless people and those full of the spirit of faction, had compassion on them, to the extent of collecting their blood and exalting their ignominy to the rank of a martyrdom. Soon afterwards the Bishop of Lincoln was severely punished, for having spoken at table against the present government, and written in matters of religion against the dogmas of the archbishop. His punishment, both pecuniary and personal, as he was shut up in the Tower without limit of time, besides a fine of 10,000*l.* sterling, excited a loud and almost universal clamour, the judges being accused of the most unjust tyranny, and his innocence being upheld with so much freedom that if it goes on some scandalous accident may be feared.

For more than three years this malady has been creeping through the country, and as, according to them, they do not find the air sufficiently propitious, they think of transferring it to America. In that part of the world there is a province called Virginia, between Florida and New France, with a delightful climate. After the English had acquired it in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the late King tried to set up colonies there, although with little success. Now the religious malcontents have cast an eye on it and have crowded thither. They number at present 35,000 souls, and although two-thirds are ordinary folk the remainder are people of rank, who have sold all their possessions and accepted a perpetual exile and voluntary confinement in that place. Such is the power of the violence of a false imagination.

They had no sooner set foot there than they divided into three sects and indulged in the sharpest contests between themselves. The first is that of the Protestants, who observe the rites and the reform of England, but who left from fear that the alleged innovations were intended to introduce Catholicism. The second is that of the Puritans, who do not accept the rites. The third is the Brownists, hostile to the second as not fully purified

* Prynne, Burton and Bastwick.

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and most hostile to the first as irretrievably damned. The two first have doctrine and learning, and only sin by interpreting badly ; the last abhors letters, study, learned men, and thinks that ignorance is the only key to Heaven. For this reason their followers have ceased to associate with the others and have withdrawn to New England, which is further north than Virginia, calling it the New Canaan, which to the Hebrews was the land of Promise. They give their sons Jewish names and those of the virtues to their daughters, entirely abandoning those in use among Christians.

The too hasty medicaments of the bishops against the Puritan plague have brought about these disorders, and as others have taken the infection, all have gone past cure. They should have allowed more time for the cure, but they acted in the hope of taking them out of their frenzy, not to change religion or make a reconciliation, as they did not want the former and could not achieve the latter.

The only thing left, since I have briefly touched on all the others, is the affair of the Palatinate. As that concerns the reputation and blood of this crown, I propose to sketch its origin and history in a few sentences, so that the true reasons why this crown should show it special favour may be known. One who superficially considers the actions of Frederick V will doubtless form the opinion that Fortune gave him his deserts and that the deprivation of his dignity and goods was entirely just. But if this were so it is probable that the late King James would not have moved in his favour, although his son in law, as he knew that his intercession could do little with a prince whose interests required the ruin of that house. But the laws which in that case had never been broken in the empire, and which he had not believed the emperor could break, led him to imagine that he would obtain what he expected ; so he undertook to protect the cause, and afterwards pretended he could maintain it, as the present king does, based on reasons which I shall recount.

This Frederick accepted the crown of Bohemia against Ferdinand, as the barons of the kingdom claimed to have the power to depose the latter. But granted that they had not this power and that Frederick was an usurper, the dispute was not with Ferdinand the emperor, but with Ferdinand, King of Bohemia. As the question did not concern the empire, the emperor could not punish a wrong done to the King of Bohemia with the arms of the empire, and after granting everything possible, by the laws of the empire and the Golden Bull, electors cannot be proscribed or judged except by the electoral college and the states of the empire, as their dominions are free and cannot be taken away even if they are guilty of treason, but must devolve on the nearest in blood, as inseparable from the electoral dignity. Thus it is that the electors cannot alienate any part of their dominions, because even their most remote kin are concerned, and may come to enjoy them by the failure of those nearer. That is why their lawyers call such a fief simultaneous, as it includes many, who do not suffer for each other's faults.

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A case like this has never occurred in the empire. That of Frederick, Duke of Saxony, deposed by Charles V. is not parallel, as his crime was against the emperor and the empire, and he was proscribed and deprived with the consent of the electoral college, his brother being proscribed with him, while Maurice, as nearest in kin, was invested with the electoral dignity and the dominions inseparable therefrom.

Two electors, Saxony and Brandenburg, opposed as much as they could, first the ban and then, at the diet of Ratisbon, the transfer of the electorate. If they admitted Bavaria to their college, it was because they were deceived, as the emperor promised that it should not affect the preeminence of the electors or the constitution of the empire, because if the sons and other agnates of the Palatine won the dispute, they would be invested with the dignity after Bavaria's death. After they saw everything gone to ruin, with Bavaria invested in perpetuity, they would not insist any more, not feeling strong enough to resist an authority which made its appetites its reasons and its arms its laws, certain that the emperor would treat them like the Palatine at the first opportunity, as he thinks nothing of the greatness of the Protestant princes of Germany, on whose ruin he hopes to lay the foundations of an hereditary empire and Austrian domination. The Catholic faith in speech, and the greatness of the House of Austria in fact are the two poles upon which all this machine revolves. His letters to Rome, Spain etc. chant nothing else. He has always written that the Palatine cannot be reinstated without obvious peril to the Catholic faith and the House of Austria; the electorate must be given to Bavaria as a bulwark for it, as it has never had worse enemies than the Palatines at any time. He had promised it as early as 1621, on condition that he should give up Austria and retain the Upper Palatinate instead, renouncing all claims as elector to the Lower. This was to be given to the Spaniards to prevent the Dutch and Germany from helping each other; thus leaving the Spaniards masters in the Netherlands and himself in Germany. A fourth Catholic elector would secure the emperor always being a Catholic, and consequently Austrian, as he would be bound to the house which had promoted him to such an elevated dignity. This shows clearly that in spite of all the promises made to the electors and to the two Kings of Great Britain, Cæsar never meant to do anything but play with them, taking from one and giving to another, contrary to the fundamental laws, which is contrary to human reason, and punishing those not guilty, which is against divine reason, because granted that the Palatine deserved deprivation, his sons and brother did not, while the Duke of Neoburg is a Catholic.

In order that this violent act might prove irrevocable, they dismembered the state, giving Bavaria Heidelberg the seat of the electorate and a good slice of the Lower Palatinate to Bavaria as well as the Upper. The Spaniards had a large part of the rest, the remainder being subdivided among the Archduke Leopold, the Landgrave of Darmstat, the Bishop of Mayence,

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the Duke of Neoburg, etc.

This is the substance of the Palatine's claims against the emperor, set forth in his manifestoes and published by many writers, who have professed to defend truth and justice, which the Spaniards have resisted with a steadfastness equivalent to his Majesty's declaration that he will support them. I will not take anything from the truth, but let others judge who have the experience and prudence to do so.

Frederick at his death certainly left his son Charles Lewis worse off than himself. While still young that prince no sooner saw hope of restoration through the victories of the King of Sweden, than he lost them by that hero's death, upon which he decided to withdraw to England. Honoured there at the outset with the title of elector and deluded by the flattery of the courtiers, he thought he had really found it. Accordingly he at once devoted himself to negotiation with his councillors, and the matter was discussed at length. Although the experience of eighteen years showed that all means but force were vain, yet the difficulties involved in such a decision made them decide on the last embassy of the Earl of Arundel. He went and returned empty, the only result being his conviction that the emperor had played with him and meant to do so. This led to the alliance with the French. The sense of this will not be known until they see what the deputies to meet at Hamburg decide, supposing they ever arrange to meet.

Meanwhile each of the parties is aiming at an advantage. England pretends that France ought to make as great efforts for the restitution of the Palatine from interest as she does from consanguinity. France on her side seems to care little for such interests, and wants England in a declared war, which she can hardly undertake without parliament, a difficulty that swamps all other considerations. Thus if the agreement is facilitated it will be difficult to carry it out, unless Fortune turns very much against the House of Austria. If not it is to be feared that the Palatine will remain disinherited for ever, having against him three great powers, the emperor, Spain and Bavaria, while the allied forces, not being interested for themselves, or for things purely concerning them, but only for common interests, which do not constrain them so much as they ought. The chief attention of each of the parties is directed elsewhere France, fighting in Italy, on the frontiers of Spain, in Lorraine, Franche Comté and Picardy, the Dutch in the Netherlands and the Indies, and the Swedes, according to their fortune, practically in all Germany.

From what has been said your Serenity perceives the advantages and disadvantages of this monarchy. The advantages, a king without spot, born to war and to peace, an opulent realm full of a population naturally inclined to arms and consequently difficult to reduce. The disadvantages, the hurt of ruling by the old forms and the danger of new ones ; a religion which releases it from ecclesiastical subjection to the pope, but not from fears, has made them decide to live secure of it and not show themselves

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absolutely uncompromising. This causes a schism in the religion of the state. Yet I am persuaded that if his Majesty adopts gentle methods in his government and in religion, he will attain his ends. If he does no prince will be more powerful than he. In times past under the old arrangements England was able to act as arbiter among the greatest princes of Christendom, and this will be much more so under the new, when the king can decide by himself without having to apply to the purse and consequently to the authority of parliament. But happen what may, if he agrees with the people he will deliver himself from a great deal of trouble (Queen Elizabeth did what she liked by cajoling them), and if he does not, if he has patience to hollow out this stone drop by drop, he will become very rich, but will impoverish the people. The prince and the subject cannot both be rich at the same time. It is true that the subject will lose vigor to the hurt of the prince. That can only be kept perfectly green on the soil of liberty, and when affairs of state are made the business of everyone men have an inducement to devote their blood, life and goods freely to it, so that exceptional subjection is useful for peace and hurtful for war. From this I conclude that a prince who attempts, even with just cause, to reduce his subjects to servitude, who have been born under the laws of liberty, has a truly royal spirit and dares to the limits of daring, but he ought to realise that in doing so he is putting his state in a constant fever, rendering it turbulent, rebellious and greedy of change so that if he gives ear to the trite proverb not to leave the old way for the new, he may wonder whether his most generous resolutions are really the safest.

Richmond, the 24th October, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

330. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. di Bellievre has set out for England. He is charged to procure and assist the forwarding of the treaty in negotiation with the other allied princes, but not yet signed by the two crowns.

Paris, the 27th October, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

331. To the Ambassador in England.

We enclose the exposition of the Ambassador Fielding about the firing of a pistol by one of his servants. Meanwhile the wounded man has died, and the Council of Ten has banished the culprit. This morning the ambassador has sent his secretary to ask for him. We decided to have the enclosed office read to Lord Fielding. You will confirm the motives set forth in this, if you chance to speak on the subject, always maintaining the disposition of the state demonstrated in so many accidents, to the house of England, out of respect for his Majesty, notwithstanding the frequency of the blunders and vexations from which we

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have suffered. We do not believe that the ambassador can represent the case different from the truth of the evidence, as he himself has shown his displeasure and dismissed his servant. In any case your prudence will be able to make the matter clear and to behave as is fitting. We have received your letters of the 9th inst.

Ayes, 107. Noes, 2. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

332. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The thoughts of negotiations with Spain have been diverted by the last letters from the ambassadors in France, as they write that they have been urged to procure more positive instructions for the Ministers at the Hague and Hamburg, where representatives will certainly appear from France and the other allies. They further add that they were assured that the Ambassador Bellievre was all ready to start for this Court and would bring the articles of the treaty signed. They had detained him until now to send with the occasion of this extraordinary minister, as he is coming with that title, although his instructions are to continue the ordinary residence. In addition to this news their hopes are almost made certainties by the offers made by the King of Denmark that he also will concur with the other allies in the congress in question. So they had little difficulty in deciding to renew the commissions to the two ministers at Hamburg and the Hague, to the end that they may be ready to take up the negotiations as the French suggest. But I fancy that a clause of great importance has been added to these new instructions, and if it does not ruin the affair it will undoubtedly render a conclusion much more difficult and troublesome. Your Excellencies will remember that there was an article among those proposed that at the moment when the alliance will be called defensive and offensive, which involves an open rupture between this crown and the Austrians, it must, in addition to ships, supply a certain number of infantry, munitions of war and other things. I am told on excellent authority that the two last conditions have been removed in these new orders, his Majesty being determined, if he cannot avoid war, to wage it by sea only, where he is already certain to have a good force paid, and will thus evade those dangers which he sees would be imminent if he had to wage war beyond the sea. *In this way they calculate that if war is made it cannot inconvenience them much, and if the treaty cannot be made on these conditions it is better for it to be dissolved, because the royal purse cannot bear such expenses alone and he cannot put his hands into those of his subjects any farther without parliament. Foreign interests are not so highly esteemed as to make it worth while for the king on their account to put himself into a position in which he will be under the necessity of humbling himself to his subjects in order to support them. He will not be brought to this, and perhaps nothing will ever prevail upon this king to do so as long as he lives. Those who think they can lead him insensibly to this deceive them-*

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selves exceptionally, because the long rusted gates of parliament cannot be opened without difficulty. This would always be considerable even if his Majesty was as much in favour as he now is averse from giving it so much as a thought.

So then, if things do not change, as they have done so often, they believe the meeting of the allies to be certain here, but it is difficult to say what assurance they can have of a happy issue, the Dutch being averse from taking any steps until the fishery affair is decided, and they do not wish to break with the emperor, while they do not believe the offers of Denmark to be sincere, and although the treaty might be concluded without him, his opposition would be injurious.

Meanwhile I am aware that the ministers here are carefully observing the course of affairs in Italy, and they are most strongly of opinion that the chief weight of the war will be called to that province by present occurrences. In this connection I must record a serious conversation which the Secretary Coke had with me two days ago, when I went to take leave of him at his house. As I guessed afterwards, he assured me that it was not of his own motion, but arranged beforehand with the king and other ministers. He told me that they particularly regretted the death of the Duke of Mantua* here, as those who love the public quiet must. *He was informed that the Spaniards were determined to make every effort to drive the French out entirely from that state. If they succeed and have the little duke in their hands, it is easy to believe that he will not live long, and they will find a means to render themselves masters of that State. This is the most considerable thing that can happen for Italy, and should compel all the princes there to keep their eyes open, especially the republic, which has always been the bulwark of liberty there. Therefore, rather than allow the Spaniards to gain such an important point, she should forestall them by force. She could do this the more easily as she would have the supporting arm of the French forces at hand, at a time when the Spaniards were obliged to defend what belonged to them elsewhere. He said this was an occasion to act with courage and resolution characteristics which the republic did not lack, and if she made up her mind she would find companions, not only friends, always ready to help her liberally. The decided manner in which this minister spoke, which is unusual with him, made me think it was not his own fabrication, but not being sure I thought fit to answer in a few words* that your Excellencies were sorry for the duke's death. You always had the interests of that state at heart and you would do your utmost to secure for Italy and Christendom the peace that all right minded princes desire. The secretary did not seem altogether satisfied with the general nature of this reply, but after insisting by a repetition of the same ideas he went on to inform me of the death of the Duke of Savoy,† of which his Majesty had been recently advised by his ambassadors in France. He thought that, as a consequence, the French would

* Charles I, who died on the 21st September, succeeded by his grandson, Charles III, born in 1629.

† Victor Amadeus I, who died on the 7th October.

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have to turn the weight of their arms to Italy. As the duchess was left as regent the moment seemed propitious for making up the quarrel with your Excellencies, as it was the desire of the duchess to be directed by your advice alone. In the Council they were all agreed that such a reconciliation was most necessary for the welfare of Italy and the king was ready to intervene for the purpose. I replied that his Majesty might be sure of the republic's good will towards the House of Savoy, even though they had not had cause to approve of the conduct of the late duke. Whenever the present duke inclines towards a recognition of his duties I had no doubt but your Excellencies would demonstrate to him by every token your cordial feelings, and you felt increasingly your obligation to his Majesty for his care of your interests.

I found that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Arundel held the same views, the latter especially insisting on the point of the adjustment explaining that his office obliged him to perform every good office with the king and anyone else, to obtain the result. He told me further that his Majesty deeply regretted to hear of the loss of the Landgrave of Hesse,* which will certainly involve the ruin of his army, as none of the Palatines to whom they wished to hand over the command, is in a position to bear the burden.

The Spanish ambassador in the Mantua business separates the particulars with the utmost subtlety. He told me only yesterday evening that it was necessary first that the French should leave that state, and then to provide it with some one able to govern it well. He thought that the emperor and his king inclined to give the direction to the Infanta Margherita,† who is in Portugal, if Guastalla or Castiglione‡ were too suspect. She was a lady of high character, skilled in the affairs of the world, equal to any great charge and not open to suspicion, her blood and natural integrity being sufficient guarantees to assure the world that she would look after the interests of the little duke as if they were her own. After he had talked a long while taking into consideration that it might be advisable to divide the government, putting the states and the child in different hands, I told him that the Princess Maria, mother of the present duke seemed to me well fitted for both charges ; being acquainted with the affairs of those states, beloved by the people, and naturally more interested in her son than any one else. He said we must not speak of her, she was too young. She might marry, God knows whom. It is necessary to give the government of the states to a wise prince and that of the child to the women, but not to her. One of the ladies of the house would discharge the first function well and the Princess Margherita the second admirably. Thus he showed me his opinions, and from what I observe they have some connection with letters which he was then reading from Milan.

* William V, who died on the 21st September.

† Margaret of Savoy, daughter of Charles Emanuel I and widow of Francis IV, duke of Mantua.

‡ Ferdinand III, duke of Guastalla ; Ludovico, prince of Castiglione.

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Here they desire the exact opposite. They want Mantua in the hands of the French, not that they may make themselves masters of it, but that it may serve as a subject for dispute. Although they talk at large about peace, they do not think that war in Italy would harm them ; that is certain from the uniform talk of all the ministers and from what one hears everywhere at Court. I see that they would like to see your Excellencies openly committed against the House of Austria. The importance of the present movements makes them very hopeful of it, and perhaps profit from the results, the special aim of England being to see the Austrian party reduced to such weakness that they will have to beg for her friendship, and in consequence offer her such satisfaction about the Palatine as she would like to receive without drawing her sword.

The whole Court is on the point of coming any day to this city, where even suspicion of the plague has now almost entirely disappeared, thank God. The state despatches of the 2nd inst. give me a clear account of the circumstances which have led to the arrest of two servants of the Ambassador Fielding. Of these and the papers I will avail myself as may be necessary, though I have not heard that any news of the matter has yet reached the Court.

London, the 30th October, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 31. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

333. I, Pier Antonio Zon, secretary, went to read to the English Ambassador the Senate's deliberation of yesterday ; he said :

He thanked your Serenity for the favour, which would cherish the most perfect confidence in his Majesty. He wished they had spoken specifically of the boats, as they seemed to prejudice him most, but the reply virtually embraced everything, and he found all at the Collegio so much disgusted at the event that that alone would have satisfied him. He had one remark to make, that while they sent a secretary to him to negotiate, on the other hand they sent their forces to the attack. He also noticed with some astonishment that while he had shown that it was a pure accident, at the same moment justice had proceeded to punish the man, as if he had committed the most deliberate and serious crime imaginable. He did not speak of this with passion, as he had dismissed the man and he was no longer of his household.

I told him that justice took its own course, while on the other hand everything combined to show the esteem and respect felt for him by the Senate, and I could not say more.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3. Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

334. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Eight hundred Scots have arrived at Dieppe, levied by permission of the King of England in that kingdom and destined for the Duke of Veimar.

Paris, the 3rd November, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 5.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

335. The English Ambassador came into the Collegio and spoke as follows :

At my last audience I was well content, observing the aversion of everyone from anything that might disturb my peace or control of my household. The secretary brought me a reply to this effect, so I have every reason to call myself satisfied, without considering what was done by others. But the behaviour of the boats was really inexcusable. That is why I asked for punishment. I do not see how I could come to any other conclusion, as the Council of Ten have outlawed the man, showing the utmost severity, without any consideration for the fact that it was a pure accident. Although I have dismissed the man, yet he is punished for an offence committed while he was one of my servants. When the Secretary Vincenti came to me I told him clearly that it was a pure accident. I should have reason to punish him as an example and even dismiss him. In a case where I was so ready to give satisfaction and showed so much good will, there was no occasion for force or stimulus.

When I left England I had very full authority from his Majesty to punish and do justice to the members of my household who committed any fault. I might well have exercised it over this last event, but I did not choose to. I dismissed the man, with orders to go to England to report himself and submit to his Majesty's mercy. The king will have reason to complain of me for having contravened my powers in so important an instance, and I should never have done so if I had thought that, in a case of pure accident, such extreme measures would have been taken. The Council of Ten has taken more account of a boatman slain without any intention of hurting him than of the reputation of my house and my king, even though I protested to the Secretary Vincenti that the power to punish my servants belonged to me. The man who accidentally killed King Henry II of France was not punished with so much severity. I should be sorry if any bitterness was occasioned on this account. I should have thought, after my remarks that your Serenity would have washed your hands of the matter and referred it to the justice of his Majesty, who is interested in giving every satisfaction to the republic. You must not wonder if a different treatment is observed in the future towards your Serenity's embassy in London. My king does not change his methods or purposes, but he will be forced to change by the different behaviour of others. In short, I regret the precedent.

The doge replied, We are glad you are satisfied of the good intentions of the republic, which will always be the best possible. We have said before that the tumult was great on the occasion in question, and the firing of shots, which is forbidden, creates excitement. We attach importance to such matters, and justice acts in order to prevent worse disorders. No one can complain of the activity displayed, as there was no intention of injuring your house but rather to respect it and increase its reputation. The boats followed the Avogadore, who had to go to the spot to make enquiry. The Council of Ten aims at quiet living in the

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city. In short what occurred was in no way to prejudice you. If such a thing happened in England, in a question of right behaviour and quieting tumults and scandals, we should never interfere with justice. Justice is done in the place where the disorder occurs; if it was done in England the remedy would come too late. We are sure that his Majesty would extend to us the same benevolence which he has always received from us.

The ambassador replied, My king seeks every opportunity of gratifying your Serenity, and he will take it the worse that so little regard is had for his reputation by comparison with a pure accident, which did not derive from any evil intent. King James always had officials of justice with the ambassadors for all eventualities. The houses of ambassadors enjoy every immunity. I had power to punish the man, but did not insist upon it, and for this I am to have the mortification of seeing him punished by others. It is true he has gone from my house, but he is punished for a thing done when he was with me. Let your Serenity think about it. I am satisfied upon one point, that there was no intention in those acts to offend my house, but I cannot be pleased about the other; it concerns the interests of all ambassadors everywhere, including those of your Serenity.

The doge added, We can only say that justice has acted more severely because of the nature and consequences of the action than the deed itself, which deserves punishment, as your lordship has shown by dismissing the man. We have a regard for your discretion and prudence and feel sure that you will accept what has been done.

The ambassador replied, Enough, I feel it very bitterly, and I do not know how it will be received in England. They are good and the ambassadors are charged to punish the crimes of their houses. In any case I will not omit the confidences of my office. On the unlucky day of that incident I sent my secretary with some advices, which I believe were received. I now hear that the treaty between the Swedes and the King of Hungary is practically broken off, as the cause of Brandenburgh has intervened to take upon himself and his country the losses those arms inflict, so the Swedes did not want to take it up, especially as their enemies are the stronger, the army of Galasso having joined that of Saxony, the two armies numbering 18,000 men, and that of the Swedes exceeding 16,000. A man has reached Vienna from France confirming the agreement of the Swedes with that king, so things are going badly for that part of Germany. This is important news worthy of consideration, and I report it as a sign of confidence by royal command.

The doge replied welcoming the confidence. Some of the things he reported they did not know and they would always gladly receive his advices. The ambassador said he would always be glad to do anything that would give pleasure to his Serenity and then bowed and departed.

[*Italian.*]

1637.
Nov. 6.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

336. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Persuaded by the Prince of Orange and advised by his mother the Prince Palatine writes to the king that he has decided to take up the command of the dead landgrave's army. He asks for help in men, money and advice, declaring that he will not depart from his Majesty's commands one jot in this his first important experience. The king and ministers are pleased at the decision, because they wish that force to be maintained in strength, and because the prince has done this without previously consulting his Majesty, they think they are freed from the obligation to supply considerable help, hoping that the Most Christian and the Dutch will do so abundantly, as it is to their interest that those troops should not be lost, and should be commanded by a man of high lineage, with a following and adherents.

They have replied that his Majesty will always rejoice to hear that his spirit corresponds to his high birth, may he prove a good warrior, and according to that the king's affection will increase towards him, without specifying anything in particular. It is believed, however that some other safe assignment will be added to the pension of 1000*l.* sterling a month which he enjoys, his Majesty having intimated so much to some one, but they have not yet come to any definite decision.

Meanwhile we hear that the army, of its own accord, has sworn fealty to the son of the dead landgrave, although only nine years of age,* and to Milander, who is confirmed as lieutenant general, with absolute command. But many already pretend to merit that position and try to obtain it by saying that the Palatine should have some one in it who is his particular servant, dependent on his house, or on this crown at least. The king, however, thinks that no other arrangement should be made at present, because he esteems Milander and knows that no change can be made without risking the disbanding of the troops, and everyone considers he is right.

Full powers have been sent to the Agent at Hamburg to accept and promise the ratification of the alliances agreed upon in France, if the other allies concur, leaving other powers free to enter, as originally arranged. But they see clearly that few are likely to do so, except the Swedes and the Dutch, as even Denmark is uncertain. If the Swedes ask the Agent for definite help he is to assure them of his Majesty's good will but not to commit himself further. It is true that the Court here acclaims the Swedish successes against Galasso and his Majesty has rejoiced especially to hear of French reinforcements of 6,000 men for Duke Bernard and of the capture of Danvilliers by the Marshal Chatillon.†

The Court is ready to go into deep mourning for the Duke of Savoy, but has not done so because the Agent has not imparted the news, declaring that it has not reached him. It is, however,

*William VI born on the 29th May, 1629.
†On Tuesday the 27th October.

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further confirmed by letters from France and Flanders stating that Prince Tomaso, although only convalescent, rode off at once to see the Cardinal Infant at Antwerp, with whom he had a long conference. He was about to start for Milan, but was obliged to wait for money from Spain. Gerbier writes to this effect this week.

Scottish affairs are still in the greatest confusion. The people have repeatedly declared orally and in writing that they will not obey the king's ordinances in the matter of the ceremonies and liturgies recently introduced. They offer to dispute the points in controversy, and submit to the decision of a disinterested judgment. If this is refused they protest that they would go to mass at once rather than obey and conform to the present rites of England. *The Archbishop is much piqued, considering his doctrine and authority attacked. He says he will risk everything rather than yield a jot. On the other hand everyone cries out against him, accusing him of an unquiet spirit and caprices prejudicial to the state. He does not mind this and has obtained* that resolute orders shall be sent to the Scots to obey without question. This has been done and they are waiting with interest to see what effect they will produce. In the opinion of the wisest this must be perilous, because they say that conscience in matters pertaining to divine worship admits of no master but God himself. The Spaniards rejoice at these disputes, hoping that there will be much trouble and disturbance, and the Ambassador Ognate supplies all the incitement he can. This arouses unspeakable resentment in the king, who is more annoyed at his intentions than the results, from which he sees that little mischief can arise.

The King of Morocco has sent an ambassador here,* since the sending of the slaves, to return thanks for the help in recovering Salle and to establish solid relations with this state. He brings four very fine horses as a present to his Majesty, and half a dozen exquisite falcons, a gift that pleases him more than anything could, birds and horses for hunting being for him ministers for his chief pleasures. They say preparations are being made to receive this envoy with great honour, the merchants in particular being most eager to surround him with stateliness and render him every kind of courtesy.

The Polish ambassador still sighs for his reception, which is promised him every day but never granted. The Earl of Arundel works hard in the hope of obtaining consolation for him at last, but although they make resolutions easily at this Court, they all move slowly.

In the ducal missives of the 8th ult. I note the Senate's reply to the English ambassador's communication about the alliance with France, with instructions to speak to his Majesty in conformity. I did this at my last audience of his Majesty and I will do the same with the ministers. I hope to be able to start on my journey at the end of next week.

London, the 6th November, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* Gaudar ben Abdala. Salvetti writing on the 30th October says he reached London 'yesterday.' Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962H.

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Nov. 7.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

337. That the English Ambassador be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

While we are well content with the satisfaction which your lordship has expressed, since there was not the smallest intention by the necessary demonstrations of justice in this last incident to prejudice your honour and person, yet we could not hear without astonishment the remark made in your last exposition, that it would be necessary to admit in this city for cases that arose other judges and tribunals than those of the independent justice of our republic. The practice everywhere and with all princes shows how novel this idea is, which has never been suggested or practised by others. Upon this occasion the Council of Ten, acting as a sovereign tribunal of justice, fulfilled its duties in an entirely right and proper manner, and we are sure that his Majesty will recognise this, for the zeal which the republic has always shown for the welfare and honour of his crown. We have complete confidence moreover that our ambassadors and ministers everywhere will avoid all occasions of creating disturbances, and it would never enter their heads to attempt anything which might wound the jealous and delicate jurisdiction of princes in any way.

Ayes, 103. Noes, 2. Neutral, 10.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

338. To the Ambassador in England.

The office decided upon for the Ambassador Fielding has not yet been read to him because he has fallen seriously ill, though he is now somewhat better.* We note, at your leave taking, his Majesty's concern about current affairs, and his charging you to write about them. We cannot pass this in silence and the Secretary Zonca will therefore take an early opportunity to express our gratitude and appreciation for the confidence shown and assure him that we shall always be ready to cooperate for a universal peace and for the peace of Italy in particular.

Ayes, 114. Noes, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

339. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Resident of Savoy has at last received word of the death of his master. He has imparted the information to the king and queen, presenting letters from the widowed duchess imploring their help. The king expressed his apprehension of the very serious nature of the event. He assured the resident of his readiness to procure every satisfaction for his sister in law and every good for her children. He ordered the deepest mourning at Court, which was immediately assumed by everyone.

* On this very day Fielding wrote that he was suffering from a double tertian fever. 'I hope now at the height,' the illness having begun 'this day sennight.' On the 20th he was able to report himself free from fever though very weak. *S.P. For. Venice.*

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All sorts of opinions are expressed on the subject, the manner and circumstances of the affair suggesting the most sinister conjectures. However it may have happened there is no doubt that the king is extremely sorry about it, and he utterly reprobates the reports which the Spaniards are trying to pass current, to the prejudice of the duke's posterity. He declared that as the cause was one which the sword alone could decide ; so every upright prince ought to draw the sword in its defence, and the king of France should consider his generous championship of the cause as being among the most sacred and glorious of his actions.* (*Certo e che comunque seguito che sia, il Re lo compatisce in extremo, che disapprova totalmente gli divulgationi che van accreditando i Spanuoli in pregiudicio della posterita, dechiaritosi esser causa che come non admette altra giudicatura che quella della spada cosi ogni Principe giusto esser obligato adoperarla in sua difesa ed il Re di Francia dovera annoverar l'opere sue di maggior pieta e di maggior gloria la cura generosa che se ne prende*). These words, uttered with fervour, though they may not be followed by deeds, nevertheless express his Majesty's sentiments, as he has always been affectionately disposed towards that house.

He has instructed a gentleman of his chamber, who may leave at any moment, to convey his condolences to the duchess, and the queen has sent another, but they have no commissions besides the compliment, unless it is kept extraordinarily secret.

The king has decided to provide the Prince Palatine with money by degrees in accordance with circumstances, not by a monthly assignment, as was said. This is in order to avoid any formal obligation which might involve him directly or indirectly in the war of Germany, and to be able to withdraw entirely from all expense whenever they wish. Many of the leading lords here offer large contributions in support of the Palatine, but if they accomplish as much as was done about the ships, he will not benefit greatly.

The Agent at Hamburg writes that the Swedish delegates are on their way to the congress, but nothing has been heard of the Danes or Dutch. This annoys the king and serves to intensify greatly the ill feeling against the Dutch in particular. Since they were the first to suggest the taking up of these negotiations it seems extraordinary that they should now lag among the last when matters are in good train to secure the final settlement. If they do not abandon their present indifferenee we already hear serious threats against their fisheries for the coming year. The ministers here repent of the recent connivance

* Salvetti's despatch of the 27th November throws some light on this passage. He writes : *La passata in quella parte* [Piedmont] *del Sig. Cardinale* [Maurice of Savoy] *da qui grande occasione di discorso e in un stesso tempo di ravivire altri concetti di poco gusto a questa Corte, toccante la illegitimita dei figliuoli, et e difesa dalla Regina e tutta questa Corte con molto senso.* Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962H. The duke had died so suddenly and unexpectedly that some colour was given to the reports that he had been poisoned by the French Marshal Crequi (Nani : *Historia Veneta* pages 318, 319) ; but it would appear from these passages that in order to secure the succession of the late duke's Hispanophile brother, the Cardinal Maurice, doubts were being cast upon the honour of the Duchess Christina, whose cause was championed by her brother, Louis XIII.

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which the Dutch appear to have valued so little and without gratitude. Meanwhile Bosucl is to supply fresh stimulus, to speak high and resolutely and even to make protests, if necessary.

The new French ambassador, after the most manifest peril of death in a furious gale for four days at sea, is expected at Court in two or three days ; but they do not expect that he will bring the articles of the alliance signed, as the English ambassadors in France make no mention of the subject.

They have given a final refusal to the Polish ambassador, and so he has taken a ship and will proceed by it to Holland. He considers he has many occasions for offence, besides not being received.

The Countess of Newport has suddenly declared herself a Catholic and taken part at mass publicly with the queen several times. The king and her husband are bitterly displeased. The pope's agent is accused of having persuaded her. The sharpest things are said against him. Those who suffer at seeing him here seize the opportunity to criticise all his other proceedings and try to get him removed from the Court. By this stroke he has certainly lost much of his Majesty's favour, and if the king were not unwilling to offend the queen, he might possibly take some resentful measure against him. The ministers here say, however, that if he continues to make similar achievements his stay in England will not last long. If it is to be brought to obedience to the Roman pontiff let them dispute with bishops and convince the divines, not try to profit by the simplicity of women, over whose weak minds the last impressions are always the strongest.

The Senate's last letters of the 15th October mention the release of the English ship at Fielding's request. I made this known at Court, especially to the ambassador's relations, whom I also told about his servants who were arrested. As he had not written about either the news was most acceptable, especially to the Countess of Denbigh, who said she could not speak highly enough of your generosity towards her son.

I am ready to start on my journey and expect to do so before the next despatch, as I only want some passports for France. Yesterday his Majesty gave me the usual weight of silver gilt, such as your Serenity's ministers have always received. I hope your Excellencies will allow me to keep it. I shall consider it a favour to advance my poor fortunes, to help me uphold your service with decorum.

London, the 13th November, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

340. To the Duke and Captains in Crete.

Order to publish the decision of the Senate enclosed for the encouragement of the trade with Western ships and charge to see that foreign ships do not suffer extortion from the officials of the Sanita, and that the magistrates do not meddle any more with the estimates and goods of these same ships, so that trade may be free and flourishing.

That a copy of the above letter and deliberation be sent to

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the Proveditore General in Crete to see that this decision is carried into effect.

Ayes, 128. Noes, 1. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

341. To the Ambassador in England.

We enclose a copy of the decision taken for the purpose of renewing the trade of England and Flemish ships with Crete. It is hoped that the remission of the duties will prove a great inducement. You will try to persuade merchants to make the voyage, and to import and export goods with these new advantages. We shall wait to hear what you do and shall note the results.

The like to the Ambassador at the Hague.

Ayes, 128. Noes, 1. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

342. Giovanni Battista Ballarino, Venetian Secretary in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

With regard to the dispute with the Palatine family, although they see here that the steps taken by that prince are not likely to cause them much anxiety, on account of their feebleness, and although they do not think that England will pledge herself deeply in a manner which is likely to give excessive advantages to France, yet they also recognise that the adjustment of these difficulties would be the real way to discourage the enemies of the House of Austria and might possibly lead to a durable adjustment. Accordingly in pursuit of this aim they give credence to Teller and continue to treat with him. But that individual, having been deluded so many times in the past negotiations, no longer listens to their cajoleries. This may be in order not to arouse the jealousy of the king, his master, from whom he has received no letters for several months, or because he knows well enough that there is no reason to expect favourable results.

Vienna, the 14th November, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

343. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Marquis of Mirabel has been charged to receive the Duchess of Chevreuse to whom they have assigned the Duke of Alva's house.

Madrid, the 14th November, 1637.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Nov. 17. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

344. To the Ambassador in England.

After causing the office about the incident of the man who fired a pistol to be read to the Ambassador Fielding, and after his reply to the secretary in which he seemed satisfied, he has been to the Collegio to make the enclosed exposition. As his pretensions seemed extravagant to us, we do not know if he is

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moved by his fiery nature, his youth or his lack of experience, or whether he is fomented by others, who hope to fish in troubled waters.

The banishment of the culprit by the Council of Ten was just and reasonable, because the firing of the pistol, the death of the man, the popular commotion and their apprehension of disturbances which are always arising from the ambassador's house, and the likelihood of some tumult, call for prudent handling and prompt measures. His statement that he expects to punish his own, that he has authority to do so in this city by order of his king, and the like, is not good hearing for a free and independent prince and it cannot be made good. In England our representatives have always behaved with every regard, but in any case the republic would never claim anything but the satisfaction due to the immunity of the embassy and the honour of the ambassador. That is the practice everywhere, and such pretensions have never been advanced by any one soever. There have been many instances of exemplary justice against the servants of ministers. Nowhere is the privilege of ambassadors more fully respected than here, so that everyone ought to be satisfied, especially where, as in this last case, repeated declarations have been made that there is not the slightest idea of offending his house in what has been done, in addition to what has recently been done for his satisfaction. From all this you will have abundant material for showing the king and ministers, if provoked, that the state has acted rightly. When these things are rightly understood we do not doubt but that they will discountenance these last pretensions of the ambassador, just as they will approve of the punishment of crimes of the worst character, especially as the ambassador himself recognised the gravity of the case. As a further sign of respect for the ambassador the culprit was not named in the proclamation as his servant, as you will have observed, although the ambassador contradicts himself and tries to make matters worse by making out that the man was punished, although dismissed, for something done by him while he was his servant.

If you are still in England we shall be glad that the matter is in your hands, but if you have gone, the Secretary Zonca will represent our proper conduct in this matter, in order to prevent any mischief from the members of the ambassador's family.

Ayes, 103. Noes, 2. Neutral, 10.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

345. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After I had informed the Court of the favours granted to the Ambassador Fielding in the release of his servants and in the matter of the English sailor who infringed the sanitary regulations, he has himself reported the second, without mentioning the first, expatiating on the honours lavished upon him by your Excellencies. Moved by these representations the king sent

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the Secretary Vindebanch to me yesterday on purpose to say that he had heard from the ambassador at Venice that the republic had released an English captain who had been condemned to five years' imprisonment, and to express his thanks for the favour.

I made a suitable reply and explained the importance attached to sanitary matters at Venice. I also alluded to the release of the servants, who had mortally wounded without cause a poor man in the very Piazza of San Marco, a place venerated and respected by all. But the secretary said that his Majesty had not yet received any information about this from Lord Fielding, and so he was not directed to speak about it. I also took the opportunity to assure him of your Serenity's desire to cherish the best relations with his Majesty. We then talked of other things.

The Secretary spoke to me of Italy, France and Germany. Of the first he said they were waiting here to see the effect of the death of the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua. Of the second that the king and his good servants rejoiced to hear of the successes there, and of the last that they feared the Swedes would finally succumb to their misfortunes. The king would regret this, though it was difficult to prevent. In order to induce him to speak more freely I remarked, as if from myself, that the armies serving in Germany were foreigners and subsisted for the most part by the favour of Fortune rather than on any solid basis of strength, and therefore called for the assistance of powerful and friendly princes and of those in particular who can supply it without inconvenience. He took this up promptly, saying that the king, my master, may be counted among these. He certainly will not fail to do his share. He is liberal now, without any obligation to be so, in granting to the Swedes abundant levies of troops from his realms, and he will be so in other matters when the occasion is more mature and appropriate. If the French were as eager over this as the English are ready to go and meet them, the world would not have occasion to stand waiting or the rest of us to remain in suspense. By these and similar touches he wished to convey to me that they are anxious and eager here for the establishment of the alliance, and that its effectuation is only delayed through the fault of the allies. These opinions are common to all the ministers, but the particular emergencies of the kingdom make one doubt whether their real sentiments correspond with their words.

London, the 18th November, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

346. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The excessive honours accorded to the Moroccan Ambassador, to the general amazement, both at his entry and audience, have induced me to observe carefully their aims, and I think it my duty to send an exact report. Besides a numerous escort of aldermen and merchants, on horseback, he was accompanied at both

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functions by an earl, at the king's express command,* with all the circumstances of coaches and other things used with the extraordinary ambassadors of kings and with the ordinary ambassadors of France and Spain, and not usual with others except those of your Serenity.

I have observed a custom practised for many years to the prejudice of your ordinary ambassadors, who are accompanied at their entrance by a baron and to their audience by an earl only, thus making a difference between them and those of France and Spain, who are always accompanied by a earl to both. I think this ought not to be allowed to continue. As you have enjoyed for centuries at all other Courts a position equal to that of the other kings, I certainly think that so great a difference in a conspicuous ceremony is much noticed, a baron being two ranks below an earl, with the viscount in between. That an ambassador extraordinary of Morocco should have privileges above the ordinary of your Serenity cannot fail to be prejudicial to your prerogatives, and gives a hold to those who wish to be equal with you. The Dutch at their entry have a welcome equal to that of the Signory, and now at Beveren's leave-taking they have gained the right to mount the steps of the dais, so they will clearly have occasion in everything else to claim equality with your Serenity's ministers, when hitherto they have been content to be treated with a difference at this Court in the title and other things. The present occasion, which has excited general talk and induced the curious to make more minute calculations about the degrees of honour shown to foreign ministers at such ceremonies, seems to call for your Excellencies to assert your rights, as it is not possible that they can pretend to treat your ambassadors with less respect than those of a barbarous prince, with whom they have not and can never have any great interest. I am sure it would be easy because it is right, because his Majesty seems disposed that way of his own accord, for when I first came he had me received by Lord Grandison, a viscount when the others were always received by a baron.

If I could have been sure of your approval I would have introduced the subject before leaving, but I could not help expressing my opinion to you so that between my departure and the arrival of Giustinian you may give such orders to Zonca as you see fit.

Tomorrow, please God, I shall begin my journey, leaving the Secretary Zonca to despatch these presents.

London, the 19th November, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

347. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

When I was sealing my last letter with the intention of starting my journey today, your letters of the 22nd reached me with the account of the shot fired at San Moise by a servant of the

* The ambassador's audience took place on Sunday, the 15th, when he was introduced by the earl of Shrewsbury. Salvetti, despatch of the 20th November. Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962H.

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Ambassador Fielding, an event apparently aggravated by many circumstances, which it seems from the ambassador's exposition may afford material for fresh trouble. I have therefore thought it my duty to stop to carry out my instructions, and find out his Majesty's sentiments and the feeling at Court. I immediately took steps to find out how the ambassador represents the event, and I see that he makes it appear purely accidental. He complains greatly of his house being surrounded on the land side by more than fifty *sbirri*, and on the water side by more than one barque armed with muskets and falconets, an unheard of thing, contrary to the law of nations and the privileges inseparable from the house of a public minister. He says he has remonstrated to your Serenity and expects an answer from the Senate which will repair the affront. He says the one who fired the pistol was a lackey, and when taking it with another to be repaired and playing with it, without knowing it was loaded, it went off and unhappily wounded a person whom he did not know. He says he at once deprived the man of his livery, had him severely beaten and dismissed him from the house. The letter is still in the hands of the Marquis of Hamilton and the Secretary Coke to whom he directed them, and will not be communicated to the king before tomorrow, the day on which he returns from the chase. The marquis speaks as is his wont, in favour of his brother in law, saying that they are making too much fuss about an accident, and insists strongly on the lack of respect to the ambassador's house. I shall announce the true facts in such a way that they shall reach his Majesty, and then I will send full particulars.

If the decision stands that the ambassador goes to Turin to offer condolences to the widowed duchess, it is whispered that he may be commanded to come home without returning to Venice, as these numerous misadventures to him at Venice cause great bitterness in general at Court, and there are rivals who talk about them much to his disadvantage.

A most severe decree was issued last Sunday by the royal Council against all Englishmen who profess the Roman religion, threatening with the severest penalties all those who are accused of continuing to practise it, and those especially who are found frequenting the chapels of the ambassadors or even that of the queen herself.* This severity is entirely due to the conversion of the Countess of Newport, whose relations, being members of the Council, have promoted it. But the decree has not yet been published, and as it has been printed more than four days, many believe that they will not let it be published until it has been modified, at least to some extent. The pope's agent is exceedingly afflicted about it, knowing that his excess of zeal has been in great measure the cause of this proceeding.

The Polish ambassador left for the Hague as I wrote, deeply offended and displeased beyond words. I imagine he has some business in those Provinces and letters and commissions for the

* The order in Council summarised in the *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637 page 491. It is there dated tentatively the 22nd October but it would appear from this dispatch that the order was issued on Sunday the $\frac{5}{15}$ November.

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Princess Palatine also. But people think that she will not give him a better reception than he met with in England, and possibly the king has intimated to her that such is his desire.

The Ambassador Bellievre has arrived in the city but remains incognito as yet, as he lacks a part of his baggage which went astray on a small boat during his sea passage. He refuses visits both public and private so I do not think, I shall have an opportunity of seeing him, though I will try to. My approaching departure dispenses me from ordinary formalities and I shall try to introduce myself for a private and confidential office.

London, the 20th November, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

348. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Before the Prince of Condé left the English ambassadors here received orders to give the title of Highness to him and to the Count and Countess of Soissons; but before doing so they asked his Majesty's consent. He told them he should take it as a sign of their king's friendliness to his house and begged them to do so, especially with the Prince.

The Ambassador Leicester says that with the two crowns agreed the King of England may grow tired of treating any longer with the Swedes and Dutch, who blame each other for the delay in accepting the alliance. But this may be an artifice, as they will do nothing here except jointly with their allies and they assert that they will continue the war without England. Yet Leicester maintains that they will never have a good peace except in the way that his king proposes.

Paris, the 24th November, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

349. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

When the king returned from hunting, the Marquis of Hamilton and the Secretary Coke together told him what Fielding had written about the accident of the pistol, representing it very moderately. His Majesty considered the case an extraordinary one, seemed to regret it deeply and much more when he heard that the poor man had lost his life. Fielding gave a full account of this, and made some complaint because the reply to his offices was so long delayed, but said he hoped that he would soon have a favourable one.

These hopes have soothed the Marquis, who was the only one to make a fuss, and have satisfied the king as well as all the ministers, so that although some of them, and the Secretary Windebank in particular, intimated that your Excellencies should take some steps against the officials who approached the embassy, he is satisfied with the reply decided on, and there is no doubt the affair will end with complete satisfaction here. The sentence

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against the culprit is admitted by all to be most just, and even the Marquis of Hamilton, although at first he blustered more than any one else, wishes the matter settled quietly, as he knows that the constant discussion of these troublesome matters does no good to his brother in law.

I have confirmation of this from many quarters, and he himself, in letting me have a passport for my journey, with which his office is concerned, sent to tell me that all Fielding's relations, and he more than any, were deeply indebted to the republic, as nothing could equal the kindness they had shown to the ambassador. He asked me to beg you to command your ministers who might reside here in the future, to apply to him in any emergency in the assurance that they would always find him ready to do everything in his power to serve them. I made a courteous reply, assuring him that you should be told and would appreciate the offer.

Fielding's commissions for the Duchess of Savoy have been drawn up and consigned to the said marquis, who will transmit them one of these days by express.* They will give him letters for your Serenity about the reason for his going and general thanks for the constant favours received during his embassy. I am assured that the letters will contain nothing about his return, because opinions still differ on the subject. I believe that he will return, because although the majority advise his recall, and many who want to succeed him for their own interests are trying to bring it about, yet his relations, who at present enjoy every sign of the royal favour, wish otherwise and will easily succeed in having him kept on, until he himself asks differently, as it is his interest not to give it up before he is certain of some other employment to satisfy him.

With matters in this satisfactory condition I consider myself at liberty to proceed to France, in the assurance that if anything else turns up the Secretary Zonca will admirably uphold the dignity and interest of the state, as he has before in so many occasions of more difficulty.

Although the absence of his baggage compels the Ambassador Bellievre to keep incognito, I have succeeded in having a confidential meeting with him when the usual compliments were exchanged. He is a minister of remarkable abilities, as your Excellencies know. The whole Court greets his arrival with acclamation, and if occasion serves him he may achieve very considerable advantages for the public cause. He repeatedly professed his obligations to your Excellencies, and promises to cultivate the best relations with your ministers. He asked me to assure you of this and that you may count on him as your devoted servant. I tried to respond suitably to this, and I am glad that the slight prolongation of my stay here has served to open such good relations with this new minister.

The ducal missives of the 30th ult. have reached me this week.

London, the 26th November, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

* They are dated the 15th November, o.s. *S.P. For. Venice.*

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Nov. 27.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

350. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After nine years continual labour as secretary with your Serenity's ambassadors in Holland and here, with a heavy drain on my poor substance and a loss of health, which makes me need rest more than further movement, I bow myself to the commands of your Serenity, with more courage than aptitude, to act for the second time as your minister here until the arrival of the Ambassador Giustinian. I hope that my devoted service will meet with your approval. I will follow in the footsteps of the ambassadors and the instructions they have left me.

After punctually fulfilling the offices of courtesy, by the exchange of visits with the king and ministers here, the ambassador set off yesterday for the coast, on his way to France, leaving the Court highly edified by his high qualities. These in addition to the liberality of his gifts, freely distributed where requisite, a thing which renders the representatives of your Serenity conspicuous above all other foreign ministers, have deservedly won him universal goodwill.

A certain English merchant* living in this city, in whom the king has great confidence, is nominated in conjunction with the commissions of the Ambassador of Morocco. He is at present negotiating with the Signor Cuch, with whom he had a long conference yesterday. It is supposed that it is about mercantile trade, but I will find out more about it, and inform your Excellencies from time to time.

New royal orders have appeared for the exaction of money to be used for the preparation and maintenance of the naval force, which they say will sail next year in greater numbers than ever. The total will amount to some 600,000 crowns. Although the people are becoming accustomed to bear it, yet one hears some outcry, the more so as it is freely stated that the fleet in question serves no purpose except to compel the Dutch fishermen to recognise their sovereignty over the sea, and as they have announced that they will not admit it, it may in time cause inconveniences to this kingdom.

The last letters to reach the Court from Holland report that the Prince Palatine is not inclined to proceed to the command of the army of Hesse until the spring, making as his excuse the lack of food and forage, which does not admit campaigning in those parts. But it would seem that the Prince has better fortune than courage, and they do not venture to urge him on here for reasons already given.

I send herewith the despatches left me by the ambassador for your Serenity.

London, the 27th November, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

*Probably Robert Blake, agent for English merchants in Morocco, who had farmed the customs of the king of Morocco and was soon after this date acting as that king's agent in England. He went out in 1638 as the English agent of Morocco. *S.P. For. Barbary States, Morocco*, Vol. 13. "A General Observation of ye Barbary Trade." *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636–7, page 440; 1637–8, page 204.

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Nov. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

351. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Vice Admiral of the Sea is taking his station at present off England, with the frank determination to engage the fleet, and throwing in all his forces lavishly, to commit himself to the arbitrament of Fortune no matter what the consequences may be. He is undoubtedly a most valiant warrior and among the most seasoned in war of their school.* It seems that an ardent desire burns ever more brightly in the bosom of the people here to hear he has been successful.

The Hague, the 28th November, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 28. Collegio, Lettere, Principi. Venetian Archives.

352. Carolus Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniæ etc. Rex Serenissimo Principi Domino Francisco Erizzo Venetiarum Duci etc. Salutem. Serenissime Princeps :

Nobilem vestrum legatum Angelum Corrarum a nobis discedentem grato nostræ benevolentiae testimonio merito persequimur, ut virum ob virtutem suam et prudentiam nostro aeque ac vestro favore dignissimum. Sicut enim negocia commissa fideliter exsequens vestrum honorem bonumque summæ sibi curæ esse. Ita etiam aequum erga Nos affectum et cultum commonstrare semper voluit. Ceterum Vestram Serenitatem diutissime valere Remque publicam usque prosperrime florere vovemus. Dat. ex nostro palatio Westmonasterii XIIX. Nov. anno Christi MDXXXVII., regnique nostri XIII.

Vestrae Serenitatis bonus consanguineus.

[Signed] ; CAROLUS R.

Dec. 1. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

353. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Instead of the union between this crown and England progressing incidents are occurring and an embittered feeling similar to that which produced the last war. The Cardinal as I reported at the time, made a present to Leicester of a ship considered a lawful prize, taken off La Rochelle. The earl did not accept it, but wrote to his king who replied that he did not ask for a favour but justice ; not only for the bare ship, but all her cargo, worth 50,000 of their crowns here. They retorted here that it was not convenient for his Majesty to produce the money or his subjects either, since it had all gone into their purses. The ambassador insisted they should at least punish one who was the cause of the ship being taken ; but they would do nothing here. Irritated at this the King of England, at the instance of those interested, issued letters of reprisals, by which two French ships have recently been taken. On hearing of this the king's Council issued

* After the resignation of Philip van Dorp the Dutch, on 27th October appointed Martin Tromp Lieutenant Admiral in his place, and Witte Cornelis de Witte Vice Admiral. Aitzema: *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*, Vol. II, page 491. The former is almost certainly the one referred to in the text. He was reported by Pennington as being in the Downs on 30th January following. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637–8, page 202.

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an edict closing all the ports and shores of this kingdom against English ships. The ambassadors went at once to remonstrate, but were told that they had no cause to but rather his Majesty who met with acts of hostility when making the greatest demonstrations of friendship. He also might have issued letters of reprisals but refrained, to avoid an open rupture. If the English king was bound to defend his subjects, so was theirs. The least that could be done was the seizure of merchantmen, which might lead to a compromise to make enquiry if either party had suffered injury and adjust their differences in a friendly manner.* Leicester asserts that he has represented their case here very strongly in order to soothe them in such a way that he says no one in England shall have reason to accuse him of having been won over by France. Owing to this incident and others the English complain bitterly declaring that owing to the ill treatment they receive they would rather be made prisoners by the Turks than by the French.

Paris, the 1st December, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

354. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

When I was talking recently on business with a certain John Gardenar, an Englishman, master of the ship *Golden Fleece*, which is about to leave here with a cargo for Genoa, Leghorn and Venice, I heard accidentally that he was to touch at the port of Ragusa also with his ship. By questioning this captain adroitly I found that he had in his ship 150 bales of kerseys on behalf of Samuel Vassel and Company, merchants of this mart,† directed to another Englishman, their agent, who has a house at Ragusa. Not content with this I pushed my enquiries further and found out that they send by every ship that lades for Venice a considerable quantity of these kerseys to that place. In view of the harm done to the trade of Venice by the growing commerce of that place, contrary to the ordinances of your Excellencies and to the rights of your dominion over the Gulf, I thought fit, as of myself, to approach this merchant Vassel, who was before this an intimate of mine, to stop him going on with this traffic. According to my custom I gradually led up to the subject, and

* Although the particulars given here do not exactly tally, it is clear from Leicester's despatch of the $\frac{10}{20}$ November (*S.P. For. France*, Vol. 104) and from a letter of Sir John Pennington to Windebank of the 26 November o.s. (*Cal. S.P.Dom.* 1637, page 568), that the vessel referred to is the *Pearl*, Luke Whetston master, taken by a French squadron under du Chalart in the roads of Safi, Morocco, on the 27th May 1635. *See* Vol. XXIII, of this *Calendar*, page 434 and note. After long negotiations without obtaining redress, letters of marque were given to Whetston's son to make reprisals. The French at once took retaliatory measures. "I hear that on Wednesday last [Nov. 11] M. de la Barre, M. de Chavigny's commis, sent away commissions to Rouen, St. Malo, Nantes and Bordeaux, either to arrest or seize all merchandise belonging to His Majesty's subjects. This is done in relation to the letters of marque granted by His Majesty unto Whetston." Scudamore to Coke the $\frac{3}{13}$ November, *S.P. For. France.*

† Samuel Vassall. *See Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637–8, page 104.

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induced him to admit himself that he was sending these 150 bales to Ragusa. I pointed out in a friendly way the risks he ran, since the goods do not pay the duties owed to your Excellencies. I expressed my belief that if his ship met with the fleet in the Gulf, it would get into trouble, as the places are prohibited, and he may not trade in those ports without paying the ordinary gabelles. I expressed astonishment at his preferring to trade with so much risk with a poor and small city like Ragusa, rather than in safety at Venice, a great place, rich in gold and trade, where the English receive more privileges, favours, and facilities than anyone else.

He listened attentively and believed that I had no other object than friendship. He remarked that he had carried on this trade for many years, and had never paid duties or suffered any mishap in the Gulf. The kerseys pay heavy duties at Venice and there are few opportunities for disposing of them. He had laded a few bales on the ship for Venice, by way of experiment and if it proved successful he would continue to send in greater quantity. His business at Ragusa had once been very profitable as he enjoyed their distribution in Hungary, whither he sent the larger part of his goods, but for some time past that republic had refused him the right to export, and he had to sell them to the people there, who sent them to the Turkish dominions at their own profit and this had greatly reduced his gains. His agent had repeatedly remonstrated with the government there, but in vain, and as a last remedy he had ordered him to go to Belgrade in order to obtain some commands from the Turkish commander there to the Ragusans on this subject, but they had got wind of this and forbad him to depart under pain of outlawry and confiscation. He expressed his displeasure at this and he was trying to find a way for removing all his business from that city.

In answer to his confidences I thought it opportune to urge him to transfer it to Venice, where I assured him he would always meet with satisfaction. He said it was too far for sending the goods to Hungary, and very costly to introduce them there, and not much good. I reminded him that Spalato was very suitable. He said he had thought of that and had written to his agent for information, but the port was not adapted for large ships. I said the ships could anchor at Liesena, whence they could find a way to take the goods to Spalato, which was only thirty miles away, and it would be easy to dispose of them because it was frequented by so many Turks, who trade there in addition to the inhabitants of all Dalmatia, and the requirements of the fleet. He listened to that and told me he would speak to his partners. After telling them of his conversation with me, he came to me on the following day and announced that if your Serenity would grant him some special privilege he would promise to transfer his business from Ragusa to Spalato. I told him that he should receive the most just and courteous treatment; his business would be much more profitable and safe. I invited him to put his proposals in writing and I would send them to your Serenity,

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in the assurance that if they were reasonable they would be embraced. He promised to do this and came back this morning on purpose to see me. He gave me the enclosed paper, but not signed, saying that it was only for my information and he would send a like one by the present ordinary to the merchant Obson, who represents him at Venice, with orders to go before your Excellencies with them. I read the contents and intimated that I did not think there would be any difficulty over the first articles, which seemed modest but the last would certainly meet with great opposition, and I asked him to remove it and if he wanted the matter settled with despatch he should ask for something that could be granted easily without the necessity for writing to and fro for fresh orders. I again pointed out the great advantages from changing from the one mart to the other, but that he was not going the best way to secure them. He adduced some considerations which I omit, as being unnecessary, and finally stated that he could not arrange the matter alone, but he would speak about it to the others and they would send more explicit instructions to Obson. He asked me to beg your Excellencies to keep the matter secret in the meantime, so that he might not suffer some injury from the Ragusans, if it came to their knowledge. I promised this courteously and he went away.

Having found out these particulars I have thought it my duty to send word about it immediately, so that if Obson appears your Excellencies may have full information. I will continue my inducements when I see them necessary, and will send word from time to time.

London, the 4th December, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure. **355**. The Petitioner and his Partners, who alone export to Ragusa cloth and other goods of England, which has gone on for many years, offer to divert this trade to Spalato, whereby they will not only take away the present trade of the Ragusans with the Turks in these goods, but will greatly damage the trade of the Ragusans with Ancona, where they send at present hides, wool, wax and other goods which they obtain from the Turkish dominions through the trade in question. The petitioner therefore desires the following conditions:

That the petitioner or his deputy may be admitted as consuls of his nation at Liesina and Spalato. That in matters in dispute between his countrymen and those of any other nation, they may receive the most prompt and summary justice that can be permitted. That all the goods landed at Liesina and Spalato or sent thence into the Turkish dominions, as well as those taken away shall be free of all duties for export or import for twenty years next following, after which time he will pay all the duties that the other merchants pay in the said places.

[*Italian.*]

1637. Dec. 4. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

356. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The publication here of the new orders for the raising of money for the fleet has excited in some respects the lamentations of the people, and the resolution of some of the magnates, to such an extent that a lord and another gentleman,* under the aegis of the laws, which permit subjects to call the king himself into judgment, even in matters concerning his sovereign rights, if they are not confirmed by parliament, have taken the liberty of appealing to the Courts of Justice against the sentence pronounced two years ago by all the judges of England, declaring that his Majesty can lawfully levy contributions from his subjects for naval emergencies, even without recourse to Parliament.

These are at present contending before a part of the same judges against the royal Attorney General upon the merits of this sentence, pronounced, as they say, without hearing one side, merely upon information laid by the king alone, in a matter never practised in the past and immediately contrary to the fundamental and sacred ordinances of the realm. Everyone wonders at the king's goodness in allowing the public discussion of an affair of such a nature, and it will settle the question of the others, who alone in all England make a similar declaration. They defend themselves modestly saying that as the sentence in question has been delivered against them, they intend to inform the king better, and if they are wrong they will pay without further objection, and if they show they are right, they hope his Majesty will revoke those orders.

In the mean time they do not interrupt the collection of the money, which goes on without further disturbance.

The business of the ambassador of Morocco at this Court, besides some matters of trade, extends *to proposals of a union between that king and England against the Spaniards. He offers to attack some place which they hold in Barbary, contiguous to his kingdom,† if the king here will declare himself with him, help him with a few ships and unite with his states, so as only to act in concert. He declares that this diversion will be of great benefit to the public cause, but that if they think it too far off and will supply him with ships to transport* 40,000 *combatants, who are all ready, he will take them over to Spain and penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. Here they seem pleased at such proposals, but they do not seem disposed to embrace them.*

The Prince Palatine writes of the offices passed with him by the French ambassador recently arrived at the Hague.‡ He says the ambassador urged him, in the name of his king, to take up boldly the command of the army of Hesse. He assured him that the Most Christian would not fail with that assistance which he has hitherto afforded with so much advantage to the public cause,

* Lord Saye and John Hampden.

† Ma'amura or Mehedia in Morocco. *See* "A General observation of ye Barbary Trade" in *S.P. For. Barbary States, Morocco*, Vol. 13.

‡ Jean d'Estampes de Valencay. He had his first audience on the 11th November. Aitzema: *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*, Vol. II, page 491. His predecessor Charnacé had been killed at the siege of Breda on the 1st September.

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for the maintenance of that army. He seems to desire to be entirely directed in the matter by the indications which the king here will give, whose advice he asks with great insistence. But here they do not change the principles already stated.

The Ambassador Bellievre made his public entry yesterday, with the usual honours. The Master of the Ceremonies went with the royal barques to Greenwich to fetch him as far as the Tower of London. There the Earl of Notingen was awaiting him, who received him in his Majesty's name. In the royal coach followed by many others of the Court he was conducted with his numerous company to the usual dwelling destined for the ambassadors extraordinary where he is entertained at the king's expense until the day after tomorrow which is appointed for his first audience.

Joachimi, the Dutch ambassador, after an absence of fifteen months, has also returned to his residence. He has not yet seen the king on account of a catarrh, which has incommoded his Majesty for some days.

Tomorrow, from what I gather, the despatch for the Ambassador Fildin will start by express, which charges him to proceed to Turin to pay his respects. Meanwhile they speak ambiguously about his return to your Serenity. I will not lose sight of the matter and will send the necessary information. By the king's order they are also sending him remittances for 15,000 crowns, partly for debts due to him and the rest a present for his journey.

Last Wednesday, in the queen's chapel, they held a special service which she attended for the late Duke of Savoy.

Enclosed I am sending a letter of the king in reply to the one of your Serenity, presented by the Ambassador Corraro when he entered this embassy. It was only given me after his Excellency's departure.

London, the 4th December, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

357. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

A very strong and pertinacious wind has prevented the two ships assigned by his Majesty to secure my sea passage from leaving the Downs for this port. This is the seventh day that I have waited and the ever increasing gales and the time of year leave me little hope that I shall get away soon. This delay is most annoying as besides the heavy expense, which is incidental to all seaports, the air here does not suit my constitution, already tried by the climate of the country. I have already had two turns of fever and although they have been slight and intermittent, it causes me some apprehension.

A report is current here that all English ships going to French ports will be detained. The causes given for this are divers and vague, but whether the report be true or false the sailors here seem to attach importance to it, for their own sakes, and will not agree to cross unless they are assured of very considerable gain. I have had to apply to the magistrates to obtain two barques to

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carry my horses and baggage, a thing which makes me believe that some hitch may have occurred. I will make enquiry and advise your Excellencies if there be anything worthy of your attention.

The Marquis San Pareilli is just now passing this way, sent by the Duchess of Savoy to inform their Majesties of her husband's death.* He leaves a report behind him that he has other and more serious business. If that be so the Secretary Zonca will give you all information thereupon. I am recommending these presents to him as the couriers cannot cross the sea from here.

La Rey, the 5th December, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

358. The English Ambassador came into the Collegio and spoke as follows :

Before he was seated the doge said, We are very glad to see you recovered and looking fairly well. We all deeply regretted to hear of your illness, and we pray that God may preserve you and restore you to perfect health, as you are much beloved by the republic.

The Ambassador said, I thank your Serenity. I cannot say whether my sorrow was greater at being unable to come to your Serenity or my joy at the honour of a secretary being sent to enquire after my health. I have come to thank you for this, as I can never repay such honour. I only desire life and health in order to serve the republic. I do not know if the invitation sent to me was to inform me upon the matter of which I last spoke, so I am here merely to express my obligations, but I am ready to obey in any case, and if you tell me anything I will report it to England, in order to remove anything that may disturb our relations.

The doge replied, Our relations with his Majesty will never be disturbed, as they are based on ancient affection and esteem. The Senate has decided something upon the matter of which you spoke, which shall be read.

The Senate's deliberation of the 7th ult. was then read. The ambassador said I am glad to have heard the Senate's intention, I will report it in the best light. The same thing may happen to your Serenity's own ambassadors. I spoke for all, not for myself alone. I ask permission to take a copy.

The doge replied, Our ambassadors will do their utmost to avoid any cause of offence, as we are sure you do, but those who have a large household cannot always control them. We appreciate and sympathise with your feelings. We should wish to render you entirely satisfied. The office shall be read two or three times and you can have a copy if you wish. For the rest you may be sure of our affection and esteem.

The ambassador said that many times during his illness his duty had struggled with his weakness to come and pay his

* The Marquis de Parella ; he started from Turin on the 20th October n.s. to perform this mission in France and England. Morton to Coke, the 20th October, 1637. *S.P. For. Savoy.*

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respects. He then bowed and departed. He went into the other hall and took a copy, and said to me, the secretary, In such a way and with such an office the affair will soon be finished. He regretted the event, but in a numerous household it was impossible to keep all under the master's firm control, and ambassadors are subject to such incidents.

ZON, *Secretary.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

359. The English Ambassador came into the Collegio and spoke as follows :

I hoped in your last answer to find something that would at least satisfy my honour and my king's, but the more I consider it the less do I find that it meets my request, indeed it imputes blame to me, and says I introduce ideas that no one has ever employed. That would be contrary to my character and condition, so I cannot have been rightly understood or my remarks have been interpreted in a way I did not intend them. I do not wish to infringe the jurisdiction of the republic but to preserve some of my king's. It cuts me to the heart that while I am seeking to foster the good relations desirable between princes, my good will is not merely unrecognised, but things are imputed to me which I never had in my mind, as I know how delicate a matter the jurisdiction of princes is. I thought it right to protest against the outlawry of one who was sentenced for a crime committed when in my service. That has not been answered, and I ask your Serenity to consider my request and give me an answer. I think all princes respect the immunity of ambassadors. I believe that incidents have occurred in England and the same respect has been shown to your Serenity's ambassadors as to those of the greatest crowns. I know that my king will contend that I ought not to be worse treated than every one else, and he will use the precedent for acting in another way. I have known your Serenity's ambassadors in England, France and Holland, I have admired their conduct, but they have not escaped scathless from the strokes of fortune. The master cannot prevent every disturbance, but a distinction ought to be made for those which are accidental. In choosing ambassadors his Majesty selects the best. I figure as such in England, and try to justify that confidence, but fortune, not good will prevents me from standing on an equality with the others, as I am treated as no other has been, by exacting justice and showing an excessive severity, which his Majesty will never approve. So I ask for some other reply which will satisfy him better and which will relieve my mind of this burden.

The doge answered, We do not think that his Majesty will object when he knows how we have proceeded in this affair. The Senate indeed had some apprehension on hearing that you claimed to punish those of your household who committed crimes in the city. That is why we said the idea was new, as it had never been advanced here. We have every regard for you, but as it is not in your power to keep your people under control,

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they must be subject to justice to prevent scandal. We know that in England very rigorous proceedings have been taken against the house of our ambassadors for less serious matters, and when they desired pardon they appealed to the king. We profess every respect for him, but we must uphold the liberty and decency of our country and justice. These Signors have heard your statement, and if you wish they will give an answer. We can only remark that if any disturbance arises among your servants in the house the disposition rests with you, but if the scandal occurs in the public street, we might say in the Piazza involving death, justice must do its part and not be left to others, to satisfy the people, for the general quiet and for our service.

The ambassador replied, God forbid that I ever intended to offend your Serenity's jurisdiction. I never claimed this but only to uphold the rights of state with all my power. I have merely spoken of the excessive severity and punishment shown to one of my household for what is generally recognised as a pure accident, and I asked for moderation and a remedy, with another reply, to guide me in my report, so that the circumstances may not be aggravated, by circumstances of offence to my person and the greatness of my king, as they went to such extremes without information and without knowledge of the cause. I can do no more than draw attention to this with deep regret.

The doge said, These Signors have understood ; be appeased and rest assured of our esteem. Everything was done in order. The process was drawn up, examinations taken, the body identified and all the usual legal forms observed. The firing and death of the man were proved. The accused offered no defence or excuse. He was judged according to the laws. Justice has not to find out whether the case is a pure accident, unless it is informed. If it be so the accused should come to make his defence, saying that he took the pistols to be unloaded, he did not know they were loaded and so forth, which might have modified the sentence at the time. After this he can ask for grace, the demands of justice being satisfied, and princes are not so precise over pardon as in justice. We repeat our affection for you, but your good qualities cannot control accidents or excesses.

The ambassador said, May death or any accident overtake me rather than I should claim anything contrary to the jurisdiction and greatness of the republic. I only desire a categorical answer and satisfaction about the punishment of a man who belonged to my household, and that you have at heart the reputation of me and my king. I will await a fresh reply about that, and so with a bow he departed.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

360. To the Secretary in England.

The Ambassador Fielding, having recovered from his indisposition, asked for a reply to his office about the pistol. That being read to him, he appeared satisfied ; but he came again yesterday with the enclosed office. We replied as you will see.

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This will enable you to represent the sincere conduct of the republic, and to show our friendly respect for his Majesty.

Ayes, 120. Noes, 0. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

361. That the Ambassador of the King of Great Britain be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

Justice has not been able to change its path for reasons made known to your lordship. Good government requires the observance of the laws. For the rest your lordship has seen enough from past experience to know that although we are restrained within the limits of justice yet we have always been ready to extend favours to you as a measure of our esteem for you personally and of our regard for his Majesty.

Ayes, 120. Noes, 0. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

362. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

A letter reached the Court unexpectedly these last days from the Elector of Brandenburg, with a book in German directed to the king. The letter contains a humble supplication from his Highness for the king to interpose his offices with the crown of Sweden, so that he may allow him the possession of Pomerania by right of succession after the death of the last duke, as his lawful due.* As an inducement for his Majesty to oblige him the more readily, he recites the things he has done, out of regard for England, in favour of the Palatine house, and asks for sympathy, if, under stress of urgent necessity he has changed those principles and adapted himself to the nature of the times, so that he also might not perish with that house. In the book, among many papers, there is one of the kingdom of Sweden to the following effect, that the late king, moved by zeal for the public welfare had proposed while avenging his own injuries on the House of Austria, to relieve his allies, the princes of Germany, from the bondage in which they were held. For this purpose he had crossed the sea, and successfully driven the enemy from Pomerania. Soon after he made an alliance with the elector in question, who swore to the observance of the articles. He had followed the king's flag while fortune favoured it, but with a change of fortune he also changed his good resolutions, and turned his forces against those who had previously given him liberty, perjuring himself and affording a memorable example of ingratitude, and by this felony he had become incapable of the right of succession which it was admitted belonged to him. In spite of two well founded titles which would justify that kingdom in incorporating those states they declared that as further evidence

* The ducal line of Pomerania became extinct by the death of Burgislaus XIV on the 7th March, 1637. The succession was secured to Brandenburg by the treaty of Grimnitz, concluded in 1529.

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that they were not ambitious for dominion but merely for the public weal, he had carried his arms into Germany, so that with a general peace he would promptly restore what pertains to him, provided he is indemnified, as is just, for the expenses incurred in the conquest and maintenance.

So far the king has not decided upon his reply, and as there is no one to press for it, he is not expected to devote much attention to the matter, especially as his Highness does not enjoy his Majesty's good will on account of the harm done to the Palatine by his declarations in the peace of Prague and in the diet of Ratisbon for perpetual exclusion from the electoral dignity.

They are going forward with the controversy raised by the two subjects upon the question of the royal power to levy money for the maintenance of the fleet. The nature of the cause draws a large crowd of the people, who observe the arguments advanced by the lawyers and freely form their own judgments. *The points for the two subjects are various and steadily supported upon the basis of the laws. Those of the king are based upon a decree of the parliament declaring that he may levy contributions from the people in case of urgent necessity of war, when it is not in the interests of the kingdom to declare the cause, and not otherwise. There are still many replies to make and the result is awaited with impatience.*

The Earl of Arfort had the task of conducting the French Ambassador Bellievre to his public audience last Sunday. The Ambassador at first made some objection because the Earl was not of the order of the Garter, but on being informed that one of that Order is only sent to those ambassadors who have the title of cavalier, he was satisfied. Besides the usual honours they lined the streets through which he was to pass with citizen soldiers an innovation which future ambassadors will claim for themselves. I went, as the servant of your Excellencies, to kiss his hands and pay my respects in order to conciliate his confidence, so as to use it for the public service.

The merchant Vassell sent to Obson at Venice by the preceding despatch, the articles for presentation to your Serenity about trading at Spalatro, as arranged between us. I afterwards found occasion to see him, and he confessed to me under his breath that he had directed his agent to alter the third article if he cannot get it as it stands. So far as I can gather from what he says, he has conceived such great hopes of profit from my remarks, that I hope he will fulfil his promise for any slight privilege that he may obtain from your Serenity, and for this Obson has full powers. I have also made careful enquiry to find out if any other merchants here are trading with that mart, and I find that Peter Richaut, who trades on this mart, frequently sends a great quantity of kerseys to Ragusa, not for himself but on commission from many of the inhabitants here and some Anconese as well, who send them on from Ragusa to Ancona. I have not thought it advisable to make any overtures to him, because my representations would be beside the point, since he has no interest beyond his gain from his commissions; but I thought it my duty to report the matter.

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The Ambassador Corraro was detained fourteen days at the seaport of Lary by contrary winds, from crossing to France. The trials of the journey, the inconvenience of the place, the very bad air there in the present season, and his annoyance at the irreparable loss of time have thrown him into a slight fever, though with his over great zeal for the public service, he writes that this will not delay him a moment in continuing his journey, which he will do at the first sign of a favourable wind. He sent me the enclosed for your Serenity, and yesterday I heard from him, in letters of the 9th inst. that the bad weather and the fever still continue.

London, the 11th December, 1637.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

363. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After I had written the preceding letter your Excellencies' despatches of the 7th, 13th and 20th ult. reached me together. I found there the exposition of the Ambassador Fildin, and what you decided to tell him. After carefully studying the reasons of the state and the instructions sent, I went hastily to the Court. There I found that he had not altered the substance of the office performed with your Serenity, but leaving out some examples contained in it he represented succinctly to the Secretary Cuch the remonstrance made because they did not leave to him the punishment of the man condemned for firing the pistol since he had intimated that he had powers for this from the king. With this information I thought it best to see this secretary. He received me cordially and after I had set forth the case of our state, he said, I hope you will not have occasion to make much complaint about this. I will keep a hand on it and see that it is properly arranged. I said I did not wish to make any complaint, but only to inform his Majesty and the ministers of the very good reasons for refusing the unreasonable demands of the ambassador. It is not necessary for you to speak to the king about this, he said, I will tell him and he will rest content. He asked me mildly, by way of excusing the ambassador, if your Serenity would refuse to allow him to punish his servants for faults committed in his own house. I told him this was not our case. Free states allowed no tribunals for justice except their own, and no ambassadors had ever made such a demand anywhere else. I thought, however, though it was only my opinion, that out of the state's regard for his Majesty they would permit slight correction for faults committed by his servants in his own house, but in serious criminal cases it would never do to think of such a thing. I reminded him that the Ambassador Corraro had shown more prudence, when some of his servants were pursued by the populace two years ago up to the very embassy. When one of his servants had killed an Englishman in self defence, his Excellency did not pretend to punish him, but when applying for pardon for the others, he always excluded this culprit. On hearing this Cuch admitted that the demand was unjust. The

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ambassador had misinterpreted the powers given him by the king. He was a young man with little experience of his profession, and he would soon be leaving. At this, with the idea of finding out if he has orders to return to Venice I said he would always be welcome to your Serenity, and he had had various occasions to perceive the state's desire to satisfy him, even by changing the laws, and he would always find the same after his return from Turin, but so many incidents, one after the other, with aggravated circumstances and such unjustifiable demands could not fail to make fresh trouble. Cuch said he was very sorry; the king knew the desire of the republic to satisfy him, he would write to the ambassador, and he did not yet know, that is precisely what he said, if he would return to reside at Venice. Finding matters thus, and having a little time to write these few lines before the departure of the ordinary, I have thought fit to do so, and if no further occasion arises, I shall abstain from troubling his Majesty expressly. I shall keep my ears open, and if I think it necessary I will go to him, and I will also find an opportunity to express to him the gratitude and esteem of your Serenity for the confidence and the readiness shown by him in his zeal for the interests of Italy, especially your own.

I will also carry out the instructions in the ducal missives of the 20th about renewing overtures for English ships to trade in Crete, and I will speak as of myself with various merchants here with whom I am intimate, about sending ships there, with the benefit offered them by the Senate's decision of the 14th of November, and I will send your Serenity some information in my next despatch.

London, the 11th December, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

364. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The wind keeps becoming more violent and contrary, preventing vessels of every king from leaving this port for France. Already three of the ordinary messengers from London, who take the merchants' packets to Rouen and Paris, are stranded here sighing for an opportunity to cross. I am now quite ill. This is my thirteenth day here, and I am deeply distressed in mind also, as I am in the dark about everything, quite useless to your Serenity, my only hope of release in that inconstant fortune which absolutely controls such matters.

The report is confirmed that all English ships continue to be seized in the ports of France, in indemnification, they say, for a French ship recently plundered by the English. As the matter is under negotiation it is to be hoped that an adjustment will soon follow, allowing free passage to the English ships, without which France loses the convenience of trade, as with this war she is obliged to make use of ships of this nation entirely.

A large squadron of Dunkirkers was sighted yesterday not far off these coasts chasing three Dutch ships, but as the sea was rough it is believed they will have had to separate and give up the

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chase. At the same time a large Hamburg ship laden with 800 casks of wine from Spain and many cases of sugar, being overtaken by the same storm, has been wrecked at the mouth of the port here, the greater part of the sailors perishing miserably, besides the loss of the goods.

The moment the wind becomes favourable, although my health requires other wise, I will seize the opportunity to cross, as the loss of time is most irritating and injurious even if it was not accompanied by heavy expense and countless other disagreeable things.

La Rey, the 11th December, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

365. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duchess of Chevreuse entered last Sunday. The whole Court met and escorted her. The Count Duke visited her in the country. His Majesty has shown her the highest honours here. He and the queen accompanied her with every ceremony, on the following day. She has received the 6,000 crowns sent to her and the assignment of 1000 a month. She announces that she will leave very soon. The queen will not feel at all sorry. She has fallen ill since this lady, who is a beauty, came to the palace.

Madrid, the 12th December, 1637.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Dec. 12. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

366. The Senate's deliberation of yesterday being read to the English Ambassador, he said:

I am glad of the reply, because when it is reported in England it will be seen if the satisfaction is considered sufficient. I thought that the servants of an ambassador's household should be immune and punished for offences by the justice of princes whom they represent, as is observed everywhere. I am sorry that I was wrong. I would rather have seen this decision practised on others. I have no stronger desire than to please and do nothing to diminish good relations. That is the interest of all ambassadors who are now prejudiced by my cause. That increases my feeling, because for the rest the honour shown me in the reply is excessive. I know that I do not deserve it. I preserve in my heart your Serenity's kindness towards me.

The doge replied, Everyone who knows the government of the republic will understand that you may be satisfied with what is done. We are sure that his Majesty, when informed sincerely of the facts, as you are sure to do, will be perfectly satisfied of our good will. You are dear to us for your goodness and quality. You have no fault to be passed over. Justice takes upon itself the things that happen. A city where the prince is and the seat of liberty, must show the people proper justice.

The ambassador answered, Your Serenity does me too much honour. I will endeavour to report the matter to his Majesty with moderation, but I cannot hide that something has been

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taken from the prerogatives of my house, and from the right of punishing my own man. I know that it was not done for offence or injury or lack of respect to his Majesty. I will report as mildly as possible, as I wish to avoid all occasions of offence, and I will make good any bad occurrences with my blood.

The doge said he had every reason to perform a good office, as he was beloved and esteemed. He bowed and went out. In taking a copy of the office he stopped several times and remarked to me, the secretary, that he was much honoured and obliged. His insistence arose from the publicity of the matter. Had it not been so public, with the boats and armed men about his house and so forth, he would have suffered it all and rather have come and asked pardon for the man, although it is not usual for ambassadors to ask pardon where they claim that justice has gone too far. He would have wished to have gone to the Collegio at once, without waiting for the embassy of the Secretary Vincenti, although he spoke quite mildly, and in fine he did not wish it to be said that the excellent relations between the King of England and this republic had been adversely affected through him.

ZON, *Secretary.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

367. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They hope that every thing will be arranged with England, touching their differences, as a gentlemen is expected with despatches to their ambassadors here for this purpose.

Paris, the 15th December, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 17. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

368. FRANCESCO ZONCA, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador Bellievre has had a private audience of the king. After a short talk about the alliance, which remains as described, he told him that the Most Christian, moved by the complaints of his subjects, who were attacked at sea by the ships of this nation, supplied with letters of reprisals issued by the king here to those interested in the ship *Pearl*, taken by the French as already reported, had not been able to refuse them justice, but had ordered the arrest of English ships in all the ports of France, in order to dispose the parties by this means to an amicable settlement. He asked that some one might be sent to Paris with the necessary instructions and to go through the case again, as the best means of putting a stop to all ill feeling between the two crowns. The king replied with some feeling pointing out the inconveniences that might ensue, but he did not refuse to make this last trial as to whether their deeds would correspond with their words. Accordingly they at once sent a fully instructed person to Paris, with special instructions that if the matter was not settled at the end of a fortnight he was to return to England. The letters for reprisals still remain in force and two ships are at sea for the purpose.

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A secretary has appeared on the mart here of that Polish ambassador who reecntly left herc without ever being admitted to the king's presence. He is treating with the merehants who trade at Danzig, who are dissatisfied about the dues imposed by his king on the goods which enter and leave that port. They threaten to remove their business, being ehiefly stirred by the diffieulties in progress for that eause between that king and town, which, being one of the Hanse towns of Germany elaims to live free, and only under the proteetion of the Kingdom of Poland, and that the king must not violate its privileges except in the sea subject to the crown, and whcre its liberties do not extend, he imposes some duties, on goods there, following the example of other prinees. The Danzigers are not satisfied with thesc arguments, and so the king has decided to keep some ships of war at the mouth of the port, to enforec his will. Moved by these proeecdings the inhabitants, together with the English in question, have made a humble representation to the king here, to obtain two of his ships for the defenee of the aneient liberties of that port, and relieve his subjeets from the hurt whieh they reeeive. Their demands do not meet with any response from the king, who only inelines to express his dissatisfaetion with the Polish king without proeeeding to further acts of hostility against him.

The English Agent writes from the Hague that this Polish Ambassador has asked the States to approve of the measures taken by his king, and that the Dutch merchants may not refusc to bow to the duties in question. The king herc is more convineed than ever that the subjeet upon whieh that ambassador was so anxious to eonfer with him for the good of the public cause, and for whieh he tried so long and adopted so many deviecs to be received, was just this, and he is the more pleased at his determination not to see him.

Since my last offices with Secretary Cueh nothing has been said touehing Fildin's last instances, which every one recognises as out of plaee. I regulate my remarks in aecordanee with the interests of your Exeelleneies, as instrueted.

Six days ago the extraordinary left taking Fielding's instruetions for Turin, and from all that I see I eonclude that he is at the end of his residenee at Venice, and that after he has stayed some time in Piedmont he will return to England. I am on the watch to learn more about their plans, and if any one will be nominated in his plaee, although I think the time is not yet ripe. He has written to Court about the visits made him on behalf of your Serenity during his illness, and it has given great pleasure.

The letters from Germany, I faney from Teller, report the emperor deputing five persons to negotiate the peace with the deputies of the erown of Sweden, to whieh that monarch is devoting great attention. On the other hand the ambassadors in France write of the extension for five years of the allianee reeently arranged between that erown and Franee, and this deprives the first news of eredit.

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Count Parella has arrived at Court, sent by the Duchess of Savoy as a simple gentleman to inform their Majesties of the death of her husband, of the guardianship she has taken up of his children and dominions, and of the intimations to the Cardinal, her brother in law, not to enter Piedmont, to avoid trouble, in the hope that these measures may meet with approval, as aiming at her own welfare as well as that of her children and subjects. The Princess of Mantua has also written to his Majesty of the death of her father in law, and is going to send some one to perform the proper compliment at this Court.

Since the enclosed from the Ambassador Corraro I have heard again from his Excellency, on the 15th inst. from Larii, where he was still waiting for the wind to change, in great distress of mind, although free of the fever. As the wind seems inclined to become favourable today I hope that he will soon get away from that place, and will not miss its first offers before putting to sea.

London, the 17th December, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

369. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

In obedience to my instructions of the 19th of November, I have been on several days in this week upon the Exchange, where all the merchants of the mart congregate. I met there divers of those who trade in the Levant, who have shares in ships. I entered into conversation with them about the trade of Candia and dexterously extracted from them the reasons why their ships have given up frequenting that island. They say it is too far from the others that they visit, and consequently wastes a lot of time and money. They cannot export oil thence, but only a few muscats, for use in the kingdom, which pay heavy duties, while their ships are subject to countless other charges. They run the risk of serious loss, since it frequently spoils, and with little hope of profit ; and above all because the inhabitants there have an evil nature, and frequently their sailors are injured and killed for trifling causes. They have nothing to take there except a great quantity of salt fish, a few kerseys and other cheap cloth. As these are also furnished from Venice and elsewhere, the two ships of this nation which usually touch at those ports every year have to take ready money with them to exchange for muscats. I heard the same things from several of them. In the presence of many I remarked, but as if from myself, that your Serenity had provided for their relief with respect to the expense and other charges, the Senate having halved the duty, making an abatement of two soldi for every lira paid, and exempting one butt in every hundred, for their use at table, with various other advantages, and I showed them the decision. The injuries and homicides were inevitable accidents which occurred everywhere, and the state could only prevent them by the ordinary measures of justice. If they happen again the representatives of your Serenity would mete out exemplary punishment. I said those wines were greatly in demand here, and fetched a higher price than all the

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rest. A great quantity was sold under this name, though it is not the same, and this is perfectly true, and by importing a greater quantity, with the advantages now held out to them and the care for their protection, they could not fail to make it a profitable business. These arrangements had been made with special regard to them, and others would be made if they were considered necessary, as this nation receives more favours than any other in your Serenity's dominions. After I had read the decision and distributed it among eight of them, exactly as it came to me, the word went round admitting that it was very advantageous for their interests. They welcome above all the article which exempts them from the valuation of the goods made in their ships by the justiciars, from which they say they suffered many extortions. They say your Excellencies will find it profitable to have the same done elsewhere in your dominions, and thus encourage their ships to frequent them. They asked me to present a request for this. All the above ideas with others which came into my mind I have repeated several times to most of these merchants, and I have tried my best to impress them with the advantages to be gained by frequenting those ports. I will continue to do so whenever I see an opening and observe the results, which I will report.

I had another talk with Vassel about the trade of Spallatro. He told me he had directed Obson in his preceding despatch to hasten on the arrangement and if he arranges it in time, he will send the news to Leghorn by express to a servant of his who has embarked on the *Golden Fleece* in charge of 150 bales of kerseys for Ragusa, so that, in conformity with orders received here, he may divert the course of the ship, if he hears from Obson, and go to Liesina instead of Ragusa, where Obson is charged to see that the 150 bales are unladed and taken to Spallatro. He asked me to solicit your Excellencies for the most speedy despatch, so that the orders may find the ship at Leghorn, before it starts for Ragusa. I told him that any delay would proceed from his asking too much, and if he made reasonable requests he would obtain them immediately. He quoted the case of a Jew, who introduced some trade in Spallatro and had a similar privilege. I told him the mart was now on its legs and his example was not to the point, and as this was a question of his greater convenience, advantage and safety he ought not to persist in making excessive demands. He told me again that Obson had powers to settle the terms. He hoped your Serenity would grant him some facilities and he would try to deserve them.

He is really very dissatisfied with Ragusa. He wants to avenge himself in this way, besides the benefit which he expects to derive from the export of his goods to Hungary, so he will certainly come to terms for the slightest advantage. He has 1040 pieces of kerseys left at Ragusa, which he cannot dispose of, so that if he comes to terms with your Excellencies he is determined to remove his house from there at once and transfer it to Spallatro, in the assurance, so he says, that English ships will not touch at that port any more, since it is not worth their

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while to stop there for the small portion which Richaut sends. Meanwhile the *Golden Fleece* has not yet left these shores owing to the contrary wind, and as it has to stay some time at Genoa and at Leghorn, I hope, if this business serves the interests of your Serenity, that the orders in question will reach Leghorn in time to divert its course from Ragusa, according to the intent of the petitioners.

London, the 18th December, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 19. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

370. To the Secretary in England.

We enclose the reply of the Ambassador Fielding and the office read to him about the affair of the pistol. The ambassador objects to the sentence of banishment. Possibly he is rather interested than sensible of the sincerity of the steps taken or of the circumstances of the case. Thus he has not been to the Collegio to say anything about the commissions sent to him to go to Turin. You will keep a look out to see if his instructions say anything about returning here or if he is altogether recalled.

Ayes, 132. Noes, 8. Neutral, 15.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 22. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

371. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

It was a procurator of the Government of England who came to state the reasons why that king issued letters of reprisals against the French.* He brings orders to the English ambassadors to make what settlement they please in the matter, and the king promises to ratify everything. They say, however, that it will prove a difficult matter because the English claim as a right what they grant here as a favour.

With regard to the alliance the king here has declared that he will send one of his ministers to the diet, whether it be held at Hamburg or the Hague, which ever the Swedes and Dutch prefer, but the former rather than the latter. The Swedes intimate that they would prefer Hamburg, but if England insists on the Hague they will agree to it. The English state that they will accept the place that France wishes, maintaining that she ought to be the first to move, since it is the question of reinstating not only the Palatine but all the other princes allied with him in Germany for which she is at war, while England at present only serves as an intermediary to present to the emperor the peace proposals that will be drawn up at the diet, and if these are not accepted by the Austrians within two months then she also will declare against them. So nothing is decided and one may say that they do not get beyond mere ceremonial.

Paris, the 22nd December, 1637.

[*Italian.*]

* Mr. Wannerton, mentioned in Leicester's despatch of the 5th January. *S.P. For. France.*

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Dec. 25.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

372. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The advices which arrived last week about the persons destined by the emperor for the peace negotiations with Sweden, were more authentic than people thought. The English minister at Hamburg writes on the 30th ult. that there is a certain doctor in that city who is negotiating very closely on Cæsar's behalf, and his negotiations are well advanced with the Ambassador Salvio, sent there by that crown with full powers for peace and war.* When the French Ambassador d'Avo found this out, he tried his utmost to stop it and induce Salvio to ratify the treaty of Vismar, which was drafted about a year ago and never ratified. By it the Kings of France and Sweden bound themselves not to make any peace with the House of Austria for three years except by common consent, on condition that France supplied a certain large sum of money yearly to the Swedes. He adds that Salvio, to gain time with the French and advantage with the emperor, is haggling over every thing. He refuses to sign the treaty in question unless the Most Christian pays down the money for the terms expired, which he interprets as beginning from the first day on which the articles were agreed, although never ratified. He complains that that king has never declared war on the King of Hungary, as he is bound to by the agreement, and it is necessary that the adjustment of the alliance with England must come first. D'Avo replies that they will find a way to satisfy them about the money; he shows his full powers to declare war on the King of Hungary, which will be done immediately the treaty is signed. With respect to the English alliance, he has the necessary instructions and so has the English minister, and it can be completed after a few hours conference. Salvio retorts that he thought this affair was to be referred to the Hague, and they tell him that at the Hague also his king's ministers have the same instructions. He concludes that he will have to write to Sweden and wait for the answer. These are all subterfuges which reasonably lead to the conclusion that their negotiations with the Emperor are far advanced. At this Court they maintain that if Sweden is granted the peaceful possession of Pomerania, which is considered to be worth more than the rest of the dominions of that crown, she will certainly conclude peace. I have thought it my duty to report all these things, which I have on excellent authority.

The Secretary of the Polish Ambassador has had a confidential talk with me about the dissatisfaction of the king here with his master over the marriage with the Palatine princess. He admitted that on the face of things they seemed to have right

* The despatch from de Vic referred to appears to be that of the $\frac{7}{17}$th November, and not of the 30th. It begins: Letters from Vienna assure us of the resolution of that Court to make peace with Sweden; to which purpose they use all possible means. Amongst others, by a certain lawyer living in this town, who above three weeks since hath received from the king of Hungary under his own hand, both orders and power to treat of a peace with the Swedish ministers, particularly with Mr. Salvius, between whom and the said lawyer there have passed already sundry secret conferences. *S.P. For. Denmark*, Vol. 14.

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on their side here, but one who knew the nature of the Polish king's powers could not fail to excuse him. In time of war his authority was as extensive as one could wish, but during peace he was controlled by the laws of the republic. When armed and victorious against the Muscovite he announced his desire to marry the said princess, and meeting with no opposition he sent the Ambassador Zavaschi to lay the first foundations here. But when he laid down his arms soon after and asked the consent of the diet of Warsaw, as is customary, they opposed it openly, because the bride does not profess the Catholic faith. The king was incensed at this, but the means employed to overcome the difficulty having proved fruitless, he sent back Zavaschi to inform the king and make proposals, but they displayed an utter aversion here, and he decided to adopt another course. The ambassador, his master, was to make the most sincere apologies to the king, to declare his king's affection for the Palatine house, and propose means for restoring it to its former greatness. If they had listened to him he would have made satisfactory proposals. Here, however, they seem to know well enough that that king never intended to contract that marriage. The original proposals were designed to pledge England to help him in his plans against Sweden, but when he found they were not disposed to this he invented the above excuses to evade an obligation to which he was so far committed. Douglas, the ambassador at that Court, frequently reported that he had found out these arts, but such was their good opinion of the sincerity of that king that they never believed him.

This week also I have been several times to Court to renew the invitation to the merchants here to trade at Candia. I have spoken to them and to others whom I have not seen before, and I hope that my efforts will not prove altogether fruitless. I now have a promise from one of the owners of the *Golden Fleece* which left recently for Italy with a favourable wind, that he will send a ship next year, and I hope that will be followed by another of one Richard Berisford. I do not lose sight of the affair, but I also try to seize every opportunity to introduce greater openings, as the state desires.

Count Parella gave the queen in the king's presence, a more detailed account of the reasons which have led the Duchess of Savoy to keep the Cardinal, her brother in law, at a distance from Piedmont. He also asked for protection from this crown in case the Cardinal, assisted by the enemies of his house, should attempt to injure her. They seemed to feel great sympathy for her. They tell her to be of good courage and express the intention to help her in case of need. *These offers will end in words, and the interests of the Palatine, which are much more pressing, serve to show how much anyone has to expect from this crown.*

The Spanish fleet has arrived at Dunkirk, with 550 chests of ryals and 4000 soldiers. Two of the ships, which dragged behind the others, were attacked by the Dutch, who were following their traces, and fell a prey to them, but the money has arrived safely.

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The wind which has been favourable to transport the Ambassador Corraro across the sea, after a costly delay of three weeks at the port of Larii,* prevents the passage of letters from Venice to this kingdom.

London, the 25th December, 1637.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 31. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

373. To the Secretary Zonca in England.

With regard to the reception of the ambassador of Morocco and the prejudice to the republic through our ordinary ambassadors not being met at their entry by an earl, you will seize an opportunity to represent the parity conceded to the ambassadors of the republic at all the Courts, but in such a way as not to commit the state, in order to obtain what is required at the arrival of the Ambassador Giustinian, insisting that his Excellency shall have this sign of honour.

Ayes, 89. Noes, 1. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

374. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

They persist in making every effort to excite ill feeling between France and England, in order to bring to naught the negotiations for an alliance between those crowns, and to lead England astray by dazzling her with specious promises. After long sittings with the secretaries of state the English minister here has sent his own secretary† to his master with instructions to use the utmost despatch. Details of the proposals which he takes have not yet transpired.

In the place of the young Count of Ognate at that Court, they have selected the Marquis of La Fuente, a person in whom they repose high hopes and one of those most strictly dependent upon the Count Duke.

Madrid, the 31st December, 1637.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

*According to Salvetti, writing on the 27th November, Correr's long delay after taking leave caused some remark and annoyance: Il Sig. Amb. Correro . . . . non e ancora partito . . . . si trattiene fuori alla campagna con dire di partere di giorno in giorno, non senza dare qui occasione di discorso ed anco di meraviglia. Sua Maesta si trova alquanto risentito, pero si lascia vedere e il suo male non e punto pericoloso." Brit. Mus., *Add MSS.* 27962H.

† Richard Fanshawe. *Cal. S.P. Dom*, 1637–8, page 31.

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Jan. 1.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci. Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

375. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The seditions of Scotland, although they observe great secrecy here, are advancing to more dangerous manifestations. The entire people there refuse to obey the ecclesiastical ceremonies introduced. They have roughly handled one of the bishops, who wished to go on with them in spite of their protest. They compelled another to celebrate the offices according to the usual rites, and a third, terrified by the example of those assembled, confined himself to his house of his own accord, to observe in the mean time the trend affairs will take. They desire the revocation of a proclamation published by the King which declares guilty of high treason those who disobey the contents of a book written by the Archbishop of Canterbury touching these ceremonies, which was also burned in many places, in public contempt of the author and his doctrines. We hear reports of unnamed persons who threaten to choose a new king, in fact the whole kingdom is in confusion. Owing to this the king and the said archbishop are much troubled, the latter the primum mobile of the whole of this machine. By his advice they have decided to send thither with all speed the Earl of Rosburgh, one of the most trusted lords of that nation, to try and induce them to accept the king's wishes. If he cannot do this in other ways he carries most secret orders, only to be used as an extreme remedy, to offer them an interval of four years during which they shall practise their own rites, to dispose them to obedience. This is considered the best means for saving the royal dignity and assuaging those disturbances, which, with the existing strained relations between the king and his subjects in this kingdom also, for the same religious causes against the Puritans, and because they are deprived of parliaments and laden with many burdens, which they claim are an excess of the royal power, might give rise to incidents involving the worst consequences.*

The Secretary of Poland has departed, after performing many offices fruitlessly with the merchants here to induce them to contribute of their own accord to the charges which his king has imposed at the port of Danzig. He showed how that kingdom, which serves as a bulwark against the incursions of the Turks, deserves well of all Christendom, which without it would experience the greatest miseries from the incursions and rapine of the infidels, the need of keeping that frontier well defended, which cannot be done without a great deal of money, and that the

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*Walter Whitford, bishop of Brechin was chased out of his church at Brechin in November. Spalding: *Hist. of the Troubles in Scotland and England*, vol. i., page 50. It is not clear who are the other prelates referred to.

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said city ought not to object to contribute a small part, seeing that it is protected from the dangers which otherwise would overwhelm it.

This secretary also intimates that a marriage is in course of negotiation between the youthful Queen of Sweden and Prince Casimir, brother of his king. But his assertions obtain no credit here where they know that this is in direct contravention to the orders established by the estates of that realm, which exclude for ever from that marriage the royal house of Poland and this was recently confirmed with more severe edicts in a diet held at Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, with a declaration that whoever proposes any such thing incurs the crime of high treason in the first degree.

They write from Denmark that the king there, at the petition of the Danzigers, is arming some ships to send to the Baltic, under the pretext that in the peace between Poland and Sweden it was agreed that trade in that sea should remain free as it was before the war, and now the Pole is breaking that agreement, he is bound to protect the right. But the truth is, according to the common talk, that the Danish king is jealous at seeing Poland putting forces on the sea, and wants to put a stop to it, as in time it might trouble him, and he is hastening to do this before the Polish ambassador reaches that Court from Holland, whither, however, he takes the same instructions which he has expressed to these lords.

I find that the merchants here are taking better and better the decision of your Excellencies about advantages for the ships here which trade to Candia. From my dealings with them, always as from myself and by way of conversation, I find, if I am not deceived, that four at least of them will make trial next summer of what profit they may obtain, and if they succeed only moderately, it will increase from year to year.

The merchant Vassell is awaiting with impatience the decision of your Serenity upon his affair. He believes this will be taken in time for the news to find the *Golden Fleece* at Leghorn and to divert it from its voyage to Ragusa. I encourage this hope and in the mean time he is preparing a greater quantity of kerseys for Spallatro and Venice upon another ship, which will be ready to lade next month, from what he tells me.

The extraordinary who was taking the commissions to the Ambassador Fildin to proceed to Piedmont, has been robbed in France between Dieppe and Rouen of his valise with his despatches and everything else he had with him. He has thus been compelled to stop at Dieppe, and sent the news here, which arrived only this morning. The shortness of the time leads me to believe that they will send him the duplicates only by the next ordinary. The indications which I have go to confirm my opinion *that he will take leave altogether of your Serenity, never to return, the Lords of the Council here being glad of this occasion to relieve your Excellencies of the annoyances which his embassy has so frequently caused you.* They do not think as yet of substituting anyone in

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his place, although Lord Canoe, son of the Secretary of State, of that name, is asking to be sent.*

Count Parella is about to take leave of their Majesties and return to Piedmont. His operations have in no wise disturbed the Spanish Ambassador here because as they have not appointed commissioners for him, as is usual in important cases, he concludes that he asked for nothing serious. Since the first offices, which were public, he has spoken several times familiarly with the king in the queen's chamber. It is easier to guess what he said to his Majesty than to know it, since no one else was present, but as he has not negotiated with others, it is supposed that it was nothing important. But I keep on the alert, as your Serenity directs me in your letters of the 4th ult., and I am sure that nothing of consequence will be done without my hearing of it through my correspondents. I have punctually carried out the commands contained in the preceding despatches of your Serenity.

London, the 1st January, 1637. M.V.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 2. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

376. The Ambassador of Great Britain came into the Collegio and spoke as follows :

According to the custom I come to wish you all greatness and prosperity in the new year and in many to come. More than custom impels me, and I do it in the name of his Majesty who desires increase of all good things to you and that no accident may ever enfeeble you. I have always tried to increase these friendly relations, without caring about claims on the head of jurisdiction or justice, as they are light things to interrupt an old standing relationship which should be upheld with every care. I use this to conform to the sincere maxims and upright aims of the republic, as shown by your declarations of esteem for my king and your honours to me, and the numerous incidents in the past have in no wise changed my opinion.

The doge thanked him for his good wishes, as a testimony of his king's good will, to whom they wished all prosperity, They also desired every satisfaction for him, as a minister so much loved and esteemed by all the republic. They felt sure that nothing would interrupt the excellent relations they had enjoyed for so many centuries with the kings of Great Britain. The ambassador answered, Your Serenity may be sure that my king's good will could not be greater, and I thank you on my own behalf. If I am unworthy of anything else I can always serve for good offices to cement the friendship between the two princes.

The doge said that he was loved and esteemed for that in particular and they would always try to please and honour him. The Ambassador said he was for nothing else, and making signs of submission he bowed and departed.

[*Italian.*]

* On the 17th November, o.s., Windebank wrote to Fielding "for your lordship's coming away absolutely from Venice it is now clearly resolved by His Majesty." *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Report page 283. This was two days after the date of the instructions sent to Fielding for his mission to Savoy. *S.P. For. Venice.* The other aspirant was Edward second Viscount Conway. *See* No. 230 at page 216 above.

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Jan. 4.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

377. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

In addition to the intimations reported the secretary of the English ambassador brings his master one for the Duchess of Chevreuse to grant her the use of a royal ship to take her to that Court.*

Madrid, the 4th January, 1638.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Jan. 8.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

378. To the Secretary in England.

We enclose a copy of the Ambassador Fielding's office in the Collegio. From the manner of his speech we conclude that he will not insist any more on his claims, and he may have had some hint from England. He has said nothing about his going to Turin, and we shall wait to learn what he may have to say on the subject.

Ayes, 70. Noes, 1. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

379. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

They have recently concluded the case of those who disputed the royal authority about levying imposts for the maintenance of the Fleet. At the beginning of next term, which will be towards the middle of next February, each of the judges, according to the custom of the country, will give his opinion upon oath, from which the sentence will derive, and that, on the matter in dispute, will serve as an irrevocable confirmation of the law. *It is not easy to describe the state of mind of all classes of persons, as in spite of the matter being sub judice, the strength of their arguments and the feebleness with which they say the king's advocate met them, they see themselves compelled by violence, all the same, to pay their taxes even before the sentence is known. Previous custom leaves it absolutely doubtful in whose favour sentence will be pronounced, taking into consideration the question of justice for the people and of authority for the king; and if sentence goes against the people, as seems likely, it is feared that the judges may fare badly from their fury. It is clear from the offices of the Attorney General, that there are no arguments for the king than those already intimated in my letter No. 4 (Dubbioso in tutto resta ogni uso in riguardo della giustitia por la parte dei popoli, e dell' Auttorita per quella del Re, a favore di chi sara pronontiata, e quando sia contro i sudditi, come si puo credere, temesi che dalla furia di essi arrivi qualche mal hora a' giudici sudetti. Chiaro appare anco dagli uffitii dell' Avocato Regio non esservi altra ragione pel Re che la gia accennata in mie riverentissime lettere di No. 4).*

The Spanish Ambassador having come to the city to celebrate the Christmas festivities, I thought I should do as the state wishes by going to see him to pay my respects, to keep up the mutual correspondence. The office pleased him and he intimated that

* The *Bonaventure*, Capt. Henry Stradling was detached for this service. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 28.

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his actions would show his wish to continue the best relations with the ministers of the republic. He asked me what news I had. I told him there were reports of some advantage gained by Gallasso over the Swedes. He at once took from his bosom a paper which he said was a copy of a letter from Gallasso to the emperor, from Volgast on the 24th of November, stating that he has beaten the Swedes three times, and that the remains of their army had fled towards Stralsund, where they had refused to receive them. Stettin was now the only considerable town that the Swedes held, and he hoped to end the war soon. He assured me this was true beyond a doubt. Although I knew that this letter was invented at Brussels and that he had seen letters of the 30th of November from the English Agent at Hamburg which say nothing about it, I professed to rejoice at the good fortune of the House of Austria. He said every just prince ought to rejoice at it, because the much desired peace will not be far off now.

He spoke afterwards of the alliance between this crown and France. He told me laughingly that the Ambassador Fildin had told the Grand Duke about it by letter in the king's name. He professed to care nothing for the consequences even if it took place, declaring that his king had the means to stir up such serious trouble in Great Britain that he could very soon compel the king here to recall his ships and the 6000 infantry that he might send across the sea at the expense of the French. He was more apprehensive about Piedmont, and seemed to believe that all the principal places will be in the hands of the French. He asked what news I had. I told him that Count Parella had informed the king that the French had no garrison in Piedmont except at Pinerollo ; the troops of the duchess are of all nations, care being taken that no contingent shall exceed that of the others, and as they are all paid by her and have taken the oath of fealty to her son, they are dependent upon her alone. He thanked me for the information and my visit, and so I left him.

The severe cold and the despatches of the queen to the Duchess of Savoy not being ready, have delayed the leave taking of Count Parella. In the mean time he is not conducting any negotiations, but merely amusing himself at banquets and dances with the lords and ladies of the Court, so that he does not find his stay tiresome.

The day after Christmas their Majesties put off their mourning for the Duke of Savoy. They are now preparing dances and other recreations for the entertainment of the Court and of the Ambassador of Morocco. He has finished his business, which does not go beyond the matters indicated, but he will not leave before milder weather begins. He does not pursue his king's offers of an alliance with this crown, as when first raised they did not seem to take them up here, and he thought it better not to go on. It is supposed that he is waiting to hear from his king in reply to the despatches sent on that subject.

Yesterday they at length published the proclamation which

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has been discussed since the conversion of the Countess of Neuport. It contains the punishment decreed by the laws, namely loss of life and goods for whoever solicits anyone to adhere to the Roman superstition, so they phrase it, for whoever is found administrating sacraments in the Popish fashion and for those subjects of the king who listen to and say the mass.*

Your Serenity's despatch of the 11th ult. has only reached me this morning with the offices of the Ambassador Fildin and the reply to him. As instructed, I will try to find out how he has put matters here, and I will defend the action of your Excellencies as may be necessary, sending full particulars in my next despatch.

London, the 8th January, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

380. Anzolo Correr and Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The procurator of the King of England having arrived,† the English ambassadors are to meet the Commissioners Buglion and Savigni to try and arrange some settlement about the seizure of English ships, which still goes on. England claims that the Most Christian shall ratify the treaty before they go to the congress at Hamburg. The Earl of Leicester suspects that the French are secretly encouraging the Swedes and Dutch not to accept, in order to compel his king to make greater declarations but he protests that they make a mistake if they think he will take any steps without this. The Swedish ambassador asserts that his crown will never agree to the treaty as received from France, but they will make such proposals to England as she cannot refuse if she really intends to do anything serious. For the rest they agree to send to the Hague or Hamburg, which ever pleases her better.

Paris, the 12th January, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

381. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Owing to my efforts in the matter of the Ambassador Fildin and the sentence against the man who fired the pistol, *I have succeeded in seeing the very letter written by him on the subject to the Secretary Cuch.* He writes with much more moderation than he speaks. He gives a brief account of his instances, moved more by equity than justice, to procure some mitigation for one who acted, he maintains, in innocence. They proceeded against him according to the law, and he is entirely satisfied with the last reply given him, which he sends without any alteration. *All this was read to me under my very eyes.* I made up my

* Proclamation restraining the withdrawing His Majesty's subjects from the Church of England and giving scandal in resorting to masses. It is dated the 20th December, 1637, old style. Steele: *Royal Proclamations* Vol. I. No. 1757, page 212. The conversion of the Countess of Newport took place in the preceding November, *See* No. 347 at page 324 above.

† Mr. Wannerton. Leicester to Coke, $\frac{5}{15}$ January. *S.P. For. France.*

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mind not to make any further special representations to the ministers here, but I will go very frequently to the queen's apartments where all gather, and there speak casually now with one and now with another, in the manner prescribed to me, by making openings for myself. I have done this and had long conversations with the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl and Countess of Denbigh, the brother in law, father and mother respectively of the ambassador, and with the Secretaries of State, enough to impress them with the ideas supplied by your Excellencies. They told me his Majesty had seen the replies of your Serenity. He considered them prudent, just and friendly to him and his representative. He was satisfied with the result, considered himself indebted to the republic and he would always make response. The connections of the ambassador commiserate the misfortune of the culprit, but they approve of the carrying out of the law. They seem to take comfort that the period of the ambassador's office is passing with general satisfaction. They admit uncommon obligations to your Excellencies for so many favours to him, and for the visits during his illness in particular. As a sign of gratitude they offer to do evcrything to serve you. I have expressed to them the affectionate esteem of thc republic for his Majesty, the esteem for the ambassador personally and the satisfaction of your Excellencies that your good intentions are appreciated.

The Queen's despatches for the Duchess of Savoy being made ready, Count Parella has taken leave of the Court and set out post for Piedmont. Besides various presents for his mistress he takes their deep sympathy for her misfortunes and some special gifts for her. A few days before he left he distributed among the lords here some gold medals, with the image of the late duke on the one side, with the legcnd " Vittorius Amadeus, Dei gratia Dux Sabaudiae," and on the other the arms of Savoy and of Cyprus, with the large bonnet closed above and the légend " Princeps Pedemontanus, Rex Cipri 1635." He was asked in confidence if they still claim these titles, and replied, Yes, especially in public acts. When asked if any prince had recognised it, he said some had begun to and they hoped that others would follow the example. Count Scisa is confirmed in the capacity of agent for the duchess at this Court. He says that a certain baron has arrived at Brussels, sent by his mistress to Prince Tomaso, without it being known what business he brings.*

The Agents at Hamburg, write on the 18th ult. that the negotiations between the Swedes and the emperor were practically broken off when Count Curzio arrived at Lubeck, sent by the emperor to observe the actions of Gallasso, and he partially started them again. The treaty of Vismar had reached the last stage towards adjustmcnt, being already signed in the hands of the Ambassador Salvio, who has strict orders not to present it before the French pay the terms which have expired, counting from the date of the agreemcnt and not of the signing. This is the only difficulty left to adjust.

* The Seigneur de Pesieux. *See* Siri ; *Memorie Recondite*, Vol. viii., page 494.

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The King of Denmark hearkened to the petitions of the Danzigers against the measures taken by the Pole, and granted the deputies of that town five of his ships, with power to use them where they think best. These set out with all speed in that direction and captured without any resistance the two Polish ships guarding that port, bringing them into the city, which is now free from those charges which greatly incommoded its trade. Such is the news received by the merchants here from their correspondents at Danzig.

At the instance of Madame de Chevreuse they have sent a king's ship to Spain to bring her here,* whence she desires to proceed to Flanders to the queen mother.

The person sent to Paris about the ship *Pearl*† writes that he has little hope of settling it with mutual satisfaction, so the merchants here are much afraid of some worse incident to trouble their trade with that kingdom.

The Dutch ambassador publishes the surprise by the troops of the Company of the Brasils of a fort called Minoa in Guinea,‡ a position of great importance, owing to the inconvenience it causes the Spaniards in those parts.

Curzio, Agent of the Prince Palatine, has returned to his master in Holland. He leaves here another Englishman, a servant of the Palatine house, to conduct its unhappy affairs.§

London, the 15th January, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

382. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Admiral of England has arrived at San Sebastian to convey the Duchess of Chevreuse to that Court. The gentleman sent by that monarch to attend her on the journey, happened to be dressed in the French fashion. On his way to Madrid he had a taste of the unruliness of the people of this country and is seriously injured.‖

The French minister stays on here under the pretext of negotiating with the Duchess of Chevreuse, and the notion that he

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* The *Bonaventure*.

† Wannerton.

‡ Fort St. George del Mina was taken by an expedition under Jean Coin which started from Pernambuco at the end of June 1637. Le Clerc : *Hist. des Provinces Unies*, Vol. ii, page 173.

§ Presumably Sir Abraham Williams.

‖ "Mr. Scandret, who was sent with His Majesty's ship for the Duchess of Chevreuse, having recrossed the mountains a little short of Guarda Reina, a Spaniard drew upon him without any cause given him, as he says, and wounded him ; but by fortune the thrust lighting upon a bone proved not dangerous. Upon the advice hereof the Duchess of Chevreuse presently sent a surgeon and letter to him, and the Conde Duque gave present order to the President of Castile to send out ministers to those parts to use all diligence for the discovery and apprehension of the person." Aston to Coke, the 17th January 1638. *S.P. For. Spain.* Scandaret was one of the queen's gentlemen. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 28. It happened between Espinar and Villacastin and was due to Scandaret being dressed French fashion. *Mem. Hist. Espanol*, Vol. XIV., page 303.

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may have matters of yet greater moment to introduce has vanished.

Madrid, the 16th January, 1638.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Jan. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

383. Anzolo Correr and Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors extraordinary have not yet met the commissioners for adjusting the matter about the seizure of ships because the Secretary Savigne has not come to this city. M. di Buglion has indeed intimated to them that it is not necessary to say any more about what has passed, but to see what damage has been suffered by each of the parties and then give compensation in a friendly way for everything. With respect to the alliance with England the ministers here say that it no longer rests with them ; let them get their allies to accept the treaty and his Majesty will ratify it forthwith.

I, Corraro only made my public entry to the city yesterday. The royal coaches met me followed by those of the Cardinals, the nuncio, the ambassador of Sweden etc. but not by those of the English ambassadors, who did not send owing to the precedence which they claim over the nuncio.

Paris, the 19th January, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

384. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The pope's minister heard of the proclamation against the Catholics with excessive dissatisfaction, because of the phrases derogatory to the Roman Church ; because of the prejudice which he avers the propagation of the faith of Christ will reeeive here, and because, with more confidence than was perhaps justified in the king's connivance towards its professors, he has pledged himself too deeply to Rome, by assertions that through his efforts this kingdom is marching with great strides towards obedience to the Holy See. As this may readily have found credence there, these decisions render his promises illusory, as well as the hopes, frequently held out to him, of the Cardinal's dignity as a reward for such great deserts.

It is clear that if he really believed what he wrote, he greatly deceived himself. *Because those who best know the more recondite aims of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who controls the king's will absolutely, at least in ecclesiastical matters, know full well that he has only tolerated the liberty which the Catholics enjoy with the view of first reducing the Calvinists, or Puritans as they are called here, to a ready obedience to the king in matters of consequence also, so that once that party is under control, and it is very powerful, he can safely destroy the Catholic one as well by the arm of the laws.* Various reasons combined to make them decide upon this edict, namely the excessive liberty with which the divine worship was exercised in all Catholic houses, the outcry caused by numerous

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conversions, people being reconciled to the Church daily, preaching in English in the chapels of the foreign ministers, christenings, marriages and finally and the most important, the outspoken declaration of the rebels in Scotland that the archbishop, induced by ambition for ecclesiastical dignities in the Roman Church, was trying to subvert this kingdom to that faith.

All these reclamations added to the conversion of the Countess of Nieuport catechised by this same papal minister, induced the archbishop to beseech his Majesty several times to dismiss him from the Court and kingdom. But he could not succeed in this, the minister having the support of the queen, who worked hard although in vain against the proclamation, which the archbishop succeeded in obtaining in the end.

The king and the Lords of the Council are much astonished by the proceedings of the French over the alliance, which has been so much vaunted at Court, because while they have long since protested to the English ambassadors at Paris that full powers to conclude it are in the hands of MM. d'Avo and d'Estampes, ambassadors in Germany and Holland respectively, to be produced wherever the conference might be held, these Ministers have hitherto denied having received them to the English agents, and d'Avo has only confessed to having them these last days. Now the Ambassador Salvio denies having those for Sweden, but he expects them shortly and so soon as they have arrived they will get the matter settled. *The Secretary Cuch spoke to me about this in confidence with much feeling. He said the king did not know and his ministers did not understand the mystery of these delays caused by the French. Those allied against the House of Austria in every quarter cannot imagine why this crown does not desire to unite with them, in order thereby to close the sea against the enemy and compel him to seek a general adjustment in earnest. He enlarged upon the advantages which their naval forces here can confer, and notably that Flanders would be in manifest danger, and this power is not to be despised. The truth is, however, that the Ambassador Salvio, on his arrival at Hamburg, asked the English Agents what the king here offered in support of the Swedes, and they answered so curtly, in conformity with their orders, that he was not satisfied.*

Last Sunday they performed a masque at Court, consisting of the king himself and fourteen other lords, at which divers ladies countermasked took part, forming a graceful diversion. I was present, invited by the Countess of Arundel who, mindful of the great favours she received at Venice, studies every way to show her gratitude to your Serenity's ministers. At the banquet in her house I found myself next to Vindebanch, the Secretary of State from whom I learned that Fildin will not return to Venice ; that Morton who is at Turin for the king, being left there on his passage, as one of known ability, might stay with your Serenity in the capacity of Agent ; that the king may do without an ambassador there for some time, and that affairs and a good understanding may be left with an agent. I carefully noted what he said, but made no reply, as I do not know the

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intentions of the state, and to leave the matter in its virgin state to the Ambassador Giustinian. But I know that two lords* and a simple gentleman are making efforts to be sent in Fildin's place. I will keep on the watch and send word of any decisions they may take.

The capture of the two Polish ships by the Danish ones is confirmed by way of Danzig, with this difference from what I advised, that the capture was made under the flag of Danzig, but the booty was sent to the King of Denmark, who styles himself protector of the Baltic, under his own flag. They are waiting impatiently to hear how the Pole has taken it. They write here that he is ill and this will afford the Danzigers better opportunities of making provision.

London, the 22nd January, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

385. Anzolo Correr and Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

In response to your Serenity's letters of the 24th ult. we have to say that so far the King of Morocco has not had any negotiations opened here, such as you advise us his ambassador has proposed in England.

Paris, the 26th January, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

386. Anzolo Correr and Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Marquis Parelli has passed this way on his return from England, whither he went by order of the duchess herself. He saw the king and the queen once only, and on taking leave of them set out straight for Turin.

The English ambassadors have met their commissioners in conference about the seizure of the ships, and it seems they are arranging a compromise that will settle the matter to the satisfaction of both parties.

The two youngest brothers of the Prince Palatine arrived in this city two days ago.† The said ambassadors met them. They are lodged in the house of the Earl of Leicester and have not yet seen the king. They will stay here a long time as they have come to learn knightly exercises.

Paris, the 26th January, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

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* Edward Conway, second Viscount Conway and Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

† Prince Maurice and Prince Edward arrived in Paris on Friday the $\frac{12}{22}$ January. Leicester to Coke on the $\frac{19}{29}$ January. *S.P. For. France*, Vol. 105. The Palatine's youngest brothers were Philip and Gustavus, of whom the former seems to have gone to Paris soon after the elder ones. M. A. Green : *Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, page 343.

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Jan. 29.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

387. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

While continuing my suggestions to the merchants here to open trade with Candia, which I hope will progress successfully, I had a talk with one of them who trades in the Levant. He said he had ready a considerable quantity of cloth to send to the Morea, as he does every year. He would gladly send them to Zante, where the Turks would go to buy them, but it did not pay him as he had to pay the new impost of 7 ducats per cloth in addition to the 4 per cent. of the ordinary duty. Occasionally, when he was living at Zante, he bargained with the customers to pay half only of the new impost, and unladed in that island, but when he could not obtain such conditions he had it taken to Scanderoon or Clarenza, where he can dispose of it at greater advantage than at Zante when paying the new impost entire. To that province they send from here yearly 700 to 800 pieces of cloth worth 60 to 80 ducats the piece, and this does not prevent the sale of that of better quality manufactured at Venice. If your Excellencies saw fit to reduce the new impost by one half, as you have done with the muscats of Candia, everyone would go to Zante and what you lost on the impost you would more than recover in the duties and in the export of those things which without that advantage go straight to the Morea.

I remarked casually that I heard with astonishment that to save $3\frac{1}{2}$ ducats per cloth, for that is precisely the difference, they would risk their property in the hands of the Turks, when at Zante they could dispose of it on reasonable terms with complete security. The loss suffered by the merchants at Constantinople about five years ago was still fresh in the memory,* and such things frequently happened among people of that character, without counting the duties, which they pay there as well, and the presents which they have to make to the Turkish commanders. I therefore considered that they should of their own accord take advantage of the facilities they find in the islands and other dominions of your Serenity, and make their markets there, without exposing their goods to the inordinate rapacity of those infidels, and the distance of the ports of Scanderoon or Clarenza from Zante ought to count for something.

He replied that as the cloth was cheap $3\frac{1}{2}$ ducats a piece amounted to a large sum on a quantity. They pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ ducats a cloth to the king here for export, and with the cost of hiring and other charges, the expenses mount up, and after these are deducted the profit is very slight. Throughout the Morea this cloth pays no duty but 3 per cent. The distance of your Serenity's ports from those in question is not worth considering, and if one considered the dangers one would never trade anywhere. I need not weary your Excellencies with the rest of the discussion, giving only the essentials. In the end he asked me to present his instances to the Senate, so that if they took the matter into

* It happened at the beginning of 1634. *See* the preceding volume of this *Calendar*, page 212 and *note*.

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consideration the merchants might be informed in time to adjust their interests to serve their own advantage.

I thought of telling the Governor of the Levant Company* about this. He is an intimate of mine and professes great devotion to your Excellencies, having resided a long while in your dominions, but on reflection I thought it best to send this account first, as there will always be time to do the other after, if you direct it.

Obson writes to the merchant Vassell that he has been before the magistracy of the Five Savii alla Mercanzia, as advised at Venice, about the Spallato business. They directed him to go straight to your Serenity, and he thought that by the time this arrives it may be completed.

London, the 29th January, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Senato. Secreta, Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

388. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Rosburgh, sent to appease the disturbances in Scotland, writes that he has conferred with the people there and after long and perilous difficulties he finds them obstinately determined not to accept the proposals which he took. They refuse the interim of four years, and roundly declare that they want a general revocation of all innovations in the matter of religion. He believes that the Treasurer there, who has the authority of Viceroy, and other grandees of the kingdom, secretly foment the people, although outwardly they seem to make every effort, following his example, to induce them to obey the royal ordinances. He thinks that by summoning these to Court it would make it easier to reduce the others to their duty. After deliberating upon this the king, by the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, astounded to hear that extreme measures even when applied with all the royal dignity are of no avail, has decided to send for the Treasurer and two of the most suspect to London, with the idea of doing the same with the others, bit by bit, if the example of these does not suffice. Meanwhile it is announced at Court that matters are composed, and they do not like to hear anything else stated.

M. di Vosbergh, who recently left Paris, embarked on a Zeeland frigate, to hasten back to his masters. He encountered a furious tempest, was nearly lost on the coast of Flanders, and was followed so closely by Dunkirkers that if the furious wind had not driven him to this kingdom he would have fallen into their hands. He went to kiss his Majesty's hands the day before yesterday, and in a long interview communicated his negotiations in France urging the king strongly to support the Swedes. He leaves to-day for Holland.

The Ambassador Fildin writes on the 1st inst. that the adjustment between the pope and your Serenity is being negotiated with great secrecy through the Cardinal Patriarch and the nuncio. He says a league is in negotiation between the Catholic

* Henry Garraway.

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and the Grand Duke to drive the French out of Italy, leaving room for the other princes who wish to enter. They asked me about this eagerly at Court, and as I said that I had not heard about it, *they suspend their belief, as Fildin is accustomed to write things that do not correspond with the truth.**

The ambassador's relations are impatient for his departure from Venice, as they are afraid of some more incidents, to upset your goodwill to him. He would like to stay in Piedmont until Schidemore is recalled from Paris, and he could have the succession, *but they have so poor an opinion of him, from the proofs of his disposition given at Venice, which have displeased the king and Court, that it is not thought he will obtain his intent, in spite of the strong support he has.* While he remains in Italy I am assured that no other ambassador will be sent to your Serenity, and that Morton will reside there until fresh orders from the king. But in spite of what Vindebank said to me, reported in my last, I find that Lord Herbert is making every effort to obtain the succession from the king. *He was formerly ambassador in France, where he challenged the Duke of Luines to a duel.† He is an eccentric man full of vanity, and with little credit at Court, in spite of great learning and birth. From what I hear, if they choose any one they will select somebody of more tried straightforwardness (probita) to make up for the mistakes of the present one.*

Your Excellencies despatch of the 19th ult. reached me only yesterday, with Fildin's expositions and the orders to note what they decide about his successor. I have nothing more to add about this, but will keep my eyes open, so that your Serenity may not be left in the dark on the subject.

An express has arrived from Madrid with letters from Madame de Chevreuse for their Majesties, in which she enlarges on the entertainment she has received from the Catholic. This consists in a present of 6000 of their ducats, a yearly pension of 2000 doubles, and a furnished house to live in. The news gives great satisfaction here and they hope that these means will suffice to prevent her from coming to this kingdom. The ship sent for her is still at Corunna, waiting for orders.

Gerbier's letters from Brussels state that they are getting ready the fleet which recently reached Dunkirk to send it back to Spain. The Cardinal Infant proposes to embark three Irish regiments on it ;‡ and with Prince Tomaso setting out for Italy, Piccolomini will succeed to his charge.

Your Excellencies' last of the 31st ult. have also reached me, with orders to see that an earl is sent to receive the Ambassador

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* There is no such despatch of this date among the state papers, but Salvetti writing on the same date refers to the curious news sent by Fielding of an alliance between the Grand Duke and Spain to drive the French out of Italy and of a similar alliance between the pope and Venice. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H.

† From May, 1619 to July 1621 and from January 1623 to July 1624. He had offered his sword to Venice in 1619. Vol. XV. of this *Calendar*, page 524.

‡ Writing on the 6th Feb. o.s. Pennington reports 31 warships in Dunkirk all ready to sail, part of them to take two regiments of old Irish soldiers to serve in Brazil. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 234.

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Giustinian. If I have the good fortune which I have good reason to expect, from my relations with the leading ministers, I shall not have much trouble in obtaining this. I will approach the Marquis of Hamilton, who has so frequently offered to serve your Excellencies out of gratitude for the honours shown to his brother in law at Venice. I will also speak to the Lord Chamberlain, whose office it concerns, and will make suitable suggestions to the Earl of Arundel and both secretaries of state. My position gives me easy access to all of them, and without committing your Serenity in any way I will make it appear that my zeal for your interests induces me to do this.

London, the 29th January, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

389. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The restrained reply given by the English agents to the Ambassador Salvio at Hamburg, has induced Sweden to send here a certain Scottish Colonel, who was employed a long time ago for that party in Germany, for the purpose of making a final effort to discover what they really mean here about supporting them. He represents the state of affairs there as very critical. Galasso is very strong and master of the field in Pomerania ; Banier and other Swedish commanders, although vigilant, have withdrawn to their winter quarters. Volgast castle, Usedon and perhaps by now Anclan have surrendered to the imperial arms, and if this crown does not decide to render definite assistance with money or men to support the Swedish troops, in conjunction with France, that country will be compelled to make terms with the King of Hungary, while she can still obtain good ones. It cannot be blamed for doing this after being abandoned by one who has so great an interest in the cause and it cannot hold out against the whole empire alone.

The English agents write on the 15th of January that M. d'Avancurt, sent by the Most Christian to Poland, has appeared at Hamburg on his way there, though he does not say what for. He took to M. d'Avo the arrangements made at Paris with the Dutch deputies for the next campaign, to be communicated to the Ambassador Salvio so that he may write to Sweden, and to urge him to hand over the treaty of Vismar. The amount to be paid is settled and the letters of exchange for it have arrived. Salvio is now seeking fresh pretexts for delay. He says that one Smalzius has been sent by Sweden to negotiate the alliance with this crown also, and so soon as he has arrived they will put the finishing touches to both affairs. But the delay is only to allow Salvio to confer with Count Curzio, who has arrived in Mecklenburg, and hear the proposals of the King of Hungary, and someone has been sent to that monarch from Sweden to hear it from his own lips and then take such steps as may be best for that kingdom.

M. di Vosbergh being advised that fourteen Dunkirk ships

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are at sea to take him, proposed to stay here until a foree of Duteh ships arrives to eseort him to Holland; but being persuaded by M. de Bellievre on the ground that the deeisions about war whieh he earries may suffer from delay, to eonsign to him his despatehes in eipher so that he might get a ship from the king to send them with all speed to the Hague, he deeided to embark unexpeetedly upon his own very swift frigate, eseorted by only two Duteh warships, in the hope of erossing thc sea in a single night, with a good wind. M. dell'Estrade embarked with him, sent by the Most Christian to the Prince of Orange to eommunieate his military plans, as he does every year, as a mark of eonfidenee.

The Prinee Palatine has sent word to his Majesty that he has arranged a eonferenee for next month with the offieers of the army of Hesse, to arrange about his taking up the command, whieh he says he will do soon after, when he has the means to maintain himself. He would like to pledge this erown to some monthly assistance while he has that eommand, but as he has always indieated that he wished to do it of his own motion it is supposed that he does not intend to bind himself to anything.

The queen has sent a remittanee of 12,000*l.* sterling to the Ambassador Leieester, and they will send 8000*l.* more in a few weeks, with orders to get some jewels of the queen mother, whieh she had pawned and whieh were in danger of being lost, out of the hands of some merehants of Paris or Lyons.*

From Flanders also they write of the league arranging in Italy with the King of Spain to drive the French out, and that Prinee Tomaso is to be the general. As they know there is no foundation for this, it does not disturb the ministry here.

The last letters of your Exeelleneies to reach me are of the 8th ult. with the very modest exposition of Fildin, due certainly to orders reeeived from here by virtue of my representations. I keep on the wateh to justify the action of the state,when neeessary. I also find the orders about the reception of the Ambassador Giustinian repeated, for whieh I will do my utmost.

London, the 5th February, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

390. To the Seeretary in England.

We have reeeived your letters of the 8th ult. A paper has been presented on behalf of Obson as wcll as eertain elaims, whieh meet with obstacles and strong opposition. We advise you of this so that you may not eommit yourself further with this Obson, as if he desires favourable treatment he must remember to eonduet himself properly.

Ayes, 99. Noes, 1. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

* Salvetti, writing on the 29th January states that the value of the jewels was mentioned by Sir Richard Wynne, the queen's treasurer. Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962H. It is most likely that Maurice Wynne, whom Pennington was ordered (on Feb. 10) to bring back from Dieppe on the *Providence* with a charge of great value, was bringing these jewels with him. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 244.

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Feb. 6.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

391. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty and all the Court proceeded on Monday from the Pardo to the house of il Buon Retiro in order to do honour to the Duchess of Chevreuse. When visiting the Count Duke I told him of Sig. Contarini's prudent offices with Cardinal Richelieu, reported by me on the 5th December.

Madrid, the 6th February, 1638.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Feb. 9.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

392. Anzolo Correr and Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

With respect to the audience of the Palatine princes the Master of the Ceremonies has informed the English ambassadors that they may have it when they please if they make up their minds not to cover before him, as none of the princes of the blood does so and not even his own brother. This reply has much upset the ambassadors who remark that the Palatine house meets with most distress and disadvantage just where it most hopes for protection.

Paris, the 9th February, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

393. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty is preparing several presents for the Queen of England. These will be taken by the Duchess of Chevreuse, who is leaving the day after to-morrow, after receiving every honour as well as rich gifts from their Majesties.

Madrid, the 10th February, 1638.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Feb. 10.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

394. The Ambassador of Great Britain came into the Collegio and spoke as follows:

I should fall short of the joy I feel if I delayed any longer to inform you what I have in commission from his Majesty, to show his esteem, as by an express courier I am charged to come here for important matters touching the common interests and the service of this province. Your Serenity has allowed me to serve you with so much honour, advantage and satisfaction to me, and I am bound to desire the prosperity and greatness of the republic. His Majesty directs me to say that he is disposed to interest himself in the events of these parts with great zeal and a strong desire to help, as he knows the agitations from which it has suffered. He offers your Serenity his assistance and sincere union. He could not be more zealous about his own affairs. He will study to help you by offices, interposition and assistance. He hopes for a response from your Serenity in conformity with his greatness and zeal, and he thinks that there will be no difficulty about uniting for such advantages.

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He thinks that to avoid dangers it will be advisable to consider what things are likely to increase disturbance, affording support to prevent collapse, and supplying them with advice and assistance. The first and most pressing of these and the one likely to give most trouble is the case of Savoy, where disunion is so rife, and where they aim at increasing the divergence of interests.

His Majesty commands me to commend these to your Serenity's protection. You may have some difference with that state, but where the public cause is concerned private feelings should not prevail, especially now that the opportunity is most favourable to compound it. This is afforded by my king's offer to work through me, the tendency to make friends, the justice and uprightness of your Serenity's principles and aims, my own exceeding obligation to use this means for repaying so many favours. I believe also that the things said in that book* may easily be managed with mutual satisfaction, so I do not see why the differences should continue, which so affect the public welfare of which your Serenity is the support and base.

I told his Majesty of my offices on the death of the Duke of Mantua. He approved and ordered me to repeat them, offering his own help for the preservation of that state.

I should like to finish my speech at this point, in order not to recall the further orders which I have from my king. To give greater effect to his determination to intervene in the affairs of Italy he directs me to go to Savoy to confer with the duchess and offer support. His Majesty has always had a great interest in that state. I shall go, pleased to obey his Majesty, but sad at losing the honour I have always received here. During my stay I have had great occasion to admire your greatness and most prudent government, and the principles which have brought you so high. Words fail me to say how I leave the most indebted man alive. My service has been too short, but I hope that the glories of your Serenity may last for ever. I shall never tire of publishing my duty, and if ever I have an opportunity of repaying some small portion of my indebtedness your Serenity will have no one more devoted or more constant than I. If some difference has arisen it has not been through my fault, and it has caused me more pain than I could express. I hope in your Serenity's kindness and favour and I shall try to serve you all my life.

The republic has advised his Majesty of its satisfaction with my service. His Majesty directs me to thank you for this.

The doge replied with thanks for his offices and for his Majesty's intention to intervene in the affairs of Italy. They had acted for Mantua and were desirous for its liberty. What was taking place prevented them from doing all that they would like for Savoy. They regretted his departure because they knew him for a sincere minister of high character. They were pleased with his offices and wished his stay had been longer. Wherever

* Presumably the treatise whereby Savoy claimed the island of Cyprus and the royal title. *See* the preceding volume of this *Calendar*, page 264 and *note*.

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he went they would remember his gentle qualities. They knew that what had happened was not due to him but to persons of lower rank, who could not be controlled. His management left nothing to be desired. They wished him all prosperity and the assistance and grace of God. He would be in a position to do good and they would always be ready to do anything for him. The Signory would make him a suitable response.

The ambassador said, I shall depart at the moment I take leave of your Serenity with a gracious reply. I wait for that as the most valid of my concerns, and as a sure means of guidance. Be good enough to give me your opinions on all the matters mentioned, so that I may use your counsel and consider myself most fortunate.

As regards Savoy and the republic's difficulties with that house I do not see such difficulty of adjusting them, as there are no lost towns or claims for territory, which are the things that make agreements difficult. My king's disposition and my zeal may perhaps bring me this honour and satisfaction. A union of means and interest bring about adjustments. At all events I will employ all my powers. His Majesty wishes to follow the example of his predecessors in maintaining the advantage and quiet of princes.

Some months ago I asked for the release of an Englishman from the galleys. I do not know in which galley he is. The favour will be a signal one. His father is one of the physicians of my queen, of good character and ability. Sometimes unhappy men fall into these misadventures. It will gratify his Majesty much if he is released, and it will show me your Serenity's good will because of the merit it will bring me with the queen.

The doge replied that they wished to do everything for his Majesty and himself. It would be as well to leave a memorial, with the name and if possible the galley. That would save time. Meanwhile he might be sure of their affection. With this the ambassador bowed and departed. Soon after the secretary came to the doors of the collegio with the memorial.

THE MEMORIAL.

Some years ago Leonard Turnir, son of a physician of the queen of Great Britain* was taken to the galley of Sig. Gradenigo, sold for a small sum and put to the oar. As he was of a civil family, improper for that employment the ambassador signified to the said Sig. that he would take it as a favour if he would release him, offering to pay what was due. While he was awaiting results in conformity with the good intentions expressed, he left and after some time sold him to Sig. Andrea Faliero, a thing that astonished him. The ambassador therefore begs your Serenity to order his release especially as he is not there for any crime. His Majesty will take it as a particular favour.

1637, the 18th September.

By order of the Savii, the Proveditori of the fleet shall take

* Probably son of Samuel Turner, physician of Anne, queen of James I. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1619–23, page 66.

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exact information upon the instance of the English ambassador and give their opinion upon oath, sending their reply to the Collegio as soon as possible.

Reply of the Savii.

In response to the instance of the English ambassador for Leonard Turnir, I find in the book of Ser Antonio Gradenigo, captain of the Gulf, among the galeots of liberty, the name of Leonardo da Padova, formerly Tomaso, called English. He was removed from the book on the 15th December 1636, and I think he is the same person described on the 2nd January following in the book of the galley of Ser Andrea Falier, from whom he was bought, I understand for about 200 lire of debt, but as the galley is at present in the Levant, it is impossible to know where he is at present. Dated from the office of the armament, the 22nd September, 1637.

Bartolomeo Corner, Proveditore.

Copies of the entries in the books of the galleys aforesaid.
[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

395. To the Secretary in England.

We enclose a copy of the exposition of the Ambassador Fielding together with our reply, for your information and the encouragement of confidential relations. We have also released the Englishman from the galleys at the ambassador's requcst* and have voted him a gold chain exceeding the usual value. You will draw attention to these things. You must keep on the watch to see if any fresh appointment of an ambassador is made, as Fielding said nothing about his coming back. No letters from you have arrived this week.

Ayes, 75. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.
[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

396. That the Ambassador of the King of Great Britain be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

We welcome his Majesty's fresh assurances to our republic in the interests of the peace and quiet of this province. We are always ready to promote these, as we feel sure your lordship will report. We regret your departure greatly. With regard to Savoy, the actions of that House forbid any kind of confidence, though nothing can hinder our zeal for the public peace. We will gladly extend our favour to Turner and have him released at once, to show how ready we are to gratify your lordship and the queen.

That 1,500 crowns of 7 lire each be expended upon a chain to present to Lord Fielding, ambassador of the King of Great Britain, at his departure, out of regard for his high qualities and because of his position as ambassador extraordinary to his Serenity.

* On the contrary a letter from Talbot to Fielding of 4 Nov. 1639 states that this man whom he calls " Turner's son in law " had not even then been released. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Denbigh MSS. part V. page 68.

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That 300 crowns of the same value be expended upon a chain for the secretary, and that 1000 ducats be given from the depository in the Mint to Gariboldo Orese al Pomo Granado, on account of these chains, so that he may make provision of the gold that will be required.

Ayes, 75. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

397. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The ministry have replied to the representations of the Swedish minister that his Majesty is ready to contribute any assistance to the common cause if the alliance with France is established, which is still unsettled owing to the delays caused by the Swedes, who are also delaying the treaty of Vismar under various pretexts, and by such means are advancing the negotiations for peace with the emperor, which is more credited than perhaps it should be and gives rise to the belief that that kingdom can obtain advantageous terms. They regret the misfortune which has recently overtaken their arms and tend to believe that with the approach of milder weather, the enemy will be diverted in several directions and they will resume their former vigour.

The Treasurer of Scotland has arrived. He went to kiss the king's hands and had two long private conferences with him. He brings the protestations of the people there that they are loyal subjects of his Majesty in civil matters, but in ecclesiastical ones they declare that they want no alteration in their old dogmas, unless their error is first pointed out. They offer to dispute against the doctrine of that book and prove that it conforms to the Roman rite, and to show various other irregularities contained in it, against the power of the king, who is head of the Anglican Church. If they are convinced they will accept it, but if not they cannot be compelled to adopt it.

Term began last week, the time when the twelve judges of England proceed to the city to resolve the suits between the people. While it was expected that they would give sentence declaring definitely whether the king can levy contributions for maintaining ships, a fresh delay has arisen, as by law the judges must state their opinion publicly before the sentence follows. Two of them have already done so, declaring that his Majesty has power to exact contributions since the declaration about the necessity rests with him. Two of their colleagues will dispute next week and the rest in the coming terms of Easter and June. It is announced that two of the judges possibly not agreeing with the others and disinclined to pronounce against the king, intend to ask leave to resign and retire to the repose of their own houses. Meanwhile they circulate a report that when the present exaction is collected, the king will not ask for any more in the future, hoping in this way to facilitate the payment, which meets with serious difficulties.

The Count of Scissa, who represents the Duchess of Savoy here, openly declares that the people of Piedmont have decided

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not to contribute to the continuation of the war. If France wants to go on with it there, she will have to wage it with her own men and money. While their prince was alive his people would have shed the last drop of their blood for him, but there is not so much enthusiasm for the duchess as they do not like the French.

The Secretary of the king's ambassador in Spain arrived recently with despatches asking to be relieved of that charge so that he may cure himself of the stone, which renders him useless. The king has consented and appointed as ambassador Opton, who was formerly agent at that same Court.* They think he will be dubbed knight before he starts, so as to have some title. They have not yet nominated anyone for your Serenity, although the claimants do not cease their efforts. Meanwhile Filden's relations hear with astonishment that the extraordinary sent to him with orders to go to Turin, had not reached him on the 15th ult. and they are afraid that fresh misadventures may happen, causing your Excellencies further annoyance.

Madame de Chevreuse writes that in spite of the kind treatment she receives in Spain she proposes to join the queen mother in Flanders, and first to kiss the hands of their Majesties here. Although they do not want her to come they have sent orders to all the ports so that if she comes she may be suitably entertained.

One of the war ships escorting M. di Vosbergh perished when entering the sea from this river, but the men escaped, with all else therein. The whole Court has heard with satisfaction of the hopes of the pregnancy of the Queen of France. The king has written about it with his own hand to the queen here, who invokes the aid of God by the fasts and frequent prayers she has ordered in her chapel, to realise this boon for her brother and all Christendom. The king has also evinced the greatest content, though everyone must feel it incomplete until there is more certitude.

I have received your Serenity's despatch of the 14th ult. with the sheet of advices enclosed. I will use them with necessary circumspection. They serve greatly to encourage that confidence which assists the service of the state.

London, the 12th February, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

398. Anzolo Correr and Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassadors in France to the Doge and Senate.

The ministers here have received well authenticated advices that in addition to the ships of war which the King of Great Britain has destined for the passage to England of the Duchess of Chevreuse, he has sent her remittances of money and made

* Richard Fanshawe, Aston's secretary, reached London on the $\frac{14}{24}$ January bringing the ambassador's letters of the 28th December. Coke to Aston, the 8 Feb. o.s. *S.P. For. Spain.* Hopton was knighted on Candlemas day, the $\frac{2}{12}$ Feb., Garrad to Wentworth, the 7th Feb. *Strafford Letters*, Vol. ii., page 148. His appointment was announced in Court on the preceding Saturday, the 6th Feb. n.s. Salvetti's despatch of the 12th Feb. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H.

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her offers of every facility. This has offended them greatly here, not because they are afraid of the proceedings of that princess in England more than what she does in Spain, but because she has previously interfered to prevent an alliance between that crown and this, and they do not like to see that king so ready to give her assistance and an asylum, especially when he circulated misleading reports that he wished her far away.

Officers have been passed covertly to obtain help for the Prince Palatine from this quarter if he will undertake the command of the Landgrave of Hesse's army. They answered that if England will come out openly on the side of this crown in the war, his nephew will receive everything from this crown that he can desire, otherwise all his hopes are vain.

They have arranged a compromise for the audience of the two young princes, his Majesty announcing that he is content they shall enjoy the privilege of the princes of the blood by covering before him when the ambassadors are covered. So they go accompanied by the English ambassadors, they can cover together with them, otherwise not. This dispute seems settled, but there remains another with the queen, who claims that they shall not be allowed to sit, as was done with Duke Bernard, a particular at which the ambassadors have taken extreme offence.

Paris, the 16th February, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17. Venetian MSS. Public Record Office.

399. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.*

The relations of this crown with its allies and neighbours can hardly be called good. They are at war with the Spaniards. Most of the Germans have abandoned them and have even become hostile. The English, who ought to unite with them because of the Palatinate, go very slowly and give little hope of a conclusion for any thing good, as instead of suppressing occasions for offence, they have gone to meet them by issuing letters of reprisals against French ships. In addition to this I have heard on good authority that the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury are not on good terms and do not like each other.

Paris, the 17th February, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

400. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

In addition to the gifts of plate, horses and jewels made by their Majesties to the Duchess of Chevreuse, 5000 dubloons have arrived which have been sent after her. She has left a very great impression of her personality here. They also feel sure that she will perform very useful offices with the crown of England, for

* This despatch is not to be found among the files at Venice, although it is entered in the ambassador's letter book preserved at the Public Record Office.

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the purpose of keeping it in eorrespondenee with the royal house here.

Madrid, the 18th February, 1638.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Feb. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

401. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Seeretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Bellievre has worked hard of late with the ministers to find some settlement of the differenees between the two crowns about the ship *Pearl* and the English ships seized in France. Various proposals have been made, not one without serious difficulties for one side or the other, but all without result. Those eoneerned cry out to the royal Counèil. They assert with some freedom that they pay very high imposts for their goods, unbearable eontributions, never known before for the maintenance of ships at sea, and in spite of this they suffer as mueh loss as before, their ships and goods being violated by the Freneh and the Dunkirkers and Duteh as if in contempt of the king's Majesty, and without redress. This outery has reached the king, and with the approval of the Counèil he has decided to direet the Earl of Leieester not to eonduet any business at the Freneh Court before this is settled. The seeretaries of state, by his Majesty's order communieated this to Bellievre, and afterwards sent an extraordinary with these instruetions to Paris, whither the ambassador also sent, to forestall the English one.

A Seot Lesli* arrived here reeently, who commands an army for Sweden in Germany. He has gone on to Seotland to hasten the departure of the troops the levy of which was permitted a year ago, for those parts, and to take his wife and children to Pomerania, whither he will proeeed in due eourse to fight again. He reports the departure of the imperial troops from that provinee, driven out by the eold and the laek of everything, though they have left their eonquests provided as best they eould.

Meanwhile the Swedish minister, dissatisfied with the replies given him, persists with his offiees. He says they wrong his superiors in saying that they cause delays in the French allianee, and insists on their sending an ambassador to Hamburg with fuller powers to eonduet it and deal with other matters that arise on the same subjeet. But they do not intend to appoint anyone here before the treaty of Vismar is eompleted and they are sure that the negotiations with the emperor are broken off.

Devieh, the English Agent at Hamburg, writes on the 26th ult. that Galasso was in the neighbourhood, with the intention of wintering in Holstein. The King of Denmark had sent a gentleman to enquire, and he told him he was waiting for orders from the emperor and would aet in aeeordanee. He did not understand why that king elaims that Holstein, as a member of the empire, should not lodge troops like Saxony and Brandenburg. When the king heard this he wrathfully ordered the inspeetion and reinforcement of the forts of the duehy, and ordered the

* Alexander Leslie.

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troops to the frontier, to resist if Gallasso attempted to enter.

The Ambassador Ognati announces that his king has granted to Cæsar a payment of 200,000 crowns, on condition that he sends to Flanders 18,000 infantry and 7000 cavalry, with which the Cardinal Infant will work wonders. Don Francesco di Mello has arranged this and other matters in Germany, and has gone to Spain to inform the king. This agrees with what the English Agent writes from Brussels that they are not making any extraordinary preparations of troops, as they are expecting them from Germany, but he adds that money is very short, and the amount brought by the fleet to Dunkirk does not reach what report stated.

Last Sunday the king knighted Opton, recently appointed ambassador to Spain. They are now working at his instructions, and he will leave about Easter. The hopes of the Ambassador Astenay are dashed that his secretary would succeed him as agent, though he sent here for this purpose with recommendations in his favour. They say that the Earl of Leicester will also be recalled, and they are already saying at Court that as they do not know if France intends to conclude the alliance or no it does not accord with the king's dignity to keep an ambasasdor extraordinary any longer, as there is still the ordinary. The truth is that all affairs depend on the extraordinary, who has greater friends at Court, and the other expresses his resentment to some of the ministers, who spread these reports.

The queen gave a masque last Tuesday, at which she herself danced with fourteen of the most beautiful Court ladies, affording the king and all the nobility of London, who were present, a most pleasant entertainment. It was noteworthy above all others presented for a long time past for the richness of the dresses and the subtlety of the inventions.

The merchant Vassel, who proposed to divert his trade from Ragusa to Spallato has informed me of the Collegio's reply to Obson. He said he could only promise what was in his control. I told him that as your Excellencies did not approve of his requests except on those conditions I had nothing to add. He replied that if your Serenity would bind him to possible things he would do them, but he could not venture to promise what is not in his power. He seems very sorry at being unable to obtain such a favour and I fancy he is writing again to Obson to alter the paper and appear again before your Serenity.

London, the 19th February, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

402. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Palatine regards as all but dead his hopes of making any move of consequence, as he sees no prospect of receiving from England the assistance that would be necessary. Thus, although he has tried to stir the states of Hesse to do something in his favour and to go and command their armies, yet any

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enterprise would prove beyond the attenuated strength of his forces.

The Hague, the 19th February, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

403. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The negotiations for an alliance with the King of Great Britain remain fluctuating as usual. Here they profess to have done all that they ought and that the English do not mean to come to the point; that they are taken up with the enjoyment of their present tranquillity and care little for foreign affairs. The French, on the other hand, announce their entire readiness to enter the conference whenever the others do so, but they say that the Swedes make difficulties unless the ratification of the treaty of Vismar is obtained first. But the Cardinal in talking to me stated emphatically that at present England might be called the country where they talk of everything and conclude nothing. For three years the ambassadors have grown old in disputes on this subject, and things are in a worse position than ever. The English seem not to care whether the conference is fixed at the Hague or at Hamburg making a display of their indifference being resolved in their hearts not to come to the point, their object being to preserve their own ease. But they may find they are mistaken, the wheel of fortune is always turning, and they may experience an unlucky turn such as they are now enjoying to see others experience.

Of the fleet ordered in Britanny it seems that the English are very jealous, not that they are afraid of its being used against them, but because they know the French persist in their old resolution not to recognise them as sovereign at sea.

The question of the seizure of ships is still in dispute with equal suffering and loss to the parties, trade being completely interrupted. The ambassadors assert, however, that matters have been brought to a promising stage and that an adjustment will soon follow.

Paris, the 23rd February, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

404. The deliberation of this Council of the 13th inst. having been read to the English ambassador, he spoke as follows:

I cannot help rejoicing greatly at seeing your Serenity's satisfaction with my king's disposition, and that hearts and hands are so united for the common interests of Christendom. I can again promise all union, all industry every effort on behalf of his Majesty, who is issuing his orders for that purpose. His ministers will strive to fulfil his principles, and I especially, now I see how much credit I enjoy with your Serenity. It is one of the greatest confusions of my weakness that I cannot by any action or demonstration render myself equal to any of the honours I have received in this office. As I cannot express myself I shall

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so act as to show to others, wherever I go, what is in my heart towards your Serenity.

His Majesty well knows the reasons for your differences with the Duke of Savoy. He has ordered me to be an instrument, in going there, to obtain every satisfaction and advantage for your Serenity, as well as to labour for the peace. I know that this is a great responsibility and a great honour, and I am sure I have not deserved it, though I have it much at heart. I might in this affair ask for some further indication of your Serenity's feelings, but I will wait until I get to Turin, to hear what is decided here to that end, and if you tell me, I will say what I think, and I shall be able to help more easily and to serve. I can assure your Serenity that I shall have no happier moment than when I do something that pleases the republic and in public affairs I shall try, with the credit of my king's interposition, to prove myself useful.

I will inform the queen of the favour accorded to that man so readily and graciously. I know she will be very pleased and will show it upon occasion with the king and in other ways. I also thank your Serenity, taking it as a fresh testimony of the favour which I do not deserve.

The doge said that the republic was anxious to please his Majesty ; they were at one with him in their love of peace and desire for it. They could add nothing to what the Senate had said about Savoy. They valued the ambassador highly and would always show how much they esteemed his merits.

The ambassador said, The happiest part of my leave taking is the kindness I have experienced from your Serenity. Before I go I shall come to render fresh thanks. I have some commissions from his Majesty for offices for the relief of others and his subjects. When I leave here, I shall go, by command to the Princess of Mantua, for some office, and then go on to the Duchess of Savoy. If your Serenity has any commands for those parts, I will obey them and wherever I go I shall show myself the devoted servant of the republic. The doge said that they would always meet his Majesty's desires. The ambassador then bowed and went out, passing into the other hall to take a copy of the office read to him.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

405. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

On Saturday in last week two other judges pronounced on the question of the contributions for the fleet, deciding that his Majesty could order them by virtue of the laws, *but they adduced such feeble reasons, mixing them dexterously with those of the people, as to show that they pronounced for his Majesty more for authority than for justice. The libels and pasquinades circulated through the city and country and what persons of every condition say with the utmost freedom, is not easy to describe ; but what counts for more is the reluctance to pay. No person of quality will pay voluntarily, and the exaction proceeds so slowly that the king decided to summon*

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the sheriffs of the Counties before the Council and reprimand them sharply for their negligence. They told him frankly that it was impossible to induce any person of account to pay amicably by persuasion or threats. When solicited in the king's name they say it is contrary to the institutions of the realm, and that one day they will have to render account for it. They show their cattle and other possessions from which their assessments may be levied by law; they will not hinder it, but they will leave the memory to those who come after, to exonerate them. This shows the king what the permission to have the cause publicly discussed has led to, as the people have learned their privileges better and they make more difficulty about satisfying him. Many of the ministry protest, and his Majesty has unexpectedly decided, uninfluenced by the Council, who have heard it with astonishment, that it shall not give its opinion unless asked. They see the difficulties which may arise, but as he who commands wishes it, they must obey.

They talk of the fleet sailing in greater strength than last year. They are working busily at its preparation. The Earl of Northumberland will command and they are beginning to draw up fresh commissions for him.

The operations of the Ambassador of Morocco, who suggested to the Court that his king should help against Algiers, and the damage that their ships here and in Ireland receive from those pirates, who recently took into that port among thirteen ships of various nations, a rich English one with 24 guns,* of which news has recently arrived, has induced the king to go twice to the Council in person to devise means for a vigorous attempt, encouraged by the success at the fortress of Sale, which has so pleased the King of Morocco. Accordingly they propose to send thither in the spring a squadron of well armed ships, in the hope that with the forces supplied by the king, success may not prove difficult. It would be a remarkable relief to human intercourse. It is not yet decided if they will make the attempt, but the enterprise is universally applauded.

I went again yesterday to salute the Spanish ambassador, who received me very courteously. After the first compliments he asked me anxiously what news I had from Italy. I told him I only heard rumours of great preparations for war in Piedmont. He said the French wanted the chief places of the duchess, who was in no position to refuse. When I objected that they had nothing to bear that out here, he insisted it was as true as the gospel and told me to write it to the republic. He continued, I also fancy they are intriguing for the Mantuan, but I am not so sure of this as of the other. He said Prince Tomaso will not go to Italy just now, as the Cardinal, his brother has come to an agreement with his sister in law about his appanages, but nothing was said about his other claims. Saiavedra will not go at once to Mantua, as he wrote to Flanders that his negotiations would be premature. We afterwards conversed familiarly about the reports about the Cardinal Infant marrying the young Queen of

* Possibly the *Mary* of London, referred to in a petition of the 31st May. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 477.

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Sweden. He said religion would be no impediment, because to be a king a man would become a devil, not only a Protestant, but the relations between the House of Austria and that kingdom were not so good as to induce him to make himself king there. He said he was daily expecting an ordinary with orders for him to go to Spain. He declared that the king could not send another ambassador here before he had conferred with him. The Ambassador Fildin writes on the 29th ult. of the arrival of the extraordinary with the instructions to go to Turin. He says he will set out within a fortnight, leaving your Excellencies pleased with his operations and of the most friendly disposition to his Majesty. They have sent to him to offer his condolences in passing to the Princess of Mantua, on the death of the duke, her father in law.

The king has sent the Earl of Bukom, a Scottish favourite of his Majesty, to congratulate the Most Christian on the pregnancy of his queen. He is to express the satisfaction felt here at this boon to Christendom, and the sincere affection of this crown for that kingdom.

His Majesty set out the day before yesterday for Newmarket, to spend three weeks in hunting. The greater part of the Council has gone with him, to assist in what may turn up, so this Court is very short of news. The queen remains here, so as not to go away from her Lenten devotions.

An extraordinary arrived from France this morning brings word of the settlement of the affair of the ship *Pearl*, which is restored by the French to its owners, with 40,000 florins for the goods and other things in dispute, and that trade is restored to its former condition. The news is very welcome to the merchants here, who suffered greatly by its interruption. But those interested in the ship are not content, protesting that they suffer very sensible disadvantage.

I have received your Serenity's despatches of the 28th ult. with the enclosed packet of advices.

London, the 26th February, 1637. [M.V.]

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

406. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Asks to be excused serving the Ambassador Corraro as secretary, in France, after this present residence, as his health has broken down. Corraro has consented. Has suffered for some months from severe catarrh, which has affected his right arm. His hand requires rest, but that is impossible at present. Has frequent attacks of fever, but will do his duty so long as he has breath. Lazari is fulfilling the duties of secretary to Corraro admirably. Asks leave to return home after the Ambassador Giustinian arrives, in consideration of having served three secretaryships with ordinary ambassadors, and acted twice as resident, and because of the state of his health.

London, the 26th February, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 27.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

407. Lord Fielding having been sent three years ago as ambassador extraordinary to his Serenity, it is desirable that some demonstration and present should be made at his departure.

That up to 300 ducats be expended for this in refreshments in one or more places through which he will pass, in such manner as our Collegio shall see fit, after it is known what route he will follow.

Ayes, 149. Noes, 4. Neutral, 7.

[*Italian.*]

March 2.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

408. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The differences about ships between the French and the English merchants will be adjusted at last with entire satisfaction to the parties.

Paris, the 2nd March, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

March 5.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

409. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Treasurer of Scotland, after his arrival at Court, had several interviews with the king about the disturbances of that kingdom, which are not yet appeased. He told him of the obstinacy of the people there in refusing to hear of any alteration in the old rites, or accepting the interim of 5 years. The mere thought of changing those which they now practise fills them with horror. Besides the question of conscience, which exercises a very strong influence, they consider the prejudice which would result to the kingdom, which has been governed by its own laws for so many centuries, in civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs, and it would never allow itself to be subordinate to this one, as it would if the churches there received orders for their worship from the Archbishop of Canterbury. They ask that their parliament may be summoned and the new doctrine laid before it. If it approves they will obey without cavil. As a good servant of his Majesty and a good Scot, although he cannot at heart condemn those principles, he protests that he had never declared as much to any one, but had urged them, although uselessly, to obey, as his office obliged him. He begged the king to look benignantly on the interests of his native kingdom, and not reduce it to despair, and ended by praying God to enlighten those who give him such pernicious advice, against his interests and the repose of his subjects. He told a correspondent of mine that he had spoken thus to the king. He added in the deepest confidence that if they want that book to be read they must send an army of 40,000 men to defend the minister who must read it, for all the above reasons. But they have not affected his Majesty who clings pertinaciously to his intent, indeed he has intimated with indignation that he means to punish Edinburgh in an exemplary manner, as the first to show disobedience and afford an example to encourage the others. He said he would remove the

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Courts of Justice the magistrates and the royal Council to Stirling, which would mean its ruin. All the Scots who serve at Court are very sorry to hear this violence but the king will not listen to better counsel, so further disturbances are expected in those parts.

On the announcement at Court that the Earl of Bokem had gone to France to congratulate the king on the news of the queen's pregnancy, the queen here declared that it was not true, but that the earl had gone on his private affairs with the king's permission, who had given him letters. Your Excellencies will hear from the spot. There are various opinions here. The absence of the Court makes it difficult to check things.

The king remonstrated some days ago with the Ambassador Bellievre about the behaviour of the Ambassador d'Estampes at the Hague to the Prince Palatine, to whom he did not give the title of Elector or even of Highness. Bellievre said this was through inadvertence, as in French they used "*Vous*" for everyone, and it was used with the Duke of Orleans and even with the king himself. The excuse did not satisfy his Majesty, who said they could find titles if they were not reluctant to use them.

The Ambassador has published more exact details about the *Pearl* settlement. He says that the sentence of the Admiralty of Paris, confiscating the ship, is commended, but the Most Christian, out of pure favour has declared for its restitution to the owners with 42,000 francs for all other claims for which the English should pay 8000 francs to the masters of the French barques taken and revoke the letters of reprisals. That done the arrest will be removed and trade resumed as before. The English ambassadors report the same conditions, but give the amount as 63,000 francs. The merchants interested are dissatisfied, and swear they know the goods in the ship were sold for more than 80,000 florins. They say the Most Christian has done a great wrong to the King of Great Britain, infringing the articles of the last peace between the two crowns, one of the chief articles being that the kings should not sequestrate the goods of merchants on land or in ships for any quarrels at sea, but only act by letters of reprisals or upon the body of the ships. The king here had better reason to seize the goods of French merchants when the *Pearl* was taken, but mindful of the articles, he merely granted letters of reprisals, without proceeding to violence. They do not know how they can trust their goods in France after this, as they are sure the French will always act in the same way to the serious disadvantage of this mart.

News has come from Calais that the Dunkirk fleet is ready, numbering forty sail, great and small, to proceed to Spain. They have forbidden every kind of boat to leave the port, so that the news of their equipage may not be published, as they intend to make sail unexpectedly, to avoid meeting the Dutch, who are waiting for them at sea, although some argue that the Spaniards mean to attempt something with that fleet before they get to Spain, as they are to embark three regiments, and therefore it is thought that they will go to Galicia to take away 4000 infantry for Flanders. The despatches from Italy for shipment at

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Dunkirk are scquestrated there. The last I have from your Serenity is of the 28th January.

London, the 5th March, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 8. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

410. The English Ambassador came into the Collegio and spoke as follows :

I have informed his Majesty of the Senate's response to my offices, and I am surc he will be pleased at this reception of his intentions. My regret at the neccssity which hastens my departure confuses me in cxpressing my scntiments ; my only consolation is that I shall be able to scrve your Serenity cvcrywhere.

I must add my king's gratification at the sentiments of the republic towards general peace. I can assure you that his Majesty will leave no means untried to further it. I have also to express his Majesty's thanks for the kindness and protection your Serenity has always extended to the Palatine house. You are asked to continue this, as it is sure to be grateful to the king. I also rejoice at learning from your reply that no prejudice to public affairs will arise from your differences with the house of Savoy. If this had been so it would have seriously affected the public cause, and the hopes and confidence of princes in the constant care your Serenity takes would have drooped. I will try and see what I can do about these differences to remove the dissatisfaction of your Screnity, by acts of respect which will restore the former intimacy, which was so useful to the cause and helped and honoured that house so much.

In leaving I have to recommend with all my heart the interests of his Majesty's subjects trading in your state and in the islands of the Levant. I hope this may be easy as your Serenity is so disposed to uphold trade, which is the ornament of states and princes. It will suffice if the most just laws of this state are observed and that his Majesty's subjects behave reasonably, and that trade is left open without excessive burdens. I say this because I think the merchant Ider, who has traded so much, with advantage to the customs, in Cephalonia and Zante has practically retired to the Morea, as suspect of contumacy and outlawry, since there is no lack of the envious who plot against the property and interests of those who rise by industry and are fortunate enough to improve their condition. He is a merchant of repute and honour, very well known and esteemed in England. I know that he would never do anything to hurt places from which he derives such advantage. It will be enough if your Serenity accepts this and if he enjoys the advantage of your orders. I also understand that something has happened to a ship which trades to your Serenity's dominions, called the *Scipio*, but you will see about this from the memorials presented by others. I ask you for justice.

I am now arrived at the term of my consolations, as my first content was to come into your presence and receive your kind welcome. This memory will always remain in my heart. The

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graciousness extended to my feebleness has laid me under an obligation for life. My weakness has gained some light from the rays of the public benevolence. Past incidents which have separated me from your Serenity's favour have made me lament my unhappy fate, but have never destroyed my confidence in your considerateness. I shall proclaim myself everywhere as your servant. In England and elsewhere I shall always testify to the just principles and generous aims of the republic, the felicity of your state and the mildness of your government. My tongue cannot express his Majesty's appreciation of your sincere friendship and of the treatment you have extended to me in my embassy, but his letter here will do so. This was opened and read in the ambassador's presence.

The doge replied, We welcomed his Majesty's minister on his arrival and we have welcomed you during your charge, as we recognised your merits. So we accompany your departure with all affection and cordiality, consoled by the reflection that you will assist the public cause wherever you are.

We will give you every proof of our affection. God prosper his Majesty and assist your affairs, bringing you every honour. We are glad that you are taking a new employment on leaving here and are sure that you will always have great affairs in hand. We thank you for your cordiality and affection towards the republic, which will always esteem you.

The ambassador replied, The more I advance in your Serenity's favour, the more my mere deserts and talents are abashed. All my life I will try to deserve your favour. His Majesty, as a sign of favour has left it to me to nominate the person to remain here, so that relations may not be interrupted. I have selected a gentleman of birth and great ability ;* I am sure that he will do well though he may not have all the experience necessary. I ask your Serenity to see him and give him credenee.

He then introduced the gentleman. The doge said, We are glad that you will remain here, as we hear from the ambassador of your high qualities. We shall always be pleased to see you, and will show our regard in response to his Majesty's.

The gentleman said, I esteem it a great good fortune to be appointed to serve his Majesty with the republic, and I will try to deserve the honour. I will endeavour to maintain the very intimate relations now existing. I will also try not to belie the good opinion the ambassador has of me. The ambassador repeated that he was a gentleman of quality and the best intentions, the doge adding that it is easy for one who is well born to succeed in everything ; both then bowed and departed.

[*Italian.*]

THE KING'S LETTER.†

Carolus, Dei Gratia Mag. Brit. Rex, fidei defensor, etc. Serenissimo Principi ac Dom. Francisco Erizzo, Venetiarum Duci, amico nostro carrissimo, salutem. Nobilissimum nobisque

* Gilbert Talbot.

† There is a draft of this letter among the state papers. *S.P. For. Venice*, Vol. 40.

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perquam dilectum nostrum vicecomitem a Fielding, postquam Legati nostri munere vobiscum aliquot annis est defunctus, Jam ad alia negotia a vobis revoeandum dueentes Idem Vestrae Serenitati hisce amiee significare rursusque asserere voluimus. Nihil nos quod aut ad amicitiam quae inter nos, notrosque utrinque subditos intercedit sartam, tectam servandum aut ad constantem nostrum in V. Serenitatem Inclytamque Rempublicam testandum affectum, vobisque gratissima officia, veri nostri amoris argumenta, omni occasione praestandum facere poterit unquam praetermissuros. Id quidem dicto nostro legato vobis valedicenti pluribus relinquemus exponendum. Itaque jam vos rogamus ut ei facultatem redeundi facere velitis.

Datam ex Aedibus nostris Regiis Westmonasteriensibus vigesimo octavo die Novembris, anno gratie 1637 regni vero nostri XIII.

Vestrae Serenitati bonus amicus.

Carolus Rex.

March 9. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

411. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors declare that the Ambassador Salvio has received powers to ratify at Hamburg the negotiations for an alliance between this crown and theirs; that the Dutch are advertised and they are only waiting for their deputies to open the conference. They seem certain that the matter will be settled in a few days.

Paris, the 9th March, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

March 11. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

412. I, Giulio Girardo, went to the house of the English ambassador. I did not find him as he had gone out for recreation. I waited until half past five when he landed. I went to meet him to present your Serenity's letter. He asked me to come up with him, and I followed him to his apartments. I presented the letter to him in response to the one presented in his king's name. They wished him a happy journey and every prosperity. He thanked me heartily and said he would always remember the numerous favours he had received from the republic. He asked you to excuse him if he had not done all he should in his legation, and to recognise his good will and his esteem for the republie, he would show his respect for it everywhere, more by deeds than by words, and so I left. Two gentlemen accompanied me, from whom I tried to find out when his Excelleney would be leaving and by what route. They said he would go Sunday or Monday towards Padua and Vicenza, on his way to Mantua, where the safest part of his journey would end.

[*Italian.*]

March 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

413. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Ognati has recently been to audience of the king with letters of complaint from the Catholic, because at the instance of the captain of the English ship which brought him

1638. from Spain to England, certain moneys and other goods belonging to the ambassador were sequestrated to the hands of merchants. The fact is that when the ambassador was about to embark at Corunna he received information in an underhand manner that ten chests of ryals were laded on the ship without the necessary licence by one Giovanni Nicolo Franco, a Genoese living at Madrid, to be consigned to his correspondents here. By arrangement with the captain, who belongs to the house of Stuart and claims kinship with the king,* he obtained an order from the magistrate directing the captain to consign these chests to the ministers of the Catholic, as contraband and confiscated to his Majesty. In virtue of this the captain got the ambassador to undertake to relieve him of any trouble which might arise on this account, and allowed himself to be persuaded to hand over the chests to him. When the news reached the principal he hastened to this city, and when he arrived he had the captain arrested, that being the first step in a suit here. The cause came on and the Genoese showed his licence. The captain pleaded that being in the king's ship, he had obeyed the orders of Spain, and asked if he was bound in justice to restore the money and expenses. That is precisely what happened, and accordingly Stuart went forthwith to Ognati with a copy of the sentence and asked for the relief which he had promised. He says he was told that the money had been sent to Flanders, as pertaining to the Catholic ; the obligation was made as by a minister and executor of the royal orders ; he must go to Spain and they would right him, and so forth. On hearing this the captain applied to justice for the sequestration into the hands of a certain merchant of 1500*l.* sterling, due to the ambassador, with some other goods he was sending to Spain, worth an additional 100*l.* sterling. He obtained this easily, and to suspend the action against the security he appealed against the sentence. Such was the state of affairs when the ambassador went to audience. He presented the letters referred to, complained of the violation of the law of nations, said that the money sequestrated belonged to his king, and urged his Majesty to refer the cause to Spain where it originated.

The king took the office ill. He told Ognati that the persons and houses of ambassadors were privileged, but their goods outside the house were subject to the civil law. He marvelled that while a foreigner demanded justice from him against a subject of his, he should claim that it could not be obtained except in their own tribunals. They do right to all without distinction as well here as in Spain, the demand was unexampled and a slight upon his royal justice. Perceiving from this that he would not obtain what he asked the ambassador reduced his demands, asking that the cause might be referred to the commissioners of the Admiralty, who are seven lords of the royal council, with orders to make a careful enquiry and pronounce sentence after consulting his Majesty. They gratified him in this.

* Captain Walter Stewart, commander of the *Victory* which brought Oñate from Spain.

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The Ambassador Bellievre has also seen the king to tell him the nature of the adjustment about the *Pearl*. He also said something about the alliance and seconded the offices of the Swedish minister about sending an ambassador to Hamburg with full powers to conclude, as those given to the agents do not suffice. He intimated that they gathered in France that a minister of his Majesty is in constant negotiation with the King of Hungary, and that such things cannot fail to generate jealousy in his king and the allies, at a time when they are trying to establish a solid alliance against that quarter.

The king replied that these were only pretexts for delaying the result. He kept no minister at the Court of the King of Hungary, and indeed he had sent word to a secretary left by the Earl of Arundel with the late emperor, that if he negotiated, not only concluded any business in his name, he would have him hanged. Thus, he remarked, whenever any report is designedly circulated to the contrary of what I tell you, I protest that it will be false.

All these particulars are supplied me by a person whom I have tested, and who is in a position to know, from his relations with one of the leading ministers. With respect to the secretary mentioned by the king, I think he can be none other than Teler. Although he is not ostensibly a royal minister, and they never send him letters for audiences of the present emperor, whom they will not recognise as such, yet with his Majesty's connivance he has letters from some of the Lords of the Council commanding him to stay at that Court and with the goodwill of that government, always with the design of sending him instructions to conduct negotiations whenever any opening is made. He is paid from the king's purse, he writes to Court, they write to him and he exercises every function of a minister of the state, although they will not admit that he is one.

The gentleman sent by the Earl of Holland with the ship that went to Spain to bring the Duchess of Chevreuse here,* reports the indecision of that lady about coming. In any case they have prepared noble and well furnished quarters for her at Court, where she will be entertained out of regard for her husband's relationship to the king. It is whispered that his Majesty sent her money for the journey. I find no confirmation of this, *but I know that it is only on the score of reputation that they have not declined to have her here, as neither the king nor the ministers want her, with the exception of the Earl of Holland who became her devoted servant when he went to France to bring the present queen here.*

Some days ago a certain English Colonel arrived here, who is in the service of the Catholic in Flanders. He wants to obtain permission to enlist 500 to 600 soldiers to fill up his regiment, and he has gone to Court for this.† The French ambassador, who

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* M. Scandaret, a gentleman of the queen. He went in the *Bonaventure*. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1637-8, pages 7, 13, 15, 28.

† Apparently this colonel was Henry Gage, of whom there is an exculpatory letter on the subject addressed to Windebank on the 6th March. *S.P. For. Flanders*, but it would seem from this letter that Gage did not himself go to England but employed an agent, one Captain Barker.

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still remains with the king at Newmarket, has been warned of this, and is expected to oppose it, so that the Colonel may be sent about his business.

Pennington, Vice Admiral of the Fleet, who has been at sea all this winter with six ships, writes that he saw the Spanish fleet come out of Dunkirk, consisting of twenty five good ships of war and fifteen smaller vessels, but when they arrived near Calais, with a very faint wind, which only enabled them to progress slowly, they turned back towards Dunkirk, to wait for more favourable weather. Anyhow that circumstance prevents letters from Italy crossing to this island.

Your Serenity's despatch of the 6th ult. reaches me by way of Zurich, with instructions not to commit myself to the merchants in the matter of Obson's offer. I have nothing to add to what I wrote on this subject.

London, the 12th March, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 16. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

414. To the Proveditore of Zante.

The Inquisitor Capello informs us in his letters of the 22nd January and 18th February of the loss occasioned to the Chamber through collusion between the customers of the new impost and the English merchants. You are to put a stop to this, but the interests of the state require that the ships and merchants who trade at that island should have the best of treatment, for trade, the recovery of debts and the payment of duties, in order to increase the revenues of the Chamber.

Ayes, 87. Noes, 1. Neutral, 24.

[*Italian.*]

March 16. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

415. The Savii for the orders pronounce :

Trade has greatly declined in every part of the dominions of the republic and it seems that common opinion attributes decline to the payment of the duties, while the merchants, and the English in particular, ask for certain facilities for setting up trade again in our island of Zante and to abandon the traffic which they have carried on hitherto in the country of the Grand Turk. The ill effects which have been experienced from the augmentation of the duties, which has caused a diminution of the revenues persuade us of the prudence of this suggested course as a means of providing a remedy and preventing so harmful an abuse.

Let it be decided that goods of every description brought by foreign ships to Zante shall pay 6 per cent., except goods from Venice, which pay 4 per cent. only, careful note being taken of the nature of the goods and whence they come.

That information of this decision be sent to the ambassadors in France, England and Holland, so that they may make use of it upon occasion, as if on their own responsibility, in such way that the merchants shall come to have a proper knowledge of it.

Ayes, 37.

[*Italian.*]

1638.
March 19.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

416. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Soon after the interview of the Treasurer of Scotland with his Majesty about the disturbances in that country, which are worse than ever, he left post with other royal edicts, designed to cause disunion among the people there, inducing one section to render due obedience, and thus make it easier to use force against the rest. The edicts contain a general pardon to all for past things, excepting for those of Edinburgh and two other towns, which used violence against their bishops when carrying out the royal commands, but on condition that they abstain in the future from all private conventicles. They declare that all those who take part in any sort of assembly are ipso facto guilty of high treason in the first degree. A person of quality of that nation told me that the Scottish nobility had assembled at Edinburgh and neighbouring places to the number of 10,000. *They had chosen* 4 *deputies to preside over their common affairs, and distributed arms to those capable of bearing them, and that the danger of a general rebellion become ever more menacing, which will not be appeased without the ruin of that kingdom by force of arms. He said this was a very difficult question for the king in the present state of affairs, when he is not loved by his subjects or by the few whom he employs. His Majesty was badly advised. He does not conciliate the magnates, and renders both them and the people desperate by subverting the laws of the realm, altering the ancient rites of the Church, and burdening every one with very heavy impositions, in ways never before practised. These, he remarked, were deep seated reasons for estranging the people from their prince, whose love was a treasure only recognised in extreme necessity. If they propose to raise a force to take to Scotland, not strong in numbers, contrary to the legal ways of obtaining one, and with the people discontented they will meet with excessive obstacles. It is reckoned that three fifths of England belong to the Calvinist sect, which is the same as the Scots', against whom they will not want to draw the sword, their own salvation depending on the preservation of the others. The English also speak to the same effect, their views clearly showing the general dissatisfaction with the present government, and their rejoicing at such disturbances, through which they argue that the king will have to yield in the end to the obstinacy of the Scots. They hope by this example to improve the condition of England likewise. At Court, however, they try as much as possible to suppress such bad news. They only let it be understood that the affair admits of easy accommodation, since those people are not being molested; but when the Scots are asked, they shrug their shoulders, expressing their apprehension for their country. Meanwhile the king is devoting every effort to collecting money and increasing the revenues of the crown, which he has doubled from what they used to be fifteen years ago. The contributions for the fleet are being made annual.*

To every foreigner willing to pay 25 crowns they grant permission to practise any trade in London. To the old duty of 20 crowns the butt (about 4 *bigonzi*) of wine, they have recently added 10 crowns more, and it is reckoned that 100,000 butts are

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brought to England every year from France, Spain and elsewhere. Silk cloth pays 20 per cent., currants 15 crowns the thousand, and all the rest in proportion. This causes an incredible scarcity of everything and a universal outcry among the inhabitants, who are not accustomed to pay anything but the ordinary subsidies voted by parliament. *Whenever that body comes into force again it will revoke all these impositions as contrary to its ancient institutions.*

Behind the Spanish fleet there sailed out the other barques detained there, and so the couriers of Antwerp made their passage across, bringing here four despatches from the province of Italy.

This fleet still remains in that port, whence some of its ships go out cruising in the Channel and prey upon such Dutch vessels as they fall in with. It is not easy to see what their object may be. It seems unlikely that they mean to go straight to Spain.

I have received the state's letters of the 13th and 26th ult. with Fildin's exposition on taking leave, the increased present to him, and the release of Turner from the galley, which I will make use of. Whatever he may say, his operations at Turin will not go beyond compliments as yet, since this crown has no business with her Highness, the king's remarks about contributing towards the quiet of Italy being nothing but expressions of good will. *His Majesty's object at present is confined to pacifying disturbances at home and making himself sovereign, dependent on no authority but his own. If he succeeds it will be the boldest enterprise that any of his predecessors ever achieved and in the common opinion he has gone a great way towards it, if this Scottish affair, which may arouse England also, does not upset it, as people here freely remark.*

I hear nothing of any other ambassador in Fildin's place, but the return of the king and Court to the city, which is to be tomorrow, will make it easier for me to learn their plans. The persons mentioned still press their claims to succeed him, but as they have gone outside the lords for the ambassador to Spain, their hopes for that of your Serenity are dashed, for they see that if another is nominated he will be of the same quality, to the exclusion of themselves. I will keep on the watch about this, and also about the reception of the Ambassador Giustinian, when I hear of his approaching Paris, by which he advises me he will travel. I will do my utmost to carry out my instructions, and the further commissions about the duties on the cloth sent by the merchants here to Zante.

News has arrived here of the successes of Weimar beyond the Rhine.* The French party here have heard it with great satisfaction.

London, the 19th March, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* At the end of January Bernard attacked and speedily captured the Austrian forest towns of Säckingen, Laufenburg and Waldshut on the Upper Rhine.

1638.
March 23.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

417. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Cardinal has remonstrated strongly with the English ambassadors becausc a great sum of money has been convoyed to Flanders these last days by the ships of their king.* He pointed out to them that it was not possible to believe that the King of Great Britain was as eager as he said to support the war against the Austrians, when he acts as an instrument to render them strong.

A courier from England recently passed this way, and took passports to go to Spain. There is a suspicion about this despatch as they cannot imagine the motive.

Paris, the 23rd March, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

March 26.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

418. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The king returned to London on Saturday in last week, being met by divers lords and by the queen, who eagerly expected him. His Majesty enjoys perfect bodily health, although he is much distressed in mind about Scotland. Fresh and more authentic news has arrived of the union between the nobility and the people and of the acts, in the form of protests against the royal proclamations recently issued by the Treasurer there. At present they only speak under their breath about the contents of these protests, but I will send particulars in my next despatch.

I paid a complimentary visit to the Marquis of Hamilton, congratulating him on his return in good health to London, so as to secure his help, when the time comes, to get an earl to meet the Ambassador Giustinian. I told him of the favours shown to Fildin, and he said his brother in law had sent a full account to the king, who was highly pleased. He expressed his obligations, and said he should like to have an opportunity of showing his goodwill. I thanked him suitably, and promised that I should apply for his protection in case of need. I asked if the king had selected another ambassador in place of Fildin. He replied that the person was not yet chosen, but the king would certainly appoint somebody soon, though he thought he would not have the high rank of Fildin, seeing that the one chosen for Spain was only a knight. I replied with compliments and after some further observations, took my leave. I spoke to the same effect to the Secretary Cuch, who answered in the same sense on every point.

The resident of the Grand Duke at Venice writes to his colleague here of Fildin's departure and the talk there about no other ambassador being sent in his stead. He begs him to write what are their intentions here. The Resident here replied he was told that they will certainly choose another, but until that is done he could not affirm it, after what has happened before. He believes, however, that this is an indiscretion of Fildin himself, communicated in confidence to that Resident.

* In a letter of the 20th Feb. o.s. Pennington says he has been over with a convoy near Dunkirk. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 270.

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Fildin's observations to your Serenity about the accommodation with the House of Savoy were his own idea, as the king has given him no charge about it, *knowing him incapable of such serious business. I have the assurance of the one who wrote his instructions.**

Hope of the alliance with France is again rising, as the Swedish minister affirms that commissions have reached the Ambassador Salvio at Hamburg, to consign the treaty of Vismar to d'Avo. He maintains that the transactions with the emperor are in consequence at an end, and urges them here to send an ambassador extraordinary to arrange those things which have to be stipulated there with France and the allies. The Ambassador Bellievre speaks to the same effect, and backs the representations of the Swedish minister. But here they answer that the king's agents have sufficient powers to treat and when it comes to the signing they will send an ambassador extraordinary for the purpose. *Meanwhile the Ambassador suggests that to accelerate matters, without increasing the expense, they might send the Earl of Leicester who is quite competent in every respect. His Majesty makes objection, saying that Avo has not the same rank as Leicester, and although the French reply that the rank of the individual does not affect that of the ambassador, they do not shake the king's opinion.*

They have recently sent an extraordinary to Spain to the Ambassador Astney, to tell him of the choice of his successor, and that he will leave here immediately after Easter. He is charged to prepare to leave that Court in time to profit by the same ship that brings his successor to Corunna, to return to England.

The Ambassador Ognati is advised that Don Martino d'Aspi, sometime secretary of the Cardinal Infant, is destined as Resident here until the arrival of Don Gasparo Braccamonte, the ambassador designate, who will leave Spain more at his ease, when the other has arrived. That they have ordered this Resident to leave with Madame de Chevreuse, taking the ship which is to bring her here. Ognati expects him soon, and that he himself will start immediately for Madrid. He says he has orders to leave his baggage here, but one sees this is a device of his, to avoid the risk of sequestration at the suit of Stuart, for the reasons described.

The Spanish fleet remains at Dunkirk, detained by contrary winds, and compelled to replace the provisions for the troops on board. They have put these on shore, to have better air, until the first signs of improved weather.

One Silvestro Travi, a Muranese, arrived here this week on his way to Venice, with a companion, the one a maker and the other a polisher of mirrors. They are both fugitives from Antwerp, where they say they were taken by fraud to introduce the art. Sir [Robert] Mansfelt, who has the monopoly of the manufacture of all manner of glass in this kingdom, heard of their arrival through other Muranese who work here, and finding that they

* This is not correct, Fielding's instructions of 15 Nov. 1637 o.s. direct him to recommend the cause of Savoy to the Senate. *S.P. For. Venice*, Vol. 40.

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were quite penniless he tried by specious promises to induce them to enter his serviee, as they have no master mirror makers in this kingdom. When this eame to my knowledge I thought it my duty to prevent them from eonsenting, and to try and get them away from here, without their diseovering my purpose. To this end I made suitable observations, furnished them with money for their journey, and got them to set out at onee for home, giving them letters of recommendation to the Ambassador Corraro in Franee.

Yet there remains here one Gasparo Brunovo, ealled "Tre Corone," a Muranese, who offers to make erystal glass equal to the Venetian, to make all kinds of vessels and other objeets in every colour, large mirrors and all other erystal work made there. He also undertakes to teaeh the art to the English. I have tried to perusade him also to return to his native land, pointing out the wrong he is doing, in wanting to introduee these things; but a year ago he made a contract for seven years with the knight in question, and cannot leave here, where he is entieed by earnings of 20 dueats a week. I try to deprive his offers of eredit, representing eovertly to his master that he will get him to throw away a large sum of money in instruments and other things to no purpose, and that he will not achieve what he has promised. I have sueeeeded so far that he only employs him for ordinary drinking glasses, to his great dissatisfaetion, and does not believe him about the rest.

I have thought it my duty to report all this. The state despatehes of the 5th inst. have reaehed me.

London, the 26th Mareh, 1638.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 27. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

419. To the Seeretary Zonea in England.

Permission to return home immediately the Ambassador Giustinian has arrived, and after he has handed the public papers to the ambassador and given him all necessary information.

Ayes, 90. Noes, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Mareh 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

420. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in Franee, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors have assured the ministers here that the agents of their king at Hamburg have ample powers and orders to ratify the agreement with the allies, and that a large naval foree will soon be ready in England. To remove the suspieions about the eourier who took passports for Spain last week they say he takes nothing beyond commissions to the Ambassador Hasteyn to leave that Court and to be at Coruña by the 1st of May, where the ships whieh will have brought his sueeessor will be ready to take him baek to England.

Paris, the 30th March.

[*Italian.*]

1638.
April 2.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

421. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I have been on the look out all this week for authentic news, amid the various rumours, about the manifestoes of the union in Scotland. I have obtained the following particulars from a person who saw the very despatches to the king. I send you these apart. Various proclamations were published in that kingdom by his Majesty's order. The last of these, preceding the general pardon, was to the people of Edinburgh and two other cities, commanding everyone to withdraw to his own house, to obey promptly the royal ordinances both in temporal and ecclesiastical matters, and to abstain from appearing with petitions on the subject before him and his Council. Against these proclamations the people there drew up a protest signed by two lords in the name of all the union. They had it published where these of the king were and posted up underneath them, for the better understanding of all. It contains a long preamble of the pretended reasons for their meeting, being moved by their duty to God, love of their country and the good of their ill advised king, since certain ordinances have been published in the name of his Majesty contrary to their own consciences and statutes, and they say the preservation of the kingdom does not permit them to obey. They decline any pardon offered which excepts anyone, as no one has erred more than another. All injuries and offences done to any of them for this cause will be esteemed as done to the entire union, and avenged by such means as they consider best. They call God and the world to witness that they are not to blame for those evils which may arise from these measures, and declare that they wish always to be ruled in accordance with the laws by which that kingdom has been governed so happily for so many centuries, when they will promptly return to their duty. I omit other particulars as unessential. In pursuance of these things the union is said to have bought all the arms to be found in the country, and distributed them to the people, inciting them to defend their faith and government against those who wish to disturb them. This has incensed his Majesty to such an extent that he has sent to Ireland for the muster of 8000 of the troops there, it being rumoured that he will send them to Scotland in case of need. Some think that this is only an experiment in order to make those people give way at the apprehension of war in their own country, since the number is not sufficient for such an enterprise. The embarrassments of the crown do not permit it to go there with stronger forces, and the situation and nature of Scotland, all of a ferment, does not promise such results as his Majesty would desire, as a small army would be defeated and a large one is impracticable for the king at present and would perish amid the difficulties of the country.*

All sorts of persons here talk freely to this effect, and the members of the government wash their hands of any disaster that may ensue; they freely express their dissatisfaction, and say that the

* This appears to refer to the Covenant issued in answer to the king's proclamation of the 19th February. A letter bearing upon this was addressed to the king by the Lords Traquair and Roxburgh on the 5th March. Rushworth: *Hist. Collections*, Vol. ii., pages 731–744.

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king has never so much as asked their advice in the Council or out of it, and they cannot give it otherwise. The Archbishop also spreads abroad the same ideas, but as he frequently has long and secret interviews with the king alone, and his violent nature is well known, it is concluded that he supports the king in his resolution. This renders the archbishop generally odious, to such an extent that one hears people regretting that while there was some one venturesome enough to take the life of the Duke of Buckingham, with less cause, there is no one now to do it against this even worse minister, who is leading towards the total subversion of these realms. This has led to the imprisonment of some of the less circumspect, who will assuredly pay dearly for their excessive temerity, although that will only exasperate the people more.

The enterprise against Algiers, having encountered various difficulties, has been abandoned, and as the Ambassador of Morocco had nothing further to do, he took leave of his Majesty on Tuesday, intending to depart in a fortnight, on a ship already selected by the king, which will also serve to carry goods to those parts.*

The Agent of the Prince Palatine went to tell the king of the decision of his Highness to enter Germany with as many men as he can collect, so as to be more welcome. He means to try his fortune before suffering his present trials any longer. He told of the purchase of a place in Westphalia as a place d'armes ;† of the patents for enlisting troops, the preparation of munitions of war, and begged the king for the help so frequently promised, to encourage France and Holland also to follow his example. He says they hold out hopes if something is done here first. The reply was favourable, commending the courageous decision, and promising that he should experience the royal liberality on his entering Germany. It is rumoured at Court that the king means to send him remittances for 200,000 florins at once, with the intention of supplying more, without pledging himself to ordinary monthly assignments. He declares that while he sees the prince engaged in generous enterprises he will assist him as if he was his own son.

With the confirmation of the defeat and capture of Giovanni de Wert‡ and his fellows comes news from Hamburg of the recapture by the Swedes of the castle of Volgast and of Landspergh in Pomerania, with the consignment to M. d'Avo of the treaty of Vismar which has been discussed for so long. The news is welcome at Court, where they desire to see their neighbours busy during their present difficulties in Scotland, so that they may not foment what has become a definite rebellion, and also because they would like the Palatine to begin his military operations in Germany under the happy auspices of success to the party.

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* Tuesday would be the 31st March. Salvetti writing on the same day says that the ambassador took leave on Saturday, *i.e.* March 28th. Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962H. Thomas Smith, writing to Pennington on the 21st March o.s. said he took leave "yesterday." *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 321. The ship selected was the *Convertive*, Capt. George Carteret. *Id.* page 356 ; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1638-9, page 69.

† Meppen.

‡ At Rheinfelden on the 3rd March by Bernard of Saxe Weimar.

1638.

The Swedish minister has gone, taking complimentary letters from the king to the queen there, assuring her of his good will to the public cause.

The king has conferred the office of Lord High Admiral of England on the Earl of Northumberland, to hold until the Duke of York, for whom it is destined, is old enough to act.*

The Ambassador Fildin wrote on the 5th ult. of the audience given by your Serenity that same day to the nuncio, and the rumours of an approaching adjustment of the differences between the pope and the republic, the inscriptions in the Vatican and the Bucintoro being restored as before.† He says he postponed his departure in order to visit the French ambassador who has just arrived.‡

When I have written thus far the ordinary has arrived from Flanders with your Serenity's despatches of the 12th ult. I note that Fildin has presented some one to act as Agent, and the honours intended for him on his journey as an extraordinary. I will use all this for the state's service. I will also do my best about the reception of the Ambassador Giustinian. I observe that Fildin has made no mention in his expositions of any other ambassador in his place, and although they continue to assure me here that the appointment will be made, yet when I see that they made it for Spain immediately the present one took leave, and not for Venice when five months have passed since they decided to recall Fildin, I do not know what to believe. I will observe carefully what they do and send word.

London, the 2nd April, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 6. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

422. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Although the Prince Palatine has intimated that he is collecting troops to enter Germany, they have not arranged to supply him with any assistance, being determined to leave the burden to England.

Paris, the 6th April, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

April 9. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

423. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who is universally considered the sole adviser of the king about the disturbances of Scotland, being alarmed because there is no relaxation in the seditious remarks about him, not even after the arrest of some who spoke with too great liberty, is supposed to have represented to his Majesty the danger in which he

* The appointment was announced by the king in Council at Whitehall on Sunday the $\frac{1}{9}\frac{3}{8}$ March. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637-8, page 321.

† The dispatch is preserved. Of the Bucintoro Fielding writes "The Venetians shall restore in their new Bucintoro . . . what was written in the old, viz. *Munificentia Pontificale* which did infer that the republic had the dominion of the Gulf granted them by the pope, which in their last Bucintoro was left out and in its place was written *sanguine nostro et cruore.*" *S.P. For. Venice.*

‡ Claude de Mallier, seigneur du Houssay.

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stands, and is trying to exonerate himself in the Council from this deeply rooted opinion, as if that spread it might give rise to the mishaps which sometimes happen when a people feels ill will against a minister, and which is already threatened against him.

This opinion is based upon an angry speech made recently by the king in his Council, when he said that he heard with annoyance that the archbishop was scandalously and without reason blamed as the one who upholds him in his resolution in those affairs. He declared that he had never taken the advice of any one soever, but everything happened from his motion alone, and those who thought differently deceived themselves. The tenor of this justification was forthwith made public by the dependants of the archbishop. It only confirms the original opinion, while it does not exonerate the king from some blame, since in affairs of such importance which have gone so far that they cannot be arranged without loss of reputation to the crown, he has deprived himself of the advantage of allowing the blame to fall on this minister, and by thus exonerating himself, restore quiet for himself and his realms. Such is the substance of the talk of the ministers who oppose the archbishop's party, and other leading lords, who in general abhor the archbishop's principles as tending to oppression of the people and the overthrow of the laws of the land.

I hear from a very secret quarter that the queen has made some affectionate overtures to the king about satisfying those people and removing the fear of civil war, with danger to his royal person. He replied tenderly begging her not to alarm herself, and assuring her that when he wishes he can reduce those subjects to obedience as usual. In fact while matters do not take a worse turn with those of the Assembly, it is thought to be so, and if every way but force is tried, the question will ultimately be settled under some pretext that will serve to cover the royal reputation, by the revocation of the things objected to. If this is done no one doubts that Scotland will return to its natural loyalty, in accordance with the published protests.

The Agent of Savoy has recently received letters from his mistress advising him of her desire to satisfy the Most Christian, in any way that will content her people, and charges him to inform this Court. He has been trying to obtain from his Majesty permission to send her a certain quantity of munitions of war, but they have delayed so long to grant it, that with the double duties on them, as on everything else, it will be of no use and he has written to the duchess that it will cost more than buying them elsewhere.

Last Monday the Dunkirk fleet sailed, with a wind so little favourable that it had to enter a port of these islands 100 miles away, to await better weather. The Admiral sent an express to a merchant of this mart with letters of credit to raise 10,000 crowns, to provide food and other necessaries for the fleet. He reports that the admiral has sealed orders, with strict instructions from the Cardinal Infant not to open them until he has left the Channel, and then to carry them out as speedily as the time permits.

Letters arrived recently from Madame de Chevreuse relating

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that she had received orders from the Catholic delaying her embarcation for a few days until the arrival of Don Martino d'Aspi, so that she can take advantage of the ship provided for her. The Spanish ambassador here is impatiently awaiting her arrival, as he is tired of his stay here and eager to return home. He urges the Admiralty judges to despatch the cause between the Genoese and Stuart about the ten chests of ryals.

This week also I have made public the favours shown to Fildin, of which he has written to the ministers here, with the news of his departure from Venice. Everyone lauds the generosity, greatness and friendliness of the republic, and this incites many to wish to succeed him. They think nothing about it yet, although one still hears that it will happen soon.

They have given Opton, ambassador elect to the Catholic, his instructions, and he will start in a few days. He proposes to land at Corunna by the 1st of May, by which time his predecessor has orders to be there, to return by the same ship.

I conversed recently with a merchant interested in the Spallato affair, suggested by Obson heretofore. I told him, as instructed, that he could inform your Serenity through Obson of what he had to suggest, and I could not tell him any more. But as he intimated that a proposal came to him from Venice to make his market at Segna in Istria, from which to send his goods to Hungary, and that he thought of doing so if he could not get Spallato, I have thought it necessary to send this hint to your Serenity.

The last to reach me from your Excellencies are of the 19th of March, with which I find the usual advices, which help greatly to increase that correspondence which goes to facilitate the public service.

London, the 9th April, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 13. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

424. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Bailo at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Difficulties raised by the English ambassador about allowing the English ship *Tomasin*, Captain Thomas Acher, to go to Venice under the Venetian flag. At Venice the Captain promised to hire the ship as Venetian, but here, through fear, he has had to make himself thoroughly English. The English ambassador sent his secretary to me to learn what I proposed to do.

I told him, nothing more than usual. The secretary did not admit that such hiring was usual. He said the ambassador had express orders from the king to take his consulage from all English ships and not allow them to fly any but the English flag, to avoid setting an injurious precedent, as the French, Ragusans, Jews and all others who use English ships submit to the English laws and chancery.

After he had gone I looked in the chancery and found that the last English ship hired direct for Venice from here was the *London*, when Sig. Veniero was Bailo, showing that for ten years foreign ships have not traded for Venice. I sent this precedent to the

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English ambassador. He admitted the point but said that the ship *London* was sent by him. I suggested that he should let the ship go and have the matter settled at our Court afterwards. But he would not give way an inch, and so I have had to give instructions that the ship shall not be laded. Those concerned have protested to the Captain, who excused his action on the grounds of the commands of the ambassador.*

The Vigne of Pera, the 13th April, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

425. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

A disgraceful disturbance took place last week near the Court, which greatly moved the king and ministry. The officers of justice arrested a certain Scottish gentleman of the household of the Marquis of Hamilton, a close relation of his Majesty, and opposite his very house, because he had not troubled to pay a fine for a crime committed by him. He drew his sword and killed one of the officers, injuring others, but being overcome by the crowd he was seized just when all the Scots of the Marquis's household and others of the same nation were hastening to help him with arms in their hands. When the officers saw the danger they withdrew with their prisoner into a house, securing the door. The Scots tried on the one side to force it, and on the other they ran furiously to the royal palace and brought thence a long ladder. They placed this against the house, open it and entered, releasing the prisoner, without any regard for the crime, the place or the royal magistrates, who arrived calling out that the king's peace must be observed. The officers of justice have laid the case before the Council, making the worst of the circumstances, so that they have directed rigorous proceedings to be taken, not only against the delinquents, but against those in the neighbourhood also for not stopping the scandal. Many have already been sent to prison from the household of the Marquis and others. But the principal with some of his more guilty companions, has escaped to Scotland.†

This disgraceful incident happened only a few days before the return to Court of the Scottish Treasurer with other lords and bishops of that kingdom, who, so far as I can gather, bring word that the rebellion keeps growing worse, and it has only increased his Majesty's wrath against that nation. This makes men believe that the more guilty prisoners will receive an

* For the case of the *London* (? *Elizabeth* and *Margaret*) see Vol. XXI. of this *Calendar*, page 346. The incident occurred in October, 1628. The Court Book of the Levant Company, under date 28 June, 1638 has an entry recording the receipt of a letter from Wyche of the 27th April reporting how he had prevented the *Thomasine* from acting as a Venetian ship, with a resolution that the masters of ships which took foreign colours should be fined 1000 ducats. *S.P. For. Archives*, Vol. 149. The ship is probably identical with the *Thomasine* of 400 tons and 26 guns, Captain William Hacker, mentioned in the *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1634-5, page 221.

† The incident took place on Saturday the 3rd April n.s. and not "last week." The Scottish gentleman was named Carr. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, pages 333, 334. *Strafford Letters*, Vol. ii., page 165.

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exemplary punishment. I will send a more detailed account in my next of what these lords bring, as I have not yet had an opportunity to find out.

Divers of the younger lords here are preparing to accompany the Prince Palatine to Germany. He writes that he will go so soon as his troops are ready. They are making all speed in order not to lose the good season, but it is thought he will not move before the French and Dutch armies have come out, so that his enterprises may prove the more successful with the enemy's attention diverted. The king promises to help him according to the measure of his actions. Everyone commends his generous resolution, and they feel sure that the sum to be sent him will exceed what was written.

The Earl of Northumberland was recently installed as Lord High Admiral with great pomp. He thanked the king publicly for reposing this great confidence in him, and promised to do his best to deserve it.

The Dunkirk fleet left these ports supplied with wine and other victuals to the value of 10,000 crowns received here. Nothing further has been heard of it since, although the accounts given by the one who came to take the money, and the fact that their ships were provided with ladders, petards and other implements of war, have left them impatient with curiosity to hear about the direction of the Spaniards' plans.

Colonel Lesle went to take leave of his Majesty and started post for Scotland, where he has a ship ready for taking his household and some of the troops to Pomerania, for the service of Sweden. The Agent of Savoy announces the renewal of the alliance between the Most Christian and his mistress, but as we hear no confirmation from France yet, it is thought that his assertions contain no more truth that there was in what he said about Breme, which he declared was fully supplied for four months.*

Talbot, left by Fildin as Agent at Venice, *is beginning to show himself a pupil of his master. In his first letter* he writes of a raid by the Uscocks into the Turkish dominions at the suggestion of the emperor, with the object of being employed at the Porte for the adjustment of the differences which may arise against your Excellencies because of damage received by the Turks, and by conferring this benefit, to oblige the most serene republic to unite with the House of Austria to drive the French from Italy. Some of the Court asked me about this, referring to the character of the Uscocks, and in satisfying them I found out the origin.†

I gather that Schidemore, the ordinary ambassador in France, has asked leave to return home, and as Fildin aspires to succeed,

* Bremo on the Po in the Milanese besieged by Leganes on the 12th March and surrendered soon after the death of Crequy there, on the 17th.

† Among the state papers the first despatch of Talbot after Fielding's departure for Turin is dated 27th March, and contains none of the above particulars.

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his mother is working hard for it.* But nothing has been decided as yet, nor about one to your Serenity.

The ship *Prospero* has arrived from Candia with 500 butts of muscat. The fact of its arriving after winter makes them send the greater part of it to Hamburg, where there is always a good market. Meanwhile two ships of this city are preparing to go to that kingdom, in time for the new muscats in order to profit by the advantages offered by the decree of the 14th November last.

The ordinary from Italy has arrived without letters from your Excellencies this week.

London, the 16th April, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 17. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives

426. Alvise Contarini and Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador in ordinary has taken leave of his Majesty and will leave for home in a few days, before the arrival of his successor.

Madrid, the 17th April, 1638.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

April 23. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

427. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Treasurer of Scotland with other lords, all high officials, has come post to London, in order not to fall into high treason, with the ever growing rebellion in that country, and to make the last efforts to extinguish the fire which is consuming their native land. They say that the people demand the revocation of the last innovations as well as all those since the reform of their religion, including certain acts which the late King James, five years before he died, tried to get the parliament there to approve, under a promise that they should not be observed, as being contrary to that reform. The Assembly has already drawn up what it states agrees with the laws of the realm as sworn to by his Majesty at his coronation. They have given a copy to every parish minister with orders to go from house to house to get everyone to sign it and swear on the gospels to maintain it against any one who wishes to prevent its observance, with instructions for those who cannot write to meet in the churches and promise in the presence of God to live in union with the others for the preservation of their liberty and consciences. They pronounce anyone who refuses the oath or contravenes it an infamous enemy of his country. More than 60,000 people had signed at the time of their departure, and they were proceeding busily. As his Majesty's servants, in order to avoid being compelled to sign with the others, they had decided to come here. They say the kingdom is now being governed with its own laws, and the

* On the 15th March o.s. Windebank wrote to Fielding that it seemed likely the embassy in France would become vacant "within some reasonable time perhaps before your lordship's at Turin will be ended" and if so that place might not be disagreeable to him. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Report, page 283.

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Assembly carries them out. They propose to expel the bishops as enemies of their country, distribute their revenues to the curates of the parishes and relieve these of the cost of maintaining the ministers. In civil and criminal causes they delegate judges for the single cause, who decide it, according to the laws, without any charge to the parties. They have abolished the gabelles, taxes, imposts, councils, magistrates and every other mark of the royal authority. Everyone contributes willingly to what is required for the public weal, without any approach to disorder or any sign of growing tired at the novelty. They represent to the king the necessity of finding some means of satisfying a people most obstinate in the preservation of its laws and the security of their country, begging him not to let things go to extremes, and to believe that the more stable their conferences remain the more difficult it will be to provide remedies afterwards.

All these considerations avail nothing to move the king from his original intentions. Everyone observes with astonishment how slowly they move to deal with a case of such importance, with manifest danger of losing that kingdom ; the common opinion being that if the Scots decide to choose another king, as they claim to have just and legitimate cause for doing, the whole power of England would never suffice to subdue them.

The Ambassador of Morocco recently had a special audience to take leave of his Majesty, who received him graciously and wished him a good journey. He asked for an additional ship of war as an escort, being afraid of falling into the hands of the pirates of Algiers, who, he hears, are doing much damage in those parts, and he obtained it.* The king gave him various cloths, worth some 4000 crowns and a chain worth 500 to his English companion. The merchant's who trade in Africa are preparing another very rich one, to keep his master in a good humour, as he has renewed the articles for trade in cloth between this kingdom and his own, which existed in the time of Queen Elizabeth and was interrupted by the rebellion of the pirates of Sale, who have recently been subdued with the help of English ships. They hope to obtain many favours from this ambassador and great profit from the trade.

The king wrote to the Palatine and his mother to confirm his promise about assistance, not only with money, but with artillery, munitions of war and other things required for his enterprise. He has already selected the guns which he proposes to send, has ordained the quality and quantity of the munitions and directed the remittances to be prepared for 20,000*l.* sterling. He has given leave to any of his subjects to go and serve among the soldiers, and expresses his particular satisfaction that the prince seems determined to avenge his injuries.

He has selected as ambassador extraordinary to Hamburg the Scot Anstruther sometime ambassador to the late emperor. The Dutch have chosen their agent with the King of Denmark.†

* The *Expedition* pinnace Captain Slingsby was detailed to accompany the *Convertive*. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 356.

† Cracouw. Boswell to Wentworth, the 3rd May, 1638. *Strafford Letters*, Vol. ii., page 163.

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He wishes the establishment of the alliance with France to encourage his nephew's party. Anstruther is strongly opposed. They say freely that he is not the man for that affair and they would like to see Sir [Thomas] Roe employed, who is much more able and better affected to the Palatine House.

They are collecting the taxes for the fleet with a slowness most irritating to his Majesty, and the amounts collected by the sheriffs seem very feeble. *They do not wish to proceed to extreme severity in order not to increase the material for dissatisfaction among the English as well. The amount received so far is not sufficient for the maintenance of the fleet which they purpose to send to sea.*

Your Serenity's despatch of the 20th ult. reaches me by way of Zurich, about the exposition of the nuncio, of which Fildin has already written. Some of the lords here friendly to the republic complimented me on this reconciliation at a time when I was in the dark about it, and I could only answer in general terms, saying that everyone knew you had always shown your your filial obedience towards His Holiness. If I am provoked again I shall be able to speak more definitely.

I am deeply grateful at the leave given me to return home when the Ambassador Giustinian has arrived and I have done what is necessary for his entry. The public satisfaction with my labours lightens my regret for my loss of health and substance in the course of ten years' service, and when I have recovered my health I will again devote myself to the service of your Serenity and your Excellencies.

London, the 23rd April, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

428. Alvise Contarini and Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

When we returned the visit of Don Francesco di Melo he spoke very earnestly about the peace. Among other things he remarked to me, Giustinian, that they were negotiating with England about the Palatinate, and as this was in the direction of peace I might assist the business at that Court. I evaded this with a few words, without giving him any handle.

Madrid, the 24th April, 1638.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

April 27. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

429. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors represent the levies of the Palatine as great and their king's assistance as very vigorous while many individual English gentlemen are going to Holland as volunteers to offer their services. They would like to do something for him here, but will find it difficult to get them to move unless they really see what the King of Great Britain means to do. Amid these circumstances they contemplate with regret the disturbances

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in Scotland, fearing that the encouragement they receive from the Spaniards may make them worse and lead to some tragic end.

Paris the 27th April, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

April 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

430. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The merchants of the Levant Company, seeing the need for their own interests of maintaining a consul at Zante and Cephalonia, have deputed one of their number, who will start in a fortnight by ship for Leghorn, going thence to Venice, whence he will sail for those islands.* He will present to your Serenity a letter from the king, and a paper from the Company about the grievances from which they say they suffer in those islands, and asking for relief, with orders to the English Agent to support his instances. The Governor of the Company, whom I know intimately, came to see me the day before yesterday accompanied by the consul and other merchants, to communicate this resolution and ask me to inform your Serenity. I thanked him and promised to do so assuring him that the consul would be welcome, and would receive every just assistance, as the state directed that these merchants and their ships should receive good treatment.

They stayed a long time talking to me of their trade with Venice, and complained that they did not enjoy the same advantages as at Leghorn. They said that if it was allowed all their trade would be transferred to Venice because of the greater convenience for sending their goods to Germany, which was a long way off the Grand Duke's dominions. They said it was incredible what advantage his Highness derived from such a little port, through the freedom granted there, in spite of its disadvantages. All the goods which they export from here to Italy do not suffice to pay for the silk and gold cloth which they bring here from thence, and they have to add more than 200,000 crowns in letters of exchange a year. All this might go to Venice, with advantage to the state, the people and the merchants.

I said I could not believe that your Excellencies had not taken these things into consideration, as you know all the particulars, and perhaps there are some objections which we do not see. The governor said they asked for nothing but what would benefit the republic. He persuaded me to inform your Serenity of what they had said and express their desire to frequent your markets rather than those of any other power in Italy, if they could do so with equal advantage, because merchants, as well as princes, seek their own advantage. They said they were fitting out some ships for Candia, but actually they do not dispose of much of that wine here, and every year they have to send to Hamburg to get rid of what is left on their hands.

* At a meeting of the Company on the 10th March o.s. it was resolved to appoint Thomas Symonds and Henry Hyde to deal with the currant trade, and on the 2nd May a letter was sent to the merchants of Bristol trading to the Levant notifying them of the appointment of Symonds to be consul at Zante and to be the sole buyer of all the currants of those islands. Levant Company *Court Book* and *Letter Book, S.P. For. Archives*, Vols. 111, 149.

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The person who told me he had a quantity of cloth for the Morea, as I wrote on the 29th of January, was among these merchants, and asked if I had received an answer. Until then he said he would delay sending, as he would unlade at Zante if he could obtain the terms in his letter, otherwise he would send it to Patras. I said I was expecting to hear and would let him know at once. The others also seemed anxious to obtain this advantage saying they were unwilling to risk valuable goods in the Turkish dominions even with light duties, but they are as high as those of the islands, which leave them no profit. I said they might expect every reasonable concession from your Excellencies with a due regard for the advantage of the state. They then spoke of the charges upon currants, which they say cost them last year 85 per cent. beyond the prime cost. They say the consul will speak of this to your Serenity. I remarked that they recoup themselves abundantly here, as they raise the price in proportion. I knew they sold them wholesale to the shopkeepers at over $6\frac{1}{2}$ ducats of good money for every 100 pounds of Venetian weight, and at about 14 shillings of the money current here per pound of 16 ounces.

London, the 30th April, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

April 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

431. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The king, having weighed the considerations put before him by the lords who recently arrived from Scotland about the revolt there, has at length decided, in spite of the lamentations of some bishops who have fled from there, but to the universal satisfaction of the ministry here, to satisfy those people and put a stop to those decisions which threatened the royal interests. The means of adjustment are not yet announced, except hazily. This makes many believe that the royal dignity is somewhat compromised, and obliges me to defer a fuller account to my next.

The Queen of Sweden, after arranging the agreement with the French, for the war in Germany, has sent an Agent, here to see what actual help they give the Palatine, and to urge them to assist her troops.* He has seen the king and presented letters from his mistress, containing her generous resolutions for the common cause, and inviting his Majesty to help, not only for his nephew, but to support that party, from whom the allies promise themselves remarkable advantages. For this purpose she has sent the Chancellor Oxistern to Germany with powerful reinforcements. The king received him very graciously, applauding the great hearted decision of her Majesty. He said he would not fail to assist his nephew and the public cause most amply. He

* "Il est arrivé depuis deux jours en cette ville un Allemand nommé Blondi, qui vient de la part de la Reine de Suéde pour residir ici." Bellievre to Bouthillier, the 22nd April. P.R.O. *Paris Transcripts.* This was Michael de Blom who acted as Agent for Sweden early in 1635. See the preceding Vol. of this *Calendar*, pages 332, 333.

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enlarged adroitly on the succour destined for the Palatine and the good will to increase it, in proportion to the need and his courage.

The Duchess of Chevreuse has at last arrived. At the first news the queen sent her coaches to the coast, with some one to pay her respects and bring the duchess to London. The king also sent to welcome her and say that she would be treated French fashion, easily and without ceremony. She is lodged at the Court in very noble quarters prepared for her long ago.* On the road she was entertained at the king's expense. The Marquis of Ceralvo, chief steward of the Cardinal Infant, came on the same ship, with 120 boxes of ryals. He will proceed with them to Dunkirk. Don Alfonso de Cardines will stay here as Resident for the Catholic and allow the Count of Ognati to depart.

An extraordinary sent by the Duchess of Savoy to her Resident here, reports Fildin's arrival at that Court, and makes some complaint of his negotiations ordering him to remonstrate to the king. He has said something about it to the queen, who, at the instance of the Marquis of Hamilton, has induced the Resident to postpone telling the king or any one else before Fildin's despatches arrive. I have not been able to find out the particulars, but I will keep on the alert.

His Majesty has nominated four gentlemen of the household of Prince Charles, his eldest son, who, at the end of next month when he will enter his ninth year, will be installed in the Order of the Garter, and they wish him to hold his Court apart. They have made him the assignments necessary for his maintenance until he comes into possession of the province of Wales, which belongs to the Prince of England as Dauphiné does to France's firstborn.†

A brother of the Landgrave of Darmstadt is found to be living here incognito.‡ Some at the Court say he has come to observe the nature of the assistance for the Palatine, and the progress of the alliance with the Most Christian, and if these are of consequence, to make proposals for adjusting the interests of that prince and thwarting the conclusion. Meanwhile he enjoys here the generosity of the widow of the Landgrave of Hesse. The Palatine writes that she has certainly renounced the proposals made to her for peace with the emperor and is following the principles of her late husband.

They are now working at Anstruther's commissions, appointed ambassador extraordinary at Hamburg. They propose he shall leave soon to see this alliance through, as the king seems more

* The duchess who came in the *Bonaventure*, landed at Portsmouth on Saturday the 24th April, n s. Walter Montague was sent to her by the queen on Sunday and Lord Goring on Monday. On the 29th the king sent the earl of Holland to conduct her to the Court. Salvetti on the 30th April. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H. Lodgings were prepared for her in the Gardens of Whitehall. *Strafford Letters*, Vol. ii., page 148.

† Charles was born on the 29th May, 1630, o.s. His household was more considerable than the text indicates. The earl of Newcastle was made groom of the stole and sole gentleman of the bedchamber and in addition there were four grooms of the bedchamber, two ushers and four gentlemen of the privy chamber. *Strafford Letters*, Vol. ii., page 165.

‡Probably John, brother of George II., landgrave of Hesse Darmstad,

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and more eager to see it established. If a minister of this crown is required at the congress of Cologne they propose to send Sir Thomas Roe, who is well versed in all the affairs of Germany.

They are postponing Opton's departure for Spain so that they may first hear what the Duchess of Chevreuse brings in the name of that king, and the Resident who came with her, to add to his commissions what they consider best for the interests of this crown. The Ambassador of Morocco has also delayed his departure longer than he intended, much to his regret, owing to the fault of the merchants here, who have not got the things ready yet which they want the ships to take, by which he returns to those parts, in order to renew their trade there.

London, the 30th April, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

432. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors have informed Buglione of their king's decision to send Sir [Robert] Anstruther to the congress at Hamburg as ambassador extraordinary. Buglione assured them that this would much gratify his Majesty and they would renew their instructions to M. d'Avo to hasten the stipulation of the agreement.

Negotiations are on foot to get the Duchess of Chevreuse to return to the Court. They make her the most advantageous offers, really for the purpose of preventing her from going to England where they are afraid she may perform unfriendly offices. To facilitate her coming the king has recently assigned a yearly pension of 10,000 livres to the Prince of Ghimene her brother.* But many, who profess to see things at a distance, incline to say that the duchess's departure from the kingdom has been concerted with the king, with the object for which the friar† was sent to Spain some time ago, who went to take the relics for the queen : but this notion seems to me too subtle.

Paris, the 4th May, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

May 5. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

433. The gentleman left by the Ambassador Fildin came into the Collegio and said :

I have letters from Piedmont from my lord the ambassador, charging me to inform your Serenity that in conformity with His Majesty's orders and his Excellency's promises he has spoken to the ruler of Savoy in favour of the quiet of Italy and found a disposition to keep all disturbing things at a distance, though much troubled by the nearness of the Spaniards on one side and the threats of France on the other. Her Highness does not see how she can use her own judgment and good intentions, especially with the forces of the King of England so far away. If they were nearer they would give her vigour. The old differences with the

* Louis de Rohan, prince de Guemené.

† Probably Friar Basili. *See* No. 271 at page 249 above.

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republic survive, and she could guide her decisions better if she had their prudent advice and assistance. The ambassador is full of zeal for the public tranquillity and is ready to operate in these matters if your Excellencies think fit. He thinks his desire for the renewal of the old confidence between that house and the republic will please your Serenity.

The doge said, he thanked the ambassador. They recognised his prudence, and could be sure that his offices would be devoted to the public welfare. The Savii would consider the matter and let him know if there was anything. The gentleman said he asked again for a reply to the memorial about the pictures now at the Custom House, and departed.

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

434. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

My efforts to find out about the complaints of the Duchess of Savoy against Fildin have unexpectedly led me to the discovery of the attempts made by Count Parella to obtain the royal title for that house when he was last here. A person who enjoys the queen's favour and who is very intimate with Parella, told me in casual conversation, that he had brought very affectionate letters from his mistress to the queen, to interest her with the king about this. To gratify her sister she had had a long talk with his Majesty on the subject, but without result, getting nothing more than his readiness to satisfy that house when he reasonably could. He regretted their attempt to obtain a declaration here, since the Most Christian, who was much more nearly concerned, would not listen to it. He could not take the first step, in a matter that prejudiced powers friendly to him, which others possibly might not follow. He intimated that the utmost he would do would be to imitate France, and they must address themselves there. The Count left after this, with a promise from the queen to unite with the duchess to pass offices with her brother so that his ambassador here might have instructions to give her Highness's agent the title he desires, as if that was achieved the king also would oblige her. He told me the attempt had not succeeded in France. I have sent word of this to the Ambassador at Paris.

When Fildin entered the Vercellese he was received by order of the duchess after the manner of ambassadors extraordinary, so far as the circumstances allowed. He was not satisfied and complained that he had been worse treated than others, talking of a shortage of chairs, tables etc. in the quarters assigned to him. At Turin he complained of this and that he was not received with proper honours at his public audience, the duke not being present, and the duchess not having moved from her baldachino to receive him. He also declared that he would not treat with Count Filippo d'Aiglie, her Highness's favourite. Her agent told the queen here of this, as he only has orders to speak to her. Her Highness accuses the ambassador of impertinence in all his

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actions, and asks her Majesty to get him recalled as soon as possible. She said she regretted Fildin's indiscretions. He had no negotiations, but only had to offer condolencies and express their good will here to use their good offices for the advantage of that house.*

The accommodation announced with Scotland consists rather in the hope that the king seems inclined to satisfy the people there than in any sign that it will happen very soon. His Majesty has declared that he is content they shall live according to the laws of their own country, and will abolish the book with the liturgy, provided the bishops remain in their jurisdictions either with the ordinary title or as the superiors of the parish ministers and that the rebels ask pardon for their past offences. It is thought this will be hard to obtain, since the Assembly has already declared that if a single article of their demands is refused, all efforts at reconciliation will be vain ; and they claim not to have done wrong, but that their actions are covered by the laws and so they have no need of pardon. They have sent the proposals to Scotland, whence news has lately come that those registered in the union number over 400,000, to which are added the inhabitants of the northern parts of Ireland, who profess the same faith, and are Scots by origin, settled there and only separated by a short stretch of water.

The Count of Ognati went last Sunday to inform the king of the arrival of a person to take charge until the arrival of another ambassador in due course. He said he was a cavalier, and more than a Resident though less than an ambassador. He asked his Majesty's permission that the ship which brought the Duchess of Chevreuse, on which the Marquis of Ceralvo came, the ambassador designate to Cæsar, might take him to Dunkirk, and to order another to be ready for his own voyage to Spain. He obtained this.†

His Majesty has these last days declared null the sequestration made in the name of Captain Stuart of a sum of money belonging to Ognati because of ten boxes of ryals which Ognati brought from Spain. The king has pronounced that the baggage and money of ambassadors enjoy the same privileges as themselves. He has offered Stuart letters of reprisal upon Spanish ships and goods, owing to the action which he has against the Spanish ministers for those ten boxes.

The Duchess of Chevreuse has been received at Court with the greatest honour. They made her sit in the presence of their Majesties, to the resentment of the ladies of the Court, who

* Fielding in his first despatch from Turin of the $\frac{14}{24}$ April declares that there was an intrigue to drive him away, particularly among the French because he had advised the duchess against an alliance with France. *S.P. For. Savoy.* Salvetti writing on the same date says that the agents of Savoy were instructed to ask the queen to have Fielding recalled. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H.

† *i.e.* Sunday the 2nd May n.s. The chargé d'affaires was Don Alonso de Cardenas, and the ship *Bonaventura* brought the duchess. Don Gaspar de Braccamonte had been appointed earlier in the year to go as ambassador in ordinary to England. Aston to Coke, 10 Feb., 1638. *S.P. For. Spain.* The *Nonsuch*, Captain John Mennes, was detailed to take Oñate to Spain. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637-8, pages 428, 456.

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pretend that she has no more right than they. She brought the queen many curious presents, sent by her sister from Spain, and she has others for the queen mother, to whom she intends to proceed in a few weeks, after which she will come back here for a longer stay. The French and Spanish ambassadors have seen her privately, the first in his private capacity, the other in state and with compliments in his king's name upon her safe arrival.

London, the 7th May, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

435. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

A brother of the Landgrave of Ermestat has been staying incognito in England for some days. His object is to examine for himself the disposition and intentions of the king in the matter of affording help to his nephews, in order to take back an authentic account of it to the opposite party. If he finds that things are actually going forward, he is to disclose his real rank and then try to dissuade the king from making any promise to his nephews. This having come to the knowledge of the Palatine here rendered him extremely anxious for some time, but letters from the king which reached him yesterday have entirely relieved his mind. These confirm the king's constant determination to afford him real assistance and even some amount of ready money in remittances.

I have your Excellencies' instructions of the 16th ult. with regard to the printing of Grasvinchel's book. I have made an abstract of the essential parts, showing your Excellencies' claims, making a note of all the passages which require alteration. I have given these to Grasvinchel to carry out your Serenity's commands.

The Hague, the 7th May, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

436. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador has claimed a duty of 2 per cent. as consulage for the goods brought from Venice on the ship *Tomasini*. Our merchants have represented that the captain would have to pay this by the terms of the hiring. He sent to me on the subject, but I declined to intervene.

Another English ship, the *Ark*, Captain Trenchen, came here for cargo, having called at Zante. When he learned what had happened to the other he sailed away to seek his fortune elsewhere; not a word being said about hiring for Venice.

The English, by an outlay of 2000 reals have obtained an order to reduce all charges at Cyprus to 3 per cent. in conformity with what they pay by their capitulations in all the markets of this empire, notwithstanding that up to this moment they have paid 5, 6 up to 9 per cent. according to the quality of

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the goods. Upon this the Basha sent men from here on purpose, pointing out that this innovation would be prejudicial to the Treasury of the Grand Turk, and as a consequence the original order has been withdrawn, in spite of the outlay mentioned above. Now the English are striving hard to have it renewed and offer a further 4000 reals in addition to many other little acts of courtesy. They are in hopes of getting it from the Cateuimaium of the king before he goes far away from this neighbourhood, because the advantage which they will derive from it will really be enormous.

The Vigne of Pera, the 8th May, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

437. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Although they have not been able to prevent Madame de Chevreuse landing in England, yet they covertly keep up their negotiations to get her to come to France.

Paris, the 11th May, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

May 14. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

438. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Four other judges have delivered their opinion this week upon whether the king can lawfully levy contributions by his own authority. Two of them, with confident freedom, prove that only in the cases mentioned by the laws the king can command all the ships, all the men and all their property, informing parliament afterwards and obtaining its approval, but it cannot be done apart from those cases without upsetting the laws. No necessity is now disclosed so urgent as to move his Majesty to change the ancient principles of the country or prevent the summoning of parliament, which, moreover, he is obliged to summon at least once every three years to provide for the needs of the state, as his predecessors did even more frequently and with success. For three years, without any visible cause, they have continued to levy taxes contrary to the ordinances of the realm, creating discontent among the people and without the assembling of parliament, which has always been received as the true legislator of this monarchy.

They deliver a long encomium of the royal virtues, mentioning as chief this of permitting the present case to be disputed, a clear argument of a desire to conform to the laws. They confute the precedents quoted by the Attorney General and the judges who pronounced before them, characterising them as tyrannical acts which his Majesty is far from wishing to imitate, while others were done with just cause, being communicated and approved in the succeeding parliaments. They say that the judges are the king's councillors in legal matters, as those of state are for the political government, and if there is any disorder, the fault lies with the councillors and not with the king, who is most just.

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They urge their colleagues to declare their opinions with the same liberty, in the certainty that they will do a thing pleasing to God, the king and the country.*

This action has been received with great applause by the whole auditory, but it has not moved the other two judges from their opinion ; the one arguing from the king's goodness and the useful employment of the money in the service of the country, intimates that it ought to be permitted sometimes and declares himself neutral in this case, while the other, though very feebly, decides for the king, who has five votes for him so far. Four others will give their opinion in next June term. The sentence will certainly go for the king, although only barely, as two other judges are expected to argue against.

Anstruther has asked to be relieved of his appointment as ambassador extraordinary to Hamburg to conclude the alliance, being aware of the poor opinion held of his ability for it, and he has obtained this. The king at once nominated Sir [Thomas] Roe, who was already selected for the post in the universal opinion. He is hurrying in order to start in the shortest possible time. He desired this post on his own account and for the interests of the Palatine house, to which he is greatly devoted. He promises to go with all speed and that he will not prove useless to his Highness. To help the prince's affairs his Majesty has already paid out the 20,000*l.* sterling, equal to 100,000 ducats, which were remitted last week to Holland. Following this up he has ordered 8 guns and other munitions to be sent to Meppen in Westphalia, the place d'armes designate, convenient as being near the sea. Lord Craven, son of a very rich merchant ennobled a few years ago, will be the Palatine's best friend in these emergencies, as he has been a devoted servant of the house for a long time. He went to Holland with his Highness, and from then until now he has withdrawn from here some 400,000 crowns in cash to devote to these affairs, and he still has a revenue of over 40,000 a year left him here.

Madame de Chevreuse stays on here, treated most royally by their Majesties 40*l.* sterling a day are assigned for her table, 200*l.* a month for her petty expenses, while the queen supplies what she requires for dressing, costing the king about 10,000 crowns a month. But it is thought this liberality will not last long. Her departure for Flanders is postponed, as she likes her stay here too much. It is not likely to change unless the principles of the Court do. She has renewed her old acquaintances and is making new ones ; all the lords pay her court and she passes the time merrily. She artfully threw out some project of a marriage between the Princess Mary, their Majesties' eldest daughter, a child of seven, and the prince of Spain, and apparently they consider it. But this is believed to be the usual incantation of the Spaniards to lull this crown to sleep,

*The second four to give judgment were Sir Thomas Trevor, baron of the exchequer, Sir George Croke and Sir William Jones, justices of the King's Bench and Sir Richard Hutton, justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Croke and Hutton decided for Hampden. *State Trials*, Vol. iii., pages 1126-1201.

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since it is now inclined to do them hurt, not having been able to obtain anything for the Palatine by way of negotiation.

On being assured of the pregnancy of the Queen of France the queen here at once sent a gentleman of hers on purpose to offer congratulations. He started three days ago.* The Earl of Leicester had orders to pass suitable offices with both their Majestics on behalf of the king and queen. The report persists that Schidemore has been confirmed as ordinary ambassador at that Court for three years, so Fildin has little hope of succeeding him before he returns to England, as he wished. We do not hear of any nomination for your Serenity.

The indisposition of the newly arrived Spanish minister has delayed Ognati's leave taking. He regrets this as he has long been tired of this Court where he will leave no better satisfaction than he has received. The king recently sent the Secretaries of State to inform him of the removal of the sequestration on his goods and money but to add that he cannot deny justice to the Genoese against Stuart nor to Stuart against the Catholic ministers and he would grant Stuart letters of reprisal against Spanish ships and goods if he was not satisfied reasonably. The ambassador replied that he would not make any further instance for the release of the sequestration ; if the king believed it to be unlawful he ought to annul it himself. He spoke very haughtily about the letters of reprisal and angrily said to the Secretaries, Tell the king that this is a lie. Scandalised at this the secretaries accuse the ambassador of indiscretion and arrogance.

London, the 14th May, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

439. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors say that not Anstruther but Sir [Thomas] Roe will be sent to Hamburg. The news does not please them here because the change is bound to involve delay.

Paris, the 16th May, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

May 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

440. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The replies have come from Scotland about the adjustment of their affairs to what was sent there. As was clearly foreseen it was not acceptable to the people there. After having deliberated upon every means with the Council of Scotland, the king has decided to send thither the Marquis of Hamilton with all that Council, in the hope that an accommodation conducted by so many persons of influence of the same nation who are friendly to his Majesty, may produce the result they aim at. The introductions they bear may be more easily imagined than ascertained. They are all sworn not

* M. Tartereau, presented by Leicester to the king on Sunday the 30th May. Scudamore to Coke, 4th June, *S.P. For. France*, Vol. 105. Bellievre to Richelieu, 23 Sept. P.R.O. *Paris Transcripts.*

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*to communicate them to anyone soever until they are actually presented. The most common opinion is that if they find the Scots unwilling to yield to the king they have power to satisfy them with a due regard to covering the royal dignity as much as possible and bringing them back to their former obedience. There is general astonishment at the king's confidence in the marquis, as the parliaments of Scotland have already declared him the heir to that kingdom after the line of this king, and it is not thought prudent to let him appear there in the present disturbances with power to appease them, on the ground that if he is as malicious as he is subtle, he might turn his arts to his own advantage, as the material is all there ; he would find the people disposed to second him, foreign princes to uphold him and the moment inopportune for the king to stop him, because he has not the love of the people or the magnates, all being most dissatisfied with the present government ; so they think his Majesty might find it difficult to defend even the rest of his dominions. Such is the talk among the great, and many would be glad to see it, to have something in hand in case of royal disaster (per haver qualche si tratta in caso della regia disgratia), without risking the uncertain passage of this sea, forbidden to those who have not the king's leave.**

Another messenger from the Duchess of Savoy reached her Resident here last Monday. He reports that Fildin has had two audiences since the first complimentary one. In one he told her Highness that if the Most Christian and the Catholic decided to give her the royal title he did not think England would refuse it. In the other he said that if she remained neutral that would agree with his king's aims. He has exceeded his commissions which charge him to abstain from any negotiations, but confine himself to compliments and the expressions of the king's desire to use his offices for the interests of that house. His Majesty is incensed and has sent an express to Turin recalling him and ordering him to return straight to Court. It is thought he will receive some correction, or that this will at least terminate his career.† They are now better able to appreciate the patience of your Excellencies with his numerous faults. I have sent the particulars to the Ambassador Corraro.

Sir [Thomas] Roe is to start for Hamburg today, with letters of credence to the King of Denmark, with whom he will treat, to get him to help the Palatine, in imitation of them here, and for all the Princes of Germany, with whom he will treat in case of need. He had a long and secret interview with the king, when he went to kiss hands, and he takes powers to grant some assist-

* A reference to the proclamation of the 1st May o.s. to restrain the transport of passengers and provisions to New England without licence. Rymer: *Fœdera* Vol. xx., page 223.

† If Fielding was recalled the order must have been revoked immediately as Windebank, writing on the $\frac{17}{27}$ May tells him that though the French were displeased at the proposal for neutrality the king had been appeased. Fielding was to tell the duchess of Savoy that the suggestion of neutrality was only a private advice of his own, without commission from the king. He adds that it is decided that Fielding shall return to Venice. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 6th Report, page 284.

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ance to the Swedes, as he understands that if they are not satisfied with what is done for the Palatine and offered for the common benefit in the articles with France, they may prevent the conclusion of the treaty. Finally, to satisfy the Dutch, he has powers to promise that they shall not be molested in their fisheries by the royal ships if they ask for it. In fact they want to establish this alliance, for which purpose they have dismissed Anstruther and given the office to this much more active person, who takes it up with great zeal, in the hope of obtaining advantages for the Palatine House. Everything conspires to help that prince to seek every means of avenging his wrongs or perishing nobly. His Highness and Prince Rupert have written to this effect recently, to the king, who greatly commends their high spirit, and says that when he sees the results he will increase his liberality, and help them as if they were his own sons.

His Majesty has nominated the captains of thirty three ships which will put to sea this year, twenty five of his own, including eight swift and well armed Pinnaces (*Tartane*), and eight large merchantmen equipped for war.* This is a very powerful fleet from the quality of the ships, abundantly supplied with everything required. Two of them are destined to coast off Ireland, the others will be employed where they are wanted.

The Ambassador Ognati on hearing of the king's intention to grant letters of reprisals to Captain Stuart for the matter of the ten boxes of ryals, has requested his Majesty to depute commissioners, to review his case against Stuart to report and pronounce sentence in his Majesty's presence. The king obliged him, appointing two Lords of the Council and the two Secretaries of State. The matter was brought before them yesterday, and their decision is expected next Monday. Meanwhile they have arranged his last public audience Cardines having recovered, whom he will present to his Majesty by order of his king.

Sir [Arthur] Opton started for the coast yesterday, where the royal ship awaits him to take him to Spain, and fetch back his predecessor Astny.

Finding it much more advantageous to send the money for the Palatine to Holland by specie than by letters of exchange, they have put it on one of the king's ships, which is to leave today.† The brother of the Landgrave of Darmstadt will go by it. He has made himself known and kissed the king's hand. He has conducted no business at this Court, having come merely out of curiosity to see the country, as he says he will in Holland also.

London, the 22nd May, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* For the constitution of this fleet see *Life and Works of Sir H. Mainwaring*, (Navy Records Society), Vol. i. page 262 ; it contains the names of 24 vessels only.

† From Boswell's despatch of the 10th June it appears that this money was taken by Sir Richard Cave. *S.P. For. Holland.*

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May 21.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Signori Stati. Venetian Archives.

441. Girolamo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in the Netherlands, to the Doge and Senate.

I was speaking recently with Dr. Grasvinchel about the matter of the book, committed to me by your Serenity. I led up to the point with all delicacy and tried gently to dissuade him from printing this book. He said he would gladly consent if it had not been composed by order of the States. I then urged him to remove the passages which concern your Serenity's dominion over the sea. He said that was an integral part of the book which he could not cancel without ruining his own reputation and depriving the book of all credit. I therefore thought it necessary to impress him thoroughly with all the notes and passages contained in the papers sent me by your Serenity. In this I achieved complete success, as the devotion this individual professes to the most serene republic prevailed over his objections and repugnance, so that he will recast his arguments in conformity with those papers. I further induced him to promise that the book should not issue from the press before he had shown me the passages so corrected. When I have it I will send it to your Serenity and await your further orders.

The Hague, the 21st May, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

May 23.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives

442. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

As in England they made Madame de Chevreuse sit before the queen, the Ambassador Bellievre asked the same honour for his wife, saying it was not proper that one who although a princess was a vassal of the King of France should be seated while the ambassadress stood ; but he could not carry his point. He has informed his Majesty, who, in retaliation, has directed that the English ambassadress shall no longer be allowed to sit in the queen's presence, as she used. She happened to be near St. Germain on her way to the Court when she received the news, and turned back very ill pleased. This will offend them greatly in England, although it is just, being based on the claim that in such ceremonies both sides should act alike.

Compiegne, the 23rd May, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

May 23.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Zante. Venetian Archives.

443. Francesco Marcello, Venetian Proveditore of Zante, to the Doge and Senate.

Last Sunday the 6th inst. the English consul received seven wounds in the house of one Maria, late the wife of an Englishman, a woman of evil life. She lured him into an ambush, where he was attacked with knives and sticks and left for dead. The woman has been arrested with her servant. Evidence has been taken pointing to the delinquents. The enclosed paper has been received from the English nation.

Zante, the 13th May, 1638, old style.

[*Italian.*]

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444. Presented by John Brunel and William Tindel, Englishmen, with many others of their nation, in the name of William Bordet, their consul.*

Statement of the circumstances attending the wounding of the consul, with a complaint of the ill treatment of the English, shown by the murder of Andrew Weston, by the wounding of Captain Hacar of the ship *Tomasina* by the murder of English sailors by the customs officials and by the wounding and robbery of Henry Hider when he was leaving his ship. Petition for the punishment of the malefactors, as if the English merchants cannot have security in their persons and property they will be obliged to abandon the trade.

Dated at Zante, the 10th May, 1638, old style.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

May 26.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

445. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador designate to England, to the Doge and Senate.

I have come here from the rigours of Spain. The Count of Gramont, governor of the province, has shown me great honour. He has been to tell me not to proceed without obtaining a strong guard from the prince of Condé, as the country is full of rascals. I regret the increase of expense this involves. The governor assured me he had orders to invade Biscay by Navarre. A great quantity of grain has been sent here for the invading army. The Prince of Condé and the Duke of la Valette have gone to review the army, which is to assemble on the 8th prox. at Gordon in Gascony. The Spaniards are taking measures of defence. They are equipping ships, with the idea of attempting a diversion in the waters of La Rochelle. The governor has left for Bearn today, where he will hold the estates, in order to raise money for these affairs.

Bayonne, the 26th May, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

May 27.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

446. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

It is reported that a great sum of money has reached England on account of the Spaniards, to be taken in safety to Dunkirk. This cannot fail to supply a strong argument to the disadvantage of the Palatine, whose hopes of vigorous assistance from his uncle have declined greatly owing to acts of this kind in favour of the Spaniards, which are constantly taking place.

The Hague, the 27th May, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

* William Burdet was not actually consul but had received some authority from Fielding to act in that capacity. By a minute of the Levant Co. on the 1st May he was allowed to receive certain fees as consulage, but it is stipulated that he was to have "no authority more than he derives from Mr. Simonds upon occasion." Levant Co. Court Book. *S.P. For. Archives*, Vol. 149.

1638.
May 28.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

447. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Last Monday the Ambassador Ognati took leave of their Majesties, treated outwardly in the most honourable manner. The Earl of Annibi, of the King's Council and of the Order of the Garter, as is customary with ambassadors extraordinary with the title of cavaliers, went with the royal coaches and gentlemen of the Court, to fetch him to the palace, where the king and queen awaited him surrounded by a great company of lords and ladies. After handing in his credentials and the usual compliments he presented Don Alonso di Cardines as Resident until another ambassador comes. The Duchess of Chevreuse acted as interpreter for the compliments which Cardines paid to the queen in Spanish in the name of her sister in Spain. It was observed with astonishment that Ognati covered before the queen, when no other ambassador does so. Although it is admitted that he has the right to cover in the presence of the king, and much more in that of his wife, yet what in others would be considered inadvertence is ascribed to pure malice in him, as he has always tried to make himself disagreeable (*piccare*) in everything.

The commissioners appointed to settle the cause between Ognati and Captain Stuart have decided that as Stuart had no caution in writing from the ambassador but only by word of mouth, which is not probable, Ognati's goods ought to be free from the sequestration. But many believe that this has been arranged by the persons in question to the prejudice of the Genoese, the ten boxes being divided among them. Stuart now undertakes to prove that he was compelled by violence to hand them over to the ambassador, or they would not have allowed him to leave the port of Corunna. When he has made this good he hopes to rid himself of the molestation of the Genoese, who remarks that the king's ships cannot suffer violence in the ports of Spain, and if they refuse him justice here he will find it at Genoa upon the goods of the English.

Tomorrow the entire Court will leave for Windsor, with all the leading lords of the city, to take part in the solemn ceremony of the installation of Prince Charles in the Order of the Garter. They will return next week and withdraw to Greenwich the week after, where they will stay until the 26th of July, the date fixed for beginning the usual annual progress.

Tomorrow also the Marquis Hamilton will start for Scotland. He has been detained by the illness of his wife, sister of the Ambassador Fildin, who died three days ago.* The other lords have all set out for that kingdom, and when he has arrived they will begin their negotiations. Uncertain and interesting as the issue is, many believe that it will not prove what the king expects, since it is impossible to get it out of the heads of some

* According to the funeral certificate Mary Marchioness of Hamilton died on the 10th May, o.s. and was buried in Westminster Abbey two days later. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 431.

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that the designs of the Scots go deeper than they have disclosed, and that when they have obtained the satisfaction they now ask, they will produce higher demands with the object of compelling his Majesty to use force against them, and so have a better pretext for proceeding to the utmost lengths against him. The real objects will very soon appear, as they will be obliged to disclose themselves when the deputies propose the maintenance of the laws and the abolition of the book of the liturgy.

With Hamilton far away from Court I shall find it difficult to perform the offices with which I am charged about the entry of the Ambassador Giustinian, after I had got him to undertake to protect the interests of your Excellencies with the king; but I have other intimates and by my offices I hope to obtain what you desire.

There is a secretary here of the Count of Oldenburgh, a prince of the Empire in the circle of Westphalia, sent by his master to the king to intercede for neutrality from the Prince Palatine, and promising to refuse facilities to the imperial arms also.* He declares that the King of Denmark, the next heir to those dominions, because the Count has no son, has sent some troops to those parts for their defence, and if he gets this neutrality, the king also will respect it. They speak him fair and have sent his expositions after the Ambassador Roe, who left for Hamburg last week.

Nothing more is said about the Duchess of Chevreuse going to Flanders. She is beginning to make trouble at Court, *trying to convert the Earl of Holland to the Roman faith and win him for the Spanish party. To please the queen who is the principal instrument of this good work, he pretends not to be averse from it, and the Spanish ministers here, through this Chevreuse, who can do anything with him, hope to have him on their side, and it is believed that they are surreptitiously offering him a pension from the Catholic.*

They have heard with great sorrow of the capture by the Imperialists of Meppen, bought recently by the Palatine.† They fear he will take it as a bad omen, lose courage and abandon his enterprise. They urge him to prosecute his designs. They know here that the Elector of Mayence has written to the emperor that if no means is found of arranging the differences between the Bavarian and Palatine houses they can never hope for peace in Germany, and that when the Palatine's army takes the field it will throw those parts into confusion.

The Ambassador Opton has left for Spain and the Morocco one for his country. The latter takes a coach embroidered with hold and six magnificent horses, a present from his Majesty to the king there in return for the four Barbary horses presented when he came here. The Ambassador Schidamore is confirmed in France as he desires and no one is yet nominated for your

* The letter of Anthony Gunther, duke of Oldenburg, dated the 12th February, is preserved (*S.P. For. Germany, States*), but the name of the envoy is not stated.

† Taken by surprise on the 19th May.

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Serenity, although at the recall of the Ambassador Fildin they said they would nominate another in his place.

London, the 28th May, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 29. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

448. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

They employ their usual arts to lull England to sleep. The ambassador of that king is on the point of departing. The Count Duke has sent for him three times and left him a paper to hand to his sovereign, supposed to be full of good hope that in the peace negotiations at Cologne he will obtain complete satisfaction with the restitution of the Palatinate, declaring that the ministers cannot do this earlier, as it is necessary to pass through Flanders in the absence of a way through Lorraine. The same ambassador says that even if his king assists his nephew, it will not amount to much, and he encourages the belief that his king is rather disposed to unite with this crown than with the French. It seems that the Count of Ognat writes to much the same effect from England.

Madrid, the 29th May, 1638.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

June 4. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

449. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After the installation of the prince in the Order of the Garter their Majesties have returned to London, and will go on to Greenwich on Monday. The prince, under the charge of the Earl of Newcastle, his tutor, will go with his brother to Richmond as usual.

A courier from Scotland reached the Court at Windsor with news that on hearing of the nomination of persons to arrange a composition between the king and that people, the members of the union intimated that they could not rely upon the royal promise for the abolition of the liturgy book unless it was suppressed by decree of parliament, and the maintenance of their privileges was confirmed and it was arranged that parliament should meet at least once every three years to put right the affairs of the state, and if the king did not summon it, the nobility should. They say that the union will meet at Edinburgh on the 16th inst. to hear the terms for an accommodation, reply to the articles and do what the service of the country requires. These points, which get further away from their first protests, founded upon the laws, which covered them from the stain of rebellion, render their aims more odious now. Yet they maintain an exemplary concord, everyone living virtuously and soberly, without scandal or anything to prejudice their resolutions. The French ambassador cannot bring himself to believe that the Catholic does not encourage this movement, and the Spanish ministers openly say that the Most Christian and the Dutch have a hand in it, and possibly both are right as it is commonly believed at Court that all these powers contribute what they can to turn the disunion of these realms to their own advantage.

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The king realises though late, the mistake he made in letting that sedition go so far. He tries every means to appease it and meets with more difficulties than he expected. To leave those people no vestige for believing that he is nearly a Roman Catholic, which is the point on which they lay stress, he has intimated to the papal minister that to facilitate that accommodation it is necessary for him to leave England. Accordingly he is ill humouredly getting ready to cross the sea, and they do not think that any one will be received in his place. This step has displeased the queen, but the king told her that it was required by the present state of affairs, to avoid greater scandal among his subjects. It is expected that the one resident at Rome for the queen will also be recalled.

Today begins St. John's term, when the remaining four judges are to give their opinion,* after which sentence will be pronounced according to the majority, as to whether the king can impose taxes legally for the fleet without the approval of parliament. Meanwhile every difficulty is experienced in raising the money. The sheriffs write that they find no one who offers to buy goods distrained on those who refuse, all being agreed on this subject.

The Admiral Northumberland is recovering painfully from his most serious illness. He proposes to put to sea with the fleet at the end of the present month, practically everything being in readiness. Meanwhile the Dutch fleet has appeared off Dunkirk. The French is expected to join it, and people believe that they propose to attack the place. As it would not suit this kingdom for it to fall into the hands of either power, they say openly that the king will prevent it with his fleet, and that the Vice Admiral Pennington has already received orders to take his ships to the coast of Flanders to observe those fleets. If this prove true it may lead to disputes about the dominion of the sea, claimed by this crown and not admitted by France.

The Countess of Levestein, a lady of the Princess Palatine,† has arrived from Holland on her private affairs. She kissed the king's hand and gave him letters from her mistress, representing the determination of her son, even after the loss of Meppen, to enter Germany, and his hopes of getting another place d'armes or recovering that one. The Countess asserted the same, and begged his Majesty to increase his assistance, holding out hopes of better fortune when the prince is in Germany, sword in hand. She received fair words and they think she will see deeds also, as the king inclines to show liberality according to the high spirit of his Highness. Meanwhile the 20,000*l.* sterling now on ship for transport to Rotterdam, are detained in the river by contrary winds.

The Count of Ognati, after receiving a present of 2000 ounces of silver gilt in the king's name, and four most noble hackneys, has departed for Spain on a royal ship.‡ I paid him the proper

* Sir John Denham, Sir Hugh Davenport, Sir John Finch and Sir John Brampston.

† Elizabeth Dudley, widow of Count Ernest Casimir of Levenstein.

‡ The *Nonsuch*. He took leave on Saturday the 22nd May n.s. Salvetti on the 28th May. Brit. Mus. *Add MSS*. 27962H.

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compliments and wished him a pleasant journey. I went to see Cardines, who professed his devotion to your Serenity and a desire to continue good relations. He received me with every courtesy and said he had instructions to encourage the best relations with the ministers of the republic. In memory of the courtesies he had received at Venice he would give proof of this to the Ambassador Giustinian when he arrived.

My confidant has just brought me word that he has heard that the king confirmed Lord Fildin as ambassador to your Serenity at Windsor. The post leaves in a few hours and gives me no time to verify this. I find it difficult to believe from the poor opinion they have of him at Court and his recall from Turin. By next despatch I may know more.

London, the 4th June, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 5. Senato, Terra. Venetian Archives.

450. That by the authority of this Council the agents of the ambassador Fielding, who recently left this city, be permitted to lade 24 chests containing marble heads, in an English ship, without impediment ; such being the will of the state.

Ayes, 80. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

June 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

451. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

After receiving a rich and honourable present, the English ambassador has at length set out for Corunna. The ministers here express themselves as very satisfied with his behaviour, and it seems that he was considered worthy of confidence. They hope the same of the ambassador who is coming as he acted as Resident here for a long time.

Madrid, the 5th June, 1638.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

June 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

452. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

When the Most Christian sent the Ambassador Bellievre here he gave him orders to obtain for his wife a place to sit in the queen's presence, such as is allowed to the English ambassador's wife in France. When he reached London and had seen all the ladies standing and knew the misadventures which had befallen the Ambassador Fontane for the same cause, he wisely decided to let it alone. But when Madame de Chevreuse arrived and seated herself before their Majesties, he thought fit to communicate the commissions in question to the queen, and the reasons why he left them unfulfilled for so long, but now when he saw others seated in her presence he could not allow France to suffer this prejudice any longer without blame, and French ambassadors ought to have the same privilege here as the English enjoy in France.

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The queen took this in good part and told him she regretted she could not satisfy him and his wife, although she and the king liked them better than any other ambassador who had ever been here. The concession would create envy and revolt among the ladies of the Court. What was impracticable here could be done in France, where all the princessses and duchesses sit, especially as her only daughter does not enjoy the privilege. They allowed Chevreuse to sit as a foreign princess and of kin to the king. The ambassador said he acted by order of his king and not from ambition, and suggested arranging some compromise. The queen could not think of any, unless Madame de Chevreuse, who was very courteous, agreed not to sit when his wife was at Court, but that must depend on her discretion and she could not promise it. If your Majesty does not promise it, he replied, I cannot risk allowing my wife at Court. I will send word to France and do what I am ordered, but I fear they will take away the privilege from the English ambassadress. This happened, as your Serenity will have heard. When the news arrived the king resented it deeply and told the ambassador that they ought not to have taken such a step without first warning him. Bellievre replied that he had openly intimated it to the queen; he deeply regretted it and begged the king to believe that it was not by his advice. Nothing further has been done, but they say that the English ambassador will be recalled, having finished his charge.

The news of Fildin's confirmation was a mistake of my informant, as he was ordered to stay not at Venice but at Turin until further order. It is thought that influence will ultimately get him the French embassy, which he desires so much, although incompetent. There seems no other reason for the suspension of the other orders, if it be not to make him succeed Schidemore if he is recalled because of the above incident, because of his wife, which will not affect Fildin, as being unmarried. It is a fact that the one who took his letters of recall also had letters for the duchess, in which the king disapproved of all that Fildin had negotiated with her, except his offices of condolence.

Cardines obtained the export last week of many thousands of powder and lead for Flanders, of which they write thence that they have not suffieient provision for the present campaign. But they have to buy it of the king for 60,000 crowns, double the priee ordinarily current. It is laded on merchantmen, to be escorted by the king's ships to Dunkirk. The French and Dutch ambassadors remonstrated, but in vain.* *They know that the interest and share of the Spaniards in the government here obscure*

* The king sold 1200 casks of powder by the intermediation of the merchant Peter Ricaut, it being a condition that the royal fleet should convoy the vessels taking it into Dunkirk. The powder was laded on the ships *Providence*, Capt. Thomas Stone, and *Mayflower*, Capt. Anthony Leaming. Pennington received orders to protect them with the whole of the royal fleet. The vessels left the Thames on the 28th May, o.s. escorted by eight royal ships. Salvetti on the 4th and 25th June. Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962 H. *Cal. S.P. Dom*, 1637-8, pages 444, 482.

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reason and prevent the reflection that these weapons are against the nephew whom they profess they wish to help.

M. d'Avo writes from Hamburg that 10,000 soldiers were to be embarked in Sweden for Germany at the end of last month, with munitions of war, and that Banier was to take the field on the 10th inst. Gallasso was still in the neighbourhood with diminishing force and reputation, having no design on Bremen, as was supposed. Salvio had offered to the Prince Palatine the leadership of the troops the Swedes have under General Ching in Westphalia, and the fortresses they hold for his army, on condition he does not use them for his particular interest, but only for the public cause. The English Agents write to the same effect, and Countess Levestein, in the name of the Princess Palatine, insists on fresh demonstrations of the royal protection, to invite the French to second them. But they are in no such hurry here to double their liberality, especially as there are very few who approve of England breaking with the house of Austria for the Palatine's cause or provoking it by helping against it, pointing out that if the Spaniards attacked this kingdom, stripped of all means of defence, they would inflict great harm on this crown.

The Court left for Greenwich on Monday, and the Lords of the Council who remained here will mostly go there the day after tomorrow, and then proceed to their country houses until the king returns to town.

The state despatches received this week are of the 20th ult. I will use the enclosed sheet of advices for your service.

London, the 11th June, 1638.

Postcript : I have just heard that the Master of the Ceremonies intimated yesterday by the king's order to the Ambassador Bellievre, that as they have taken away the seat from the English ambassador's wife at Paris, he and his wife must abstain in the future from entering the queen's coaches.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

453. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The ship from England so impatiently awaited by the Count Palatine has at length arrived these last days. He is greatly comforted by receiving with it the sum of about 300,000 florins in ready money as well as munitions of war, to wit, ten pieces of field artillery, 10,000 pounds of powder, several officers all well furnished and the equipment of the guns aforesaid. The Palatine has gone to confer with the Prince.

The Hague, the 12th June, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

June 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

454. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Difficulties of Chatillon at siege of St. Omer. The Cardinal Infant unable to resist attacks from so many quarters without reinforcements Chatillon sent to the Cardinal a Scottish

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Jesuit taken by M. di Hallier in a fort he had entered to take a letter to the Spaniards, thinking they were there.* The letter contained hopes of speedy relief for the defenders. He is an intelligent man, well informed of the interests of the enemy and they hope to get important information out of him.

Paris, the 15th June, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

455. The Agent of Great Britain came into the Collegio and said :

Last week I had your Serenity's permission to lade twenty cases on an English ship for the ambassador who left here, I could not profit by this favour because the ship left unexpectedly. There is now another ready to sail, and I ask for a like order to the master, named Gio. Roetston, with the addition of 16 more chests of pictures, with the ambassador's arms on them. He will be greatly indebted to your Excellencies for this fresh mark of your readiness to oblige him.

[*Italian.*]

June 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

456. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

News about Scotland becomes ever more unpleasant. The Marquis of Hamilton writes that he received letters from the Assembly on the road advising him not to go any further unless he brought powers to convoke their parliament as without this any other proposals would be in vain. He says he gathers that they have decided to inform him when he enters the kingdom that he must make his proposals in public only, to which he will have a speedy reply, and everyone will be forbidden to treat with him privately. In spite of this he had gone on to fulfil the king's orders. He prays God to grant him good fortune corresponding to his goodwill, to serve his Majesty with success. But actually he undertook this task very unwillingly, knowing the tenacity of that people in their resolutions, the slight hope of success in saving the royal dignity, and perhaps with suspicion of his own complicity, as being of the same country, religion and possibly opinions. They await news of his negotiations with impatience. Everyone believes they will be useless as he does not take the king's consent to summon parliament.

Last week a courier extraordinary reached the Resident of Savoy from his mistress with news that the Governor of Milan had laid siege to Vercelli, and letters for his Majesty conveying the same information. The letter expresses apprehension of the hostile forces and determination to resist, assisted by the Most Christian, whom, she says, the Spaniards have compelled to sign the treaty by their hostile acts, when he inclined to remain indifferent, if he had been left in peace. She prays his Majesty to permit Fildin to continue in residence there for some time, apologising for his errors. The king answered kindly,

* Du Hallier captured three Jesuits in taking the abbey at Watten, as recorded in a letter from Chatillon to the king, but the name of this Scot is not given. *See* Le Vassor : *Regne de Louis XIII.*, Vol. XV., page 573.

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sympathising with her troubles and willingly satisfying her about Fildin.*

I hear that Fildin's mother and the Marquis of Hamilton have petitioned for his confirmation at Turin, and some weeks ago induced the queen to ask the duchess to agree to it, and that is why she asked his Majesty. *The mother wishes to detain her son until she provides him with some office of profit at Court, since his fortune is small and he could not keep up his position here. Meanwhile I gather from my talk with the ministers that while an ambassador is there they will not appoint another to your Serenity.*

Madame de Chevreuse continues her operations at Court for a marriage between the Prince of Spain and the Princess Maria. The idea pleases them greatly here and to make herself necessary she does not fail to keep it up, even making them believe that she has powers to arrange it. The general opinion is that so long as the princess does not profess the Roman faith it will never come to anything, even though it is sketched. They say openly that the example of the king, when he went to Spain to marry the present empress after long and tedious negotiations is enough to show that the House of Austria does not desire to contract a marriage with the English, although only two brothers stand between the princess and the inheritance of her father's realms.

Three terrifying criminal sentences have been pronounced this week in the Star Chamber against three persons who dared to invent calumnies against the king, the Lord Keeper and one of the judges who pronounced for the people in the ship money case. The first, a Catholic, for retorting to a Protestant, who called him a Papist, that so was the queen and the king also at heart, was condemned to pay 10,000*l.* sterling, for the king's use, to have his ears cut and his tongue pierced. Another for having accused the Lord Keeper of many extorsions was fined 12,000*l.* sterling and to have his nose slit, and the third, who is a chaplain of the Lord Treasurer,for having furiously called one of the judges a traitor to the king, when he was sitting on the Bench with the others, was sentenced to pay 5000*l.* sterling and to go with a label on his head describing his fault before the magistrates, to recall what he said, and to ask pardon of the judge.†

The Spanish minister being pressed by the Cardinal Infant to despatch the munitions of war bought of the king, has had them laded on some of the small ships here and they left the day before yesterday. When they came out of the river the Vice Admiral

* Their Majesties, upon a message delivered to them by the Resident of Savoy here from the Duchess, a little before the arrival of your Secretary, that she was now in a better understanding with your lordship and desired you should continue there, are very well satisfied with your lordship. Windebank to Fielding the 7th June o.s. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Report, page 284.

† The first was William Pickering of Stanton Lacy, co. Salop who retorted as related when accused by Francis Huberley of being a papist. The slanderer of the Lord Keeper, was Sir Richard Wiseman, whose case was heard in the Star Chamber on the 1st June, sentence being passed on the 5th, o.s. The third was Thomas Harrison, parson of Crick in Northants, who on the $\frac{1}{14}$th May appeared in the Court of Common Pleas in Westminster Hall and accused Sir Richard Hutton, the judge, of high treason. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, pages 473, 474, 491 ; *Strafford Letters*, Vol. ii., pages 170, 177, 180.

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Pennington met them with four royal ships, to escort them to Dunkirk, as arranged with the king, to avoid danger from the Dutch.*

Some reports state that the French fleet has sailed from La Rochelle for Flanders, intending to join the Dutch. They add that to avoid any dispute with England about the dominion of the sea the French are flying the flag of Holland, and so as Dutch ships will render those signs of respect to the English which they would not as French.

Tomorrow the only two judges left to declare their opinion† will pronounce upon the levy of money for the fleet, and the sentence will then be delivered. It is believed they will pronounce for the people. The king connives at it now he sees so large a part of them have argued against him; but the issue is awaited with great interest.

London, the 18th June, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 19. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

457. To the Proveditore of Zante.

To use all diligence to discover and deal with the persons guilty of wounding the English consul and in redressing the other grievances complained of by the English nation. The Senate will wait to hear from him what action he takes.

Ayes, 146. Noes, 3. Neutral, 9.

[*Italian.*]

June 22. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

458. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors have not yet made any complaint about taking away the prerogative of the ambassadress of being seated in the queen's presence, although we hear they have made a great fuss about it in England. They are actively treating here for the return of Madame de Chevreuse to France, promising her many safeguards, but her relations do not consider them sufficient.

Paris, the 22nd June, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

June 22. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

459. The Secretary of England came into the Collegio and said :

About two months ago I came to inform your Serenity of the resolution of the Duchess of Savoy to remain neutral in the present fluctuations. Now, seeing that the Spaniards are attacking her without cause, and besieging her towns, the Ambassador Feldin directs me to inform you that her Highness has signed the league with France for the defence of her state, and to preserve the position left to her by the late duke. She had the more cause to take this step because she declares that the

* *See* No. 452 at page 421 above, and note.

† Brampston and Finch.

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Spaniards broke their word to her and betrayed and deceived her. I state this on the ambassador's behalf and as a proof that his Majesty is using every means to forward a true and honourable peace in this province.

The doge said they welcomed the communication as a fresh testimony of the ambassador's affection. They would always respond and he could thank the ambassador in their name. The secretary mentioned the matter of sending certain pictures to England, bowed and went out.

[*Italian.*]

June 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

460. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The judges have finished their task about the question of taxes for the fleet with the pronouncement of the last two. They have decided for the king openly, saying that when the judges advised his Majesty three years ago that he could do it legally, the matter was discussed among the chief men of the royal Council, forming the executive, naming specifically the keepers of the great and privy seals. These two opinions with the other five carry it against the four for the people and the one neutral, so sentence is given for his Majesty irrevocable until the next parliament meets, as the malcontents freely say. Henceforward the money will be exacted with severity against the disobedient. We hear that they have risen in one county and maltreated an official when he was distraining on those who refused to pay.

A courier extraordinary has arrived from the Marquis of Hamilton from Scotland with letters for the king. He read them without communicating them to any one soever, and shortly after he was closeted alone with the Archbishop of Canterbury in a room at Greenwich. He wrote the answer with his own hand and sent it back with all speed. It is impossible to discover the contents of the letter, but his Majesty was observed to change countenance and the archbishop equally, and as they came out looking very grave men conclude that the news was not pleasing.*

From private letters we hear that the people would not allow the marquis to enter Edinburgh, but made him lodge at a place called Dalchif, four leagues away. On examining his credentials there they found some defects, and so he had to send to the king to have this remedied, the hearing of his proposals being postponed until the courier returned. Private persons also state that the Assembly has given the title of notables to those whom they have deputed as heads of the government, and understanding that the marquis is bringing powers to grant them satisfaction, they intimate that they wish the king to come in person to Scotland to convoke parliament, which cannot be summoned by commission. *Seeing that their demands become ever more impertinent there are few who believe in the adjustment of those affairs, but that*

*Hamilton reached Berwick on the 3rd June o.s. and his first despatch from Dalkeith, is dated the 7th. It is printed in the Hamilton papers and is no doubt the one referred to here. *Hamilton Papers* ed. S. R. Gardiner (Camden Soc.) pages 3–7.

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now that nation is enjoying its freedom it means to throw off the royal yoke definitely, in the assurance that the king cannot compel them by force, owing to the well known weakness of his realms and possibly to confidence in foreign help.

The Dutch ambassador went recently to audience of the king and told him he had heard that 1200 barrels of gunpowder had been laded on English ships to take to Dunkirk. As the servant of his Majesty he was obliged to tell him that if they fell in with the Dutch ships blockading that port, he feared they would be seized and serious trouble would arise. The king replied that it was true he had sold some powder, but as it was embarked it no longer belonged to him.* *But it is known that he undertook to have it escorted to the port in question at his own risk, and the dates bear this out as the ships under Pennington were all ready and he took them safely over. On his return he wrote that he had found off Dunkirk divers Dutch ships and 4 large French ones which all saluted the royal standards, but says nothing about the French flying the Dutch flag.*

The ambassador also remonstrated about the recent issue of letters of reprisal in spite of his Majesty's promise to suspend them, when they were granted some time ago against the Dutch for taking an English ship which was taking provisions to the Catholic's dominions. The king replied that his masters had never settled their differences with the merchants interested and as these had frequently appeared with petitions before his Council he could not refuse them justice.†

A French gentlemen has arrived back from Turin. He was sent by the queen with condolences to the duchess on the death of her husband. He reports the virile constancy of that lady in her afflictions, and her declaration that she depends utterly on the wishes of the Most Christian. Count Scisa, her Resident here, publishes the bad state of her affairs, Vercelli will certainly be lost being insufficiently supplied, while the French are not strong enough to succour it. He fears that if the Cardinal of Savoy himself goes to Piedmont he may, under present circumstances do the duchess more harm than the Spanish army, as he is as popular there as the French are hated.

The Count of Egmont, one of the foremost lords of Flanders, has recently arrived here.‡ He fled thence six years ago, fearing imprisonment by order of the Catholic for complicity with Count Henry di Bergh and others, who absented themselves then. He is related to the king and asks for his Majesty's

* According to Salvetti, writing on the same date, the king told Joachimi that he had as much right to sell his property to friends as the Dutch had to sell provisions of all kinds to their enemies. Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.*, 27962H.

† Letters of marque were authorised on the 29th April, 1637 o.s. to George Henley and Augustine Phillips to fit out the *George* to act against the Dutch to obtain satisfaction for the loss of the *Pelican*, taken with a cargo of sugar from Fayall, and carried into Flushing by a Dutch man of war commanded by Adrian Claeson, in July, 1633. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1634-5, pages 565, 610 ; *Id.* 1635, page 403 ; *Id.* 1635-6, page 232 ; *Id.* 1636-7, page 561 ; *Id.* 1637, page 32.

‡ The Count landed at Dover from Dieppe on the $\frac{6}{16}$ June, under the title of a French baron. He left for London the same evening. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 493.

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interposition with the States of Holland for the restitution of much country which he claims to belong to him, as he declares that he has never borne arms against those States.

London, the 25th June, 1638.

[*Italian : the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 25. Senato, Terra. Venetian Archives.

461. That at the request of the English gentleman left here by the Ambassador Fielding, the pictures left by the ambassador be freely released without payment of the duty, their value being assessed at 100 crowns, on which the duty would be 7 crowns.

Ayes, 109. Noes, 6. Neutral, 6. It requires 5/6ths.

1638, on the 5th May in the Collegio :

Ayes, 19. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1. It requires 5/6ths.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

462. That by the authority of this Council the Agents of the Ambassador Fielding be permitted to lade on an English ship, without hindrance, twenty cases of pictures, countersigned with the ambassador's arms, in addition to the twenty-four cases of marbles, as granted on the 5th inst.

Ayes, 109. Noes, 6. Neutral, 6.

On the same day in the Collegio :

Ayes, 19. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

June 29. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

463. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador designate to England, to the Doge and Senate.

After a long journey through this troubled kingdom, full of perils, with the march of so many troops towards Spain, I have at least reached this city. After making the necessary arrangements and providing for the safety of the journey, I shall proceed to England at the earliest opportunity.

Paris, the 29th June, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

June 29. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

464. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The ministers here are indignant at the King of England selling munitions of war to the Spaniards, especially as they are to be used in Flanders against the French, an action which shows how little that king cares for any agreement with them here.

The negotiations for an adjustment with Madame de Chevreuse are progressing. She has received money from her husband. They laugh at Court at Bellievre and his wife being forbidden to enter the royal coaches, and that will not make them give back to the English ambassadress the privilege she had, even after the Chevreuse has gone. The Ambassador Leicester, in his king's name, made overtures yesterday to Madame de Rohan for a marriage between her daughter and the Prince Palatine. The duchess does not object to the match, though she prefers one with Duke Bernard of Weimar. There is little appearance of

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the king approving of either, and he has intimated that she shall wed the Duke of Nemours, a youth not yet sixteen.

Paris, the 29th June, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

July 2. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

465. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Ro reports in letters of the 11th his arrival and very honourable reception at Hamburg. In passing he saw the King of Denmark at Glukstat and invited him to help the Palatine and the common cause. He hoped his offices would not prove vain ; he left the king unfavourably impressed to Cæsar, because of his design to take the archbishopric of Bremen from his son. The reinforcement from Sweden had landed in Pomerania, consisting of 10,000 men, with plentiful supplies and Banier was to take the field on the 10th of that month.

His Majesty's Agent from Danzig* has arrived here on some business with the mart here. He reports that the King in Poland had arranged with the Catholic to keep some armed ships in the Baltic, and he had sent Prince Casimir to Madrid about this, in reward for which that king had offered him the government of Portugal. The Danzigers had found this out and informed the King of Denmark, Sweden and the Dutch, so that they should all resist this innovation. Denmark had sent six large ships to prevent other warships from scouring those waters. Other advices report disagreement between the Polish king and the lords of that kingdom. He reports that there are some ministers of the emperor at Lubeck who are again trying for a conference with those of Sweden at Hamburg, to confer about a project of peace with the Swedes without including the Most Christian.

Bellievre also has asked the king for leave to export gunpowder to be sent to France. This was granted without difficulty, at the price arranged with the Spaniard, but as he considered it too high, he did not avail himself of it. It is believed here that the neighbouring powers will soon be compelled to make their provision of gunpowder in this kingdom, as they lack the materials to make it, which this country produces in abundance, while they do not require to use it as the others are obliged to do. They hope this will mean great profit for the king and his subjects.

The Ambassador Joachimi recently sent an express to his masters with news of the letters of reprisals granted against the ships and goods of their subjects, and his fruitless offices with the king. *He complains bitterly to his intimates and says freely that with the preponderance of the Spanish party in the ministry here he can do nothing for those provinces.*

The sentence in the king's favour in the matter of money for the fleet has been received with incredible bitterness and maledictions against the judges, as influenced more by authority than justice, with talk against the laws sufficient to cause a revolt among the people. But it has produced no advantage for the

* Francis Gordon.

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king, as those who refuse to pay persist in their resolution, though in the end they will have to change their plans, since the law has been interpreted against them.

Some approach to a rising occurred recently in Yorkshire against some ministers of the king.* Many years ago a large tract of country was submerged there, and several attempts to reclaim it failed. For some time past some Dutchmen assisted by various rich lords of England have undertaken to reclaim it. They agreed with his Majesty that if they succeeded one third should belong to his Majesty, a third to the contractors and the rest to the owners. A good part has now been recovered, but when the royal ministers went to take possession of his Majesty's portion and the workmen of theirs, the owners resisted, claiming it for themselves and that the king could not dispose of their goods. On hearing of this his Majesty sent an official with orders that they must obey, but when he appeared they beat him and told him they would do the same with any who came after. *This following close upon the violence to those officials who distrained for ship money looks as if, following the example of the Scots, there was a disposition to revolution in England also, to force the king to observe the laws. Men speak of this freely and very scandalous voices are raised at many conventicles despite the recent punishment of some for the same thing.*

The people of Ireland also are discontented and ill treated by the Viceroy there without regard for privileges or anything else. As their outcry makes no impression on his Majesty they complain bitterly. Thus the king has few friends in England, less in Ireland and none in Scotland, and if he does not change the nature of his rule one foresees some irremediable disaster.

The Count of Egmont has got me to send the enclosed to your Serenity, with the contract he says the Marquis of Aytona made with him. He first told me of his misadventures and his intention to lay his case before all the princes of Christendom, in order to obtain the repose he desires, and avoid the precipices he has no inclination to try, unless driven to desperation by the Spaniards. I wished to avoid troubling your Excellencies, but thought I could not refuse him this, and it does not commit you to anything. He is to see the king and after telling him of his misfortunes he will leave at once for Denmark, going on to Germany, Poland and finally to Italy.

London, the 2nd July, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosure. **466**. Letter of the Count of Egmont to the Doge.

Relates the ill treatment he has received at the hands of the Spaniards. Asks for the intercession of the republic through their ambassador at Madrid.

London, the 2nd July, 1638.

[*Italian ; three pages.*]

* This may possibly refer to the riots at Wickham, Coveney and Littleport in Cambridgeshire on or about the 4th June o.s. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637-8, pages 493, 494, 503.

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July 3.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

467. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Bailo at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Some time ago I wrote how the English, having established a new consul at Cyprus, claimed that by their capitulations they ought not to pay more than 3 per cent. duty on their goods, ad valorem, as was done in the past; and as a matter of fact the ambassador has obtained an order at the cost of 4000 reals. But the Pasha would not obey the order, pointing out that the same concession would have to be made to the other nations, and the money would fall short of what was required to pay the troops. Accordingly the order was revoked. But the ambassador made an arz to the Sultan as he was about to set out, and by adducing the capitulations or by the threat of withdrawing the consul and by a bribe of 2000 reals to the Caimecan, he obtained an order, signed by the Sultan himself, for the carrying out of the capitulations. The Pasha could not refuse to obey this, but the other nations at once claimed the same privilege. I have agreed with the French ambassador to present an arz jointly to the Caimecan on the subject, but with little hope of success. I will do all that I possibly can, as this advantage gained by the English will leave them absolute masters of the trade of the whole kingdom.*

The Vigne of Pera, the 3rd July, 1638.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 3.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

468. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

I will not relax my hold on the matter of the book about the sea. Grasvinchel has agreed that it shall not leave the press before he has drawn up a new chapter and written a short passage expressly upon the indubitable claims of your Serenity to dominion in the Adriatic, availing himself of the information in the papers I gave him. When he has done this he offers to submit it to the censure and good pleasure of your Serenity.

The Hague, the 3rd July, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

July 6.
Senato Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

469. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. d'Avo writes of the arrival of the English ambassador at Hamburg, and that he announces his intention of finishing the affair, his king being prepared to make the greatest efforts. Here they believe the exact opposite and are just as mistrustful of that union as the others are anxious for it. Under these circum-

*The position at Cyprus was originally a vice consulship under the consul at Aleppo. In 1636 Richard Glover seems to have established himself there as consul, without proper authorisation. On the 25th January 163$\frac{7}{8}$ the Levant Co. wrote to Wandesford, their consul at Aleppo, informing him that Glover would be recognised, "in spite of his intrusion upon that consulship, without order." On the same day they wrote to Glover approving of his proceedings and confirming him as consul "so long as you shall well demean yourself." Levant Co. *Letter Book. S.P. For. Archives*, Vol. 111.

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stances the arrival in England and the vigilance of the Ambassador Giustinian will be very opportune. He set out thither today. His brother Sig. Gerolamo goes with him.

Paris, the 6th July, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

470. To the Secretary in England.

We have had a memorial from the English secretary here with complaint about the grievances alleged by the English at their treatment in the islands of Zante and Cephalonia. Upon this all proper steps have been taken to the end that they may enjoy every protection and relief with freedom of trade and for quiet during their sojourn. We send you the information so that you may know it is our firm intention that no wrong shall be done to them and that they may have every demonstration of esteem and friendliness which we have always been accustomed to show them, and also so that you may make this known in England, at such time and in such manner as you may consider opportune, so that everyone may be encouraged not only to maintain but to increase the trade in those islands, in the assurance that they will receive every facility and the utmost protection.

Ayes, 135. Noes, 0. Neutral, 10.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Show Case, Museo Correr, Venice.

471. Letters patent for Angelo Correr, in recognition of his distinguished services as ambassador, granting him in addition to the honour of knighthood the right to quarter on his arms three lions *or*, as shown in the margin, for himself and the heirs male of his body, for ever. Dated at the palace Greenwich, 27 June, 1638, in the 14th year of the reign.

[Signed] CAROLUS R.*

[*Latin.*]

July 9. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

472. FRANCESCO ZONCA, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Fresh despatches from the Marquis of Hamilton have recently arrived at Court. They report his entry into Edinburgh and his exposition the same day before the so called notables. That all the streets he passed through were filled with the common people who crowded to see him. The women seized him some by the hand and some by the clothes, all acclaiming him if he brought assurances for the observance of religion and the liberty of the country. Reports current throughout that city make the Court believe that the affair will finally take a favourable turn.

But his first expositions by no means pleased the notables. He said that the king's graciousness had brought him without further consideration of their faults to offer pardon for the past and promise the maintenance of their privileges and liberties, which they had only attempted to alter for the greater service of the kingdom. His

* The text is printed in Rymer: *Fœdera*, Vol. XX. pages 240, 241. The parchment is elaborately engrossed and illuminated.

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Majesty's clemency having gone so far, they ought, in sign of the obedience they owe, to annul their union, releasing everyone from his oath, as a scandalous thing, a bad example which ought to be suppressed. They told him that the document was made after mature deliberation, with regard for the service of God, the king and the people. To speak of abolishing it would mean handing over the kingdom to further sedition, as it would show that they meant to take revenge on the Scots when they had the opportunity. So they intended to preserve it for ever at all risks, as their common safety depended thereon. With regard to the pardon they claimed that it was not necessary as they were not at fault, since their actions were covered by the law, the breach of which they had frequently represented to his Majesty in humble remonstrance about the disorders that might arise therefrom.

They are by no means displeased here at the news received last week of the blow received by Count John of Nassau at the fort of Calou in Flanders* as under present circumstances a change in the Netherlands would not suit them here, as if those powers became too strong, they might cause trouble in these islands, which is the only thing they fear. They think the same thing will happen at St. Omer, at least they wish it, as everyone believes, what the Spanish minister states, that the Dutch, unaccustomed for a long time to such reverses, are demoralised and will not recover this year for a fresh enterprise, and that the French army in Hainault will not be able to resist all the forces of the Cardinal Infant. That minister has lighted bonfires before his house and expects to hear soon of the relief of St. Omer, the Cardinal writing that he does not fear the French arms. They are pleased here to know that reinforcements have entered Vercelli, as they are very friendly towards the duchess, but they fear the place will fall to Leganes as they do not hear of the raising of the siege.

I have letters from the Ambassador Giustinian from Paris of the 2nd inst. asking me to procure a royal ship to fetch him from Dieppe. Accordingly I went yesterday to Greenwich, where the Court is, and spoke to the Secretary Windebank, who courteously promised to speak to the king that same evening, when he expected him back from his hunting, and when he had the order he would send it at once to Vice-Admiral Pennington to be executed at once. I also approached the question of his being met by an earl. For this purpose I went to the quarters of the Earl of Pembroke, the High Steward, to whom this pertains, but as he was away with the king, I had to postpone it until tomorrow, when I will return to get the arrangements made, if possible for his Excellency's entry, so that this may be done before the king starts on his annual progress, which begins on Monday fortnight and will last for six weeks before he returns to a place suitable for giving his first audience.

* It should be Count William of Nassau, whose force was almost destroyed by the Spaniards at Fort Calloo near Antwerp on the 22nd June. Le Clerc: *Hist. des Provinces Unies*, Vol. ii., pages 178–180.

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The Earl of Egmont is waiting to see his Majesty, and after telling of his misfortunes and begging for his patronage with the Catholic and the Dutch he proposes to leave for Denmark, Vienna and Italy for the same purpose. He gave me the enclosed paper with his claims, to send to your Serenity.

London, the 9th July, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosure.

473. Statement of the Rights of the Count of Egmont.

[*French ; 4 pages.*]

July 10. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

474. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The newly chosen ambassador in ordinary from England has arrived at the Court and is awaiting his Majesty's convenience to have his first audience.

Madrid, the 10th July, 1638.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

July 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

475. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

In fulfilment of my orders about the reception of the Ambassador Giustinian I went first to the Lord Chamberlain. I told him of his Excellency's approaching arrival, having reached Dieppe, whither a royal ship had been sent to fetch him, and I came about the ceremonies for his reception, which I thought would take place before the king started on his progress. I told him that during my stay here I had observed slight differences at the entry of ambassadors, between those of crowns and of your Serenity, who were met by a baron or viscount instead of an earl. In view of the parity with the crowns enjoyed by the republic I thought proper to advise him of this. I felt sure it happened through inadvertence and the king would put it right when he knew.

He replied that the custom had been in use for so many years that the king would object to any change, as he was very averse from altering things long practised, and had charged his officials to see that no innovations were made. Possibly I did not know the high rank of the barons of England, who are peers of the realm and enter parliament, from which the earls of Scotland and Ireland are excluded. In the time of Queen Elizabeth none but barons were employed for this purpose. This had been altered by chance, not as a greater honour, since some earl asked to go and meet an ambassador he knew, and it has since become the custom. He swore they made no distinction in essentials between the ambassadors of your Serenity and those of crowned heads. He urged me to let this matter drop, as it would only offend the king and would not help your Excellencies.

I said my request was so just that I did not consider it an innovation. Your ambassadors had recently received equal honours at the Courts of the emperor, the Catholic and Poland

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and I did not think the king would refuse them, while it could not offend him. I knew the dignity of barons, but as the custom had been changed with others it could not be refused to you. If Venetian ambassadors merited the escort of an earl to audience, I thought they should for the reception also. I asked him to lay the matter before the king in my name, as I felt sure he would not be angry, if only to show the friendship he has always professed for the republic which fully reciprocates his regard.

He said he would seek an opportunity to speak about it to the king as if for himself, in order to sound him, and he would tell me about it. But I asked him to do it in my name, as I only asked what was just and in no wise prejudicial to his Majesty. He tried to dissuade me, saying that his Majesty might not feel disposed to change the custom and this would lead to a declaration which would interrupt good relations between him and the Signory. I told him I did not believe his Majesty would deny me what he grants to every other king. I made this request of my own motion, and if it was accorded I could inform the Signory, who would thank him suitably, but if the king refused I would keep the matter to myself, so no harm could be done. He approved greatly of this, and said he would put the matter before the king in that way, and let me know the answer.

I made similar representations to the Earl of Arundel and the Secretaries of State. I noticed they were impressed when I said your ambassadors had equal treatment at the courts of the emperor and the Catholic but they told me that the king greatly disliked innovations. They made the same remarks about the rank of barons, but promised to lay the matter before the Council. I may remark that there are two other points of difference, one that to other ambassadors they send the coaches of the king and queen, and to yours those of the king only, and the other that the royal present at departure is lower by 800 ounces of silver gilt in the case of Venice. But once the first step is gained it will be easy to settle the others.

London, the 16th July, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

July 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

476. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Last Sunday the king informed his Council about the affairs of Scotland for the first time, and even then summarily. He said he intended, with a good object to assimilate divine worship in that kingdom to the style observed here. For this purpose he had its points drawn up and sent there with orders for their observation ; but the people there had resisted, without caring to listen to the merits of the matter. The lords of the Council, whose opinion was not asked, thought this was merely a communication and made no answer, being uncertain about the king's feeling, although he is very distressed at heart, as he shows outwardly. in spite of every effort to conceal it. *Since these troubles he has indulged sparingly in his principal diversion of*

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Meanwhile various opinions are expressed about Scotland, where Hamilton's operations have brought no improvement. Some speak of orders to prepare artillery, arms and other implements of war, pointing to an inclination on his Majesty's part to use force to compel submission, but he lacks the chief nerve, namely the affection of his people and consequently money, and so he cannot use it without manifest danger of losing his other dominions as well, which are unprovided with troops, fortresses or anything else which might secure a state. On the other hand the Scots have everything in order. They are united without any disagreements among themselves. They protest that they will not move unless provoked for the defence of religion and liberty, points they have always set before everything else. They have 40,000 *enrolled, skilled in the use of arms, who can all unite in a few hours, for whatever may be decided for the service, and numerous other military equipments correspond to their resolution and to the needs which may arise, so it is feared that if the king makes any demonstration of a desire to arm, the Scots will invade England to avoid being forestalled in their own country.*

The Prince Palatine recently sent an English Colonel here to levy a regiment.* He saw the king, who made much of him and promised to grant the levy. He reports that the prince has about 5000 soldiers, and will soon enter the enemy's country with good plans and hopes of success.

The Count of Egmont is treating closely with the Spanish minister here for the adjustment of his affairs, which they intimate they will settle to his satisfaction. Accordingly he has postponed his departure. He is waiting to hear from Flanders before he sees the king, and is staying incognito in this city.

The ship *Rainbow* is about to start, armed with 32 pieces of ordnance, and laden with various goods for Genoa, Leghorn and Venice. When passing through the Gulf she will touch at Ragusa to discharge some 1000 pieces of kerseys sent by Pietro Richaut by commission of some of the inhabitants there. Last Friday the ship I obtained from the king sailed for Dieppe to fetch the Ambassador Giustinian. He has sent one of his gentlemen here from that port to put his house in order, and I am expecting him any day.

London, the 16th July, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* Lieut. Col. Huncks, to raise 500 men. Newburgh to Middlesex, the 5th July. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 4th Report, page 293,

1638.

July 17. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

477. Vote of 300 ducats for Giovanni Giustinian, Ambassador in England, for couriers and the carriage of letters.

Ayes, 88. Noes, 0. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

July 22. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

478. To the Ambassador GIUSTINIAN in England.

We expect that you will have arrived in England by now. You will find the country agitated by the reluctance of the people to pay taxes, and the Scots stirred up on the subject of religion. There are also the designs of the Palatine, some communications with Savoy and the differences with the Dutch, so there is no lack of material for your attention. The English secretary has been to say that his king has agreed that the company of Zante shall appoint a new consul in that island, and he has requested the confirmation of the consul's patent, after information has been taken. In the meantime you will assure the English nation that they are loved and esteemed in that island and will receive good treatment there, as we wish to encourage trade. We enclose the usual sheet of advices.

Ayes, 82. Noes, 1. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

July 23. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya, Venetian Archives.

479. GIERONIMO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Dr. Grasvinchel petitions most humbly for the return of his book about the claims of Savoy, which he sent to your Serenity a long time ago for revision, because he wishes to have it printed. He asked me to present this petition to your Serenity.

The Hague, the 23rd July, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

July 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

480. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The ordinary English ambassador had his first audience last week. It was very brief and purely complimentary. *The ministers here have intimated to him, not without considerable artifice, in order to prevent a union between his king and France, that they have discovered secret negotiation between the Most Christian and the Duke of Bavaria.*

Madrid, the 24th July, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*] *Copy.*

July 27. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

481. ANZOLO CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador Schidmer when asking if I had any news of the Ambassador Fildin at Venice gave me a full account of the influence he has used to go back there. He also told me in

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confidence that he had decided to send his wife back to England at the earliest opportunity, because of the treatment she had received here since the Duchess of Chevreuse arrived at that Court. He asked me if Giustinian's wife would visit the queen if she was not allowed to sit, the French ambassadress having absented herself for that reason. I thanked him for the communication and said that Giustinian had tact enough to find a way out. For my part I thought that the queen should not allow ladies to sit before her, but if they did ministers' wives ought not to stand at the same time. He replied that no other lady had the privilege at the English Court but Madame de Chevreuse, and she only availed herself of it once. It was not customary for the king's own daughter to have a seat or stool in her mother's presence. He repeated this several times in a way that showed me he was not speaking of his own motion.

With respect to what Zonca says about the coaches I may remark that I have observed the contrary. The queen's coach accompanied me both at my entrance and at my audience. It is true that there is usually some difference in the present, but I did not think it advisable to speak of it, knowing that to try and put one's hand into the king's purse is a very delicate matter. I was not likely to succeed either, as I was informed that what they gave to the ambassadors of the republic is not so rigidly paid by the laws that they cannot alter it, and I thought it did not become me to stir in a matter affecting my personal advantage and depending solely on the liberality of the prince, and I might be considered base minded and venal. I have sent a copy of these lines to his Excellency Giustinian.

Paris, the 27th July, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

July 29. Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia. Risposte. Venetian Archives.

482. With regard to the consul chosen by the company of English merchants to live in the islands of Zante and Cephalonia, although this is something new, yet we do not think it right or desirable to refuse patents to this consul, which the king's secretary has asked for. We imagine that the company has taken this step in order to be able to obtain protection for their trade more easily from the state representatives, as private individuals have suffered from the persecution of the inhabitants. This has injured the state, as they have gone away to the Morea and Turkish territory with the cargoes of their ships. This has caused an increase in the price of silk and oil in particular, which used to go to those islands and was brought thence to this city, with consequent loss to the duties and to trade. If no action is taken that nation will provide Turkey with London cloth, to the prejudice of Venetian cloth and of other things exported from this city. It will also divert oil and destroy the currant trade in the islands in part if not altogether, by increasing plantations at Patras and other places. Thus it is desirable to satisfy the merchants and to relieve their grievances.

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Dated at the office the 29th July, 1638.

MARCO LOREDAN
ANDREA PISANI
ANDREA DOLFIN
MARCO VENIER
GIROLAMO LANDO
} Savii.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Ceffalonia. Venetian Archives.

483. GIACOMO DONADO, Venetian Proveditore of Cephalonia, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I gathered that instructions had been issued to procure the relief of the English merchant Henry Ider. When I arrived here I found a process instituted against him by the Inquisitor Capello. I proceeded to despatch this case with all speed, in accordance with my instructions, and found Ider guilty of fraud against the customs. Accordingly I proceeded to pass sentence against him.

Cephalonia, the 23rd July, 1638, old style.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

484. GIOVANNI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Marquis of Hamilton, who returned to Court this week, brings proposals for a settlement entirely in accordance with report. These are that if the people there are assured of obtaining from his Majesty the abolition of the book upon new ecclesiastical rites, the confirmation of their old privileges, and the Convocation of a parliament, which reduces the royal authority within narrow limits, they will be ready, with all loyal humbleness to petition the king to this effect. They have carefully examined this proposal at the palace. The strongest opposition arises from the fear that the example of such advantages may give rise to similar harmful changes in this kingdom also. However, as they have no means at hand for abasing the pride of the rebels by the sword, it is thought that all the proposals will be accepted, affording a rest for the present. Meanwhile the king shows the utmost satisfaction at the operations of the marquis, who is declared lord of Celsi ;* he will return to Scotland in four days.

The Hamburg negotiations proceed in a sickly way. The Ambassador Roe reports that after his first conferences with the ministers, he had to meet categorical demands as to whether his master meant to break openly with the House of Austria. He replied generally that he would tell them all about this when the agreement was made with France. He asks for the most precise new instructions, and does not conceal his fears that the King of Denmark is conducting negotiations between the Imperialists and the Swedes, the Palatine and England both being excluded.

* Chelsea Place and the manor of Chelsea were granted to Hamilton to be held in socage on 23 June o.s. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637-8, page 526.

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Yet these things in no wise arouse the ministers here, slumbering in their ease and the advantages that the long quiet gives them.

They have granted that the Duke of Lorraine may levy a regiment. A colonel is here for the purpose, but makes little progress without remittances.*

The Dutch ambassador is labouring for the restitution of two ships, seized by virtue of letters of reprisals at the instance of some English merchants. So far he has made no progress, and he fears his offices will prove useless, as they are weakened by a recent incident in the Channel here, between a royal tartana and a Dutch ship of war. They met, and when the Dutch man did not lower its topsail, in sign of respect, the Englishman tried to compel him, by firing his guns, whereupon the Dutch captain responded vigorously, handling the tartana very roughly, some being slain.†

The Duchess of Chevreuse announces that the guarantees for her return to France are arranged, and she is momentarily expecting a courier with more exact confirmation; for the rest she does not seem much inclined to change her quarters.

The weather still delays the arrival of my baggage, and compels me to postpone my public entry. The Secretary Zonca has again seen the ministers about an earl meeting me, but without success. They claim that his Majesty makes no difference between your Excellencies' ministers and those of other kings; the barons of England, who have performed this function for twenty four years rank with the highest. Seeing that he could make no impression Zonca told them that as his Majesty would not consider his reasonable request, he would keep the matter to himself, and not communicate it to the Senate or to me. They replied courteously and thanked him and so I do not think it will leak out or be talked of at other Courts.

The unfailing prudence of your Excellencies can always find a way of evading such inconveniences, especially as they consider it unnecessary here to keep a resident ambassador with your Serenity. This is confirmed afresh by what Fildin said at Turin, so the choice of a new minister will not be easy or soon. With regard to the other matters the information supplied from France by Corraro will enable me to uphold the dignity of the state.

London, the 6th August, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

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* Among the state papers is a proposal for a levy of 8000 men for the duke, dated the 27th June, in which the Abbé de Moleur, was the leading spirit; but no mention is made of any colonel employed in the business. *S.P. For. France*, Vol. 105.

† Letters of marque had been granted to George Henley and Augsutine Phillips (*see* No. 460 at page 427 above, and *note*) and also to Nicholas Polhill for the capture of his ship the *Willing Mind* of Weymouth, by the *St. Peter* of Rotterdam, Capt. T. Kint, on the 4th January 1631. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637, page 317; *Id.* 1637-8, pages 84, 454, 455. From a memorial of Joachimi of the $\frac{1}{29}$ August it appears that a ship called *le Liefde* and another called *le Jyn* were captured by the grantees. *S.P. For. Holland* Vol. 154. A reference in a letter of Northumberland of the 29th July o.s. indicates that the tartana mentioned was the frigate *Nicodemus*, Capt. Woolward. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 578.

1638.
Aug. 6.
Inquisitori di Stato. Venetian Archives.

485. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Inquisitors of State.

The ambassador of Lucca, who is one of those who most frequents the Venetian embassy, has favoured me with a letter. Good manners require me to answer, but my duty forbids, without your permission, so I enclose the letter and my reply, to be sent to the Catholic Court, if you approve.

London, the 6th August, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure.

486. Jacopo Arnolfini, Ambassador of Lucca in Spain to Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England.

I imagine this will find you in London, where you will be as much appreciated as your loss is felt here. I am sure that the Ambassador Contarini tells you all that is going on, so I abstain from doing so etc.

Madrid, the 23rd June, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

487. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

They have no news from Hamburg about the opening of the negotiations to be arranged with England in conjunction with the allies. They are afraid that the troubles in Scotland will serve as a pretext for breaking off all the operations.

Paris, the 10th August, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

488. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The king changed his mind about remaining in this neighbourhood, and after enjoying some diversions in the queen's house here last week, he went on Saturday to Oatlands, to begin his usual annual progress. The queen will follow him after a few days, and will not return here before next month, so that I shall not be able to see their Majesties before that space.

Fresh letters from the Ambassador Roe at Hamburg have revived his Majesty's hopes of perfecting the negotiations in progress there. He reports three leading points as settled and seems confident of carrying the rest. His Majesty has imparted the entire contents to the French minister here with every satisfaction. He has sent Roe a fresh precept, that with the negotiations progressing towards the congress of Lubeck, he must go there also following the example of the other ministers, keeping an eye for all that may serve the interests of his nephews, and without further committals, to uphold, at least in appearance, the dignity of the original declarations.

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Aided by the influential patronage of the Duchess of Chevreuse the Agent of the Duke of Lorraine has at length obtained the use of a royal ship to take him to Spain ;* and so, without money and with nothing but fair words, he is well pleased to get out of this kingdom. They persist here in their reprisals against Dutch ships. The ship *Jupiter*, Captain, James Sal, laded at Venice, arrived in Plymouth Sound on its way to Amsterdam. An English ship attacked it, and after a bloody fight, the Dutch captain, as a council of necessity, tried to blow up the upper deck, together with the English on it, as they had carried it by boarding : but the plan was badly executed and the ship was entirely burned, with the loss of most of the sailors and of a very rich cargo, amounting they say, to 100,000*l.* sterling.† The accident is the more deplorable because I am told that it jeopardises the interests of the Venetian mart.

At the report of such a disaster the Dutch ambassador made the most lively complaints to the king, who is certainly not gratified at the facility with which the Council has granted letters of reprisals at the instance of the English merchants. His Majesty expressed his sentiments to the Councillors, some of whom by no means favour the Dutch, but rather incline to the Spaniards, and so favour a decision which cannot serve the interests of this crown, or those principles to which the king is at present attached, of a good understanding with all, and to create the impression, especially for the matters now in negotiation, of a thorough understanding with the United Provinces. However, the results of the Dutch minister's remonstrances will indicate his Majesty's true intentions.

Such are the slight events here. I have your Excellencies' letters of the 22nd July. I will intimate to those who trade at Zante and Cephalonia the decision to give them the best treatment there. Zonca has done the same in the past. He only received yesterday, by way of France, your letters of the 7th ult. on this subject.

London, the 13th August, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 14. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

489. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The young Count of Ognat, who was ambassador in ordinary in England, has arrived from Corunna. He is staying incognito at his house.

Madrid, the 14th August. 1638.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

* "The abbot that came hither from the duke of Lorraine is here and I perceive by him he is likely to continue, for the duke was wholly destitute of a minister here." Hopton on the $\frac{5}{15}$ September. *S.P. For. Spain.* Possibly the Abbé de Moleur who was concerned about the levy. *See* note at page 440 No. 484 above.

†Coke probably refers to this disaster when he says that "Polhill.... without profit to himself, has destroyed a rich ship." *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637-8, page 584.

1638.
Aug. 14.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Ceffalonia. Venetian Archives.

490. Gasparo Beffa Negrini to Giacomo Donado, Proveditore of Cephalonia.

Information that Henry Hied has been made a slave by a certain Parganotto and taken to La Catena by Saban Bey, known as Valapano.

Clomucci, the 4th August, 1638 [old style.]

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

491. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

They are waiting with the utmost impatience at Court to hear what happened at Edinburgh last Sunday, the day appointed by the people there for the meeting of their Council to hear the proposals of the Marquis of Hamilton sent back there by his Majesty with all speed. The turn of affairs for good or ill will depend on the decision taken there. The trouble is that the example of greater licence is likely to encourage the people there to take measures for their own advantage. This causes the wisest men to believe that the marquis received powers to offer all possible means to content the Scots, even though not altogether in consonance with the royal dignity. We shall soon know for certain.

The account sent by the Dutch captain about the ship, which I reported, does not entirely correspond with that sent by the English one. The former has come here to demand justice for his serious losses. The Dutch ambassador bases his remonstrances on the evidence of these facts, pointing out the partiality shown by ministers in granting letters of reprisals, and that the English captain did not accept the readiness of the Dutch one to show obedience, but turned his guns on the ship and burned it, with other circumstances showing that ill temper governed his actions rather than the procedure usual in such cases. The king replied very readily that if such be the case he deserves punishment, and after the necessary enquiry he will give those interested all the opportunities that lawfully belong to them. Yet the ambassador does not go so far as to hope for indemnification, and will consider himself fortunate, if the incident and his remonstrances serve to prevent the same happening again, as he fears that other ships following may suffer the like mishap. But if they come to any decisions to the profit of Dutch merchants, I will look after the interests of your Serenity's subjects, while cautiously refraining from committing myself too far until fresh instructions arrive from your Excellencies.

The Resident of Savoy, who saw his Majesty in the country last week, announces that he had it from his Majesty's own lips that after the first audience, he will appoint a new ambassador to your Serenity. An intimate of this minister asserts that these last offices of his were about fresh overtures for an adjustment between your Excellencies and the House of Savoy. I will obtain fresh confirmation with all circumspection, and will try

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to evade questions on the subject by brief answers in general terms. I do not yet know when I shall be permitted to see the king. He is far away and I have been two days in bed with an illness which gives me a great deal of pain.

I have informed the chief merchants of the Levant Company through the Secretary Zonca of the decision of your Excellencies to their advantage. They have expressed their most devoted appreciation and the hope of results commensurate with their desire to advance the trade of those islands, to the mutual advantage.

London, the 20th August, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Collegio. Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

492. The Ambassador of his Catholic Majesty came into the Collegio and said :

I have come late and have spoken long. The accursed gout troubles me much. Yet, by my king's order, I must represent the interests of some merchants, by reason of one William Agustini, an Englishman, trading habitually at Seville and he went on to speak in the sense of the subjoined memorial, which he afterwards presented. The doge said they would do what they could, and so the ambassador rose, bowed and departed.

THE MEMORIAL.

William Agostini, an Englishman trading at Seville fled unexpectedly from that city, fraudulently carrying off a lot of money belonging to divers persons, a day or two after receiving it. Among these debts was a sum of over 20,000 ducats for Guglielmo di Lovaina, archer of my king's guard. He went straight to England, but as his creditors pursued him thither, he fled to this city, where he has been staying until he heard that various executions were against him, when he proceeded to Zante, where he is now. Various papers etc. have come from the archer sufficient for his arrest, and my king has instructed me to take this matter into my care and to get your Serenity to obtain the republic's assent to execution. I therefore come to ask you for the arrest of this William Augustini and that he be compelled to pay the debt in question.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 21. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

493. To the Ambassador in England.

Enclose account of the capture of sixteen pirate galleys by the Proveditore of the Fleet.* He is to perform an office on the subject with his Majesty, as a sign of confidence. Zonca should return home without further delay as some one else has already been destined to succeed him.

Ayes, 162. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

* The Proveditore Marino Capello, on the 6th August, entered the port of Valona and carried off 16 galleys of Algiers and Tunis, which had taken refuge there after a piratical raid into the Adriatic. Nani: *Hist. della Republica Veneta*, pages 326–329.

1638.
Aug. 27. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

494. Francesco Zonca, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Giustinian has had to take to his bed with a serious illness, due to the trials of a very long journey, and the change of air, food and climate, when he was on the point of arranging for his public entry, for which everything was ready. He has lain there for ten days suffering from fever and other ills, which leave the physicians doubtful about the issue. His wife, two little children and five of his attendants are also ill. His Excellency has been worse today and unable to send his usual despatch, so I have thought it my duty to write this. I have been helping him all this time and so have been unable, with the Court so far away, to collect any information. If he is not well enough to work next week, I will get his instructions to take his place, in spite of the kind permission of your Serenity to return so soon as he arrived. He has detained me here until the arrival of the secretary who is to come, and whom I am awaiting with great impatience, in the fear that it may not be very soon, when in my weak state I shall have to travel in the winter, and take that long and expensive journey in the midst of armies and of the plague, which is raging in the countries through which I shall have to pass.

London, the 27th August, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

495. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Bailo at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Dutch ambassador announces that all the ships of the English, Flemings and other nations have been seized in his country to be employed in war against these parts.

The Vigne of Pera, the 28th August, 1638.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Sept. 3. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

496. To the Ambassador in England.

We have received your letters of the 8th ult. and approve of your conduct over the refusal to appoint an earl to meet you. Seeing that there are so many difficulties in the way you will continue to dissimulate, in order not to cause prejudice by declaring yourself more plainly since up to the present you will have made them believe that it was a private desire of your own and to confirm more fully the excellent disposition of the king.

Ayes, 113. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

497. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I write from my bed, where I am suffering from a severe and continual fever and other pains, such things as have reached me in my deplorable condition. On the arrival of the news of the unexpected departure of the queen mother from Flanders,

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the king, fearing that she meant to cross to this kingdom, sent some one on purpose to dissuade her, even offering to pay her a sum of money down, to give it up, as his Majesty wishes to escape the further expenditure and trouble which the coming of that princess would involve. Another person has left the Court for Holland, with instructions that if this cannot be managed, she must come here without Fabroni, Monsigot and Cogneus. As these alone control the queen's counsels, it seems likely that she will be obliged to decide on something else if they are forbidden to enter the kingdom. They are waiting for her decision. Meanwhile the queen here is making provision, so that if her mother comes she may be in a position to receive and entertain her properly. In such case, if I recover, I shall follow the example of the other ministers, and the French one in particular, according to the instructions sent me before at the Catholic Court.

With the prolongation of the Duchess of Chevreuse's stay here they have cut down their first liberality, although the proofs of the queen's affection have not yet dried up. She has had to form her own household, and the queen lent her 4000*l.* sterling for the purpose. The French ambassador, who wants her to go back, and works for it, hopes that necessity will drive her there, now she is living by herself. There is increasing talk, on the part of this minister also, that the conclusion of the alliance between this crown and the French one will not bring France the advantage she desires, as clearly indicated by the articles which are full of reserve and irresolute conditions, as usual with this country.

They say that his Majesty has sent another 20,000*l.* sterling to Holland for the Prince Palatine, this last week, by a captain of horse, a servant of the Palatine house.

The recent offices of the Ambassador Joachimi have succeeded in obtaining the recall of the ships at sea with letters of reprisals against the Dutch. Meanwhile they have seized another rich ship of that country, arrived from Barbary, and taken it to Plymouth.* All are curious to see where these differenees will end.

Since the departure of the Marquis of Hamilton for Scotland nothing is known of affairs there. They are most impatient for news of what has happened.

News has arrived of the defeat of the Bizerta galleys by your Excellencies' commanders. The mart here applauds the valour of the Venetian arms, the courage of the commanders and that of the galeasses in particular. Your Excellencies' letters of the 30th July and the 13th August reached me togcther this week.

London, the 3rd September, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

* The *Wolf* of Medemblik, captain Jan Jansen, taken off the Lizard on $\frac{5}{15}$ August by the *Recovery* and *Desire* of London, John Wilde and Thomas Harman captains, by virtue of letters of reprisal, and carried into Plymouth two days later. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, pages, 590, 600. Order for suspending the reprisals was issued on the $\frac{6}{16}$ August. *Id.* page 588.

1638.
Sept. 9.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

498. To the Ambassador in England.

A quantity of powder for war is manufactured in those parts, and this republic has previously obtained a great deal from thence. You will try and arrange a contract for a good supply for this city, sending word of the terms, price, quantity, quality and other particulars, so that we may be able to come to a final decision on the subject and issue our orders.

Ayes, 114. Noes, 0. Neutral, 10.

The like to the Ambassador at the Hague.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 10.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

499. GIOVANNI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fever persists and keeps me weak and useless, to my great annoyance. The Duchess of Savoy has sent fresh complaints against the Ambassador Fildin, charging her minister to try and get him removed. His mother has tried repeatedly to get him the post of ordinary ambassador in France, or failing that, a fresh appointment with your Serenity. The Savoyard Agent speaks as if this were already settled, but my enquiries do not bear this out, as he enjoys scant credit, and his Majesty has not yet decided anything about sending him back to Venice.*

They are hastening their preparations for the reception of the queen mother: but they remain uncertain about her coming, having received no advices about the negotiations of the persons sent to those parts.

The absence of news from the Marquis of Hamilton makes the Court very anxious, and especially disturbs his Majesty, who always persuaded himself that the adjustment of those most important affairs would prove easy. *Amid the upset caused by this uncertainty the Archbishop of Canterbury, the sole author of the new plans, does not just now enjoy the customary abundance of the royal favours, with the fear that if the trouble persists, he may lose them entirely.*

A further and very dangerous trouble, more dangerous to his Majesty's equanimity, is the suggestion of new powers for the enrichment of the royal patrimony, even at the cost of offending some of the greatest. In years gone by, by means of considerable expenditure and other advantageous circumstances, the king invested certain lords of the realm with the benefit of a quantity of property which was inundated, on condition that they brought it under cultivation within a fixed time, or else the privilege should lapse. The time has now expired, and the royal agents contend that the feofees have not fulfilled their obligations, while they, by witnesses and other evidence prove the contrary. His

* On the other hand Salvetti, writing on the same date, states that his return to Venice was already decided in spite of all Giustinian's efforts to prevent it "pensava Sua Maesta di richiamarlo a casa, ma desiderando i suoi parenti d'impiegarlo fuori per qualche tempo ancora, ne havendosi di presente altra occasione, si e la Maesta Sua contentata di rimandarlo a Venezia, tutto che questo ambasciatore di Venezia habbia fatto quanto ha possuto per divertirne la risolutione." Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962H.

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Majesty, being advised to yield nothing, has declared the property lapsed to the crown. From it they promised him profits which were previously drawn from the Duchy of Normandy, amounting to a sum of great consequence. Those concerned, who are all great and influential lords, raise their complaints to the heavens. This coupled with other grievances gives good grounds for looking for changes detrimental to the royal service.

The ministers here seem to be eagerly expecting a fresh ambassador from Spain, who they say, is sent with all speed. This indicates that they continue to delude themselves with hopes that this crown will obtain from the Spaniards by negotiation what it is not disposed to try for with the sword, and that it wishes to shuffle out of major commitments under cover of such negotiations.

London, the 10th September, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli Venetian Archives.

500. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Bailo at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Representations made by the ambassadors of the Christian powers at the Porte on the subject of the pirates captured by the Venetians at Valona. *The English ambassador had audience after the others and presented his arz separately. He spoke more strongly than the rest against pirates, and pointed out that some years ago his king had some burned in the port of Algiers, yet not a word was said.**

The Vigne of Pera, the 15th September, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 17. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

501. To the Ambassador in England.

It would be profitable in the interests of our Arsenal to make provision of tallow (*scevi*) of the West, and it would be very advantageous for ships from those parts to bring it, because they could dispose of it in Crete and in other parts of our dominions in the east as well as in this city. You will try and induce the shipmasters to bring it.

Ayes, 152. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1

[*Italian.*[

Sept. 17. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

502. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The news from Scotland grows constantly worse. The Marquis of Hamilton, who returned to Court on Saturday, speaks of fresh difficulties about restoring the royal authority there, the people being most obstinate about yielding a jot and ever more determined in their revolt. All the conditions proposed were rejected. His Majesty has held long councils, discussing the means for quenching this great conflagration. He dissimulates as much as possible his displeasure and tries to circulate reports

* Mansell's attack in 1621. Corbett: *England in the Mediterranean*, Vol. 1., pp. 118–128.

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different from the evidenee of the faets, in order to ward off from this kingdom those disturbanees whieh the most diseontented do not hesitate to prediet as very near.

By an adroit representation to his Majesty the queen has eontrived that the three servants named of the queen mother shall not be prevented from eoming here with their mistress, if she has deeided to eome. Her decision upon that remains doubtful as before. The king yields to all the eapriees of his wife and has gratified her in this partieular also.

The last offiees of the Duteh ambassador have not proved useless. His Majesty has suspended the letters of reprisals granted to English merehants and has reealled his ships. The ship seized in the port of Plymouth remains just as it was while they are eontriving means for the mutual satisfaetion of those interested, in the hope that this ineident will be terminated without further disputes, whieh might lead to further trouble and give the Hispanophiles eourage for improving the interests of the Austrian party at this Court.

Some ships of Tunis, whieh were openly bueeaneering in Irish waters, fell in with some English ones, when they were disembarking, enriehed with eonsiderable booty, and were well beaten. They have sent a squadron of galleons of the fleet after them to eomplete their diseomfiture.*

The news brought by the gentleman sent on purpose to their Majesties by the Most Christian of the birth of the dauphin,† whieh fills Franee with joy and Christendom with hopes, has aroused feelings of exultation in the royal breasts and in everyone. The queen is espeeially delighted and shows her feelings openly by her happy demeanour. Her Majesty had the Te Deum sung in her apartment two days ago in her presenee and bonfires were lighted everywhere. The gentleman will be sent baek to his master with rieh presents, and the king and queen have seleeted two persons to express their content, who will leave for that kingdom very shortly.‡ I keep my bed as the fever leaves me no respite.

London, the 17th September, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

503. The Seeretary of Great Britain eame into the Collegio and presented the following memorials. When they were read he went away :

Memorial I.

Your Serenity very justly direeted the Proveditore of Zante to draw up a proeess upon the tyranny of Pietro Aquila, Mare

* The *Leopard* and *London* followed by the Tenth Whelp and the *Greyhound* pinnace. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 608.

† Afterwards Louis XIV., born on the 5th September. The news was brought by M. di Varenne, who reached tho French ambassador on Saturday the 11th Sept. and Bellievre at once took him to the Court to make the announcement. Salvetti on the 17th Sept. *Brit. Mus. Add MSS.* 27962H. Bellievre to Richelieu on the 23rd Sept. P.R.O. *Paris Transcript.*

‡ Sir William de St. Ravy and Henry Jermyn. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, pages 4, 5. Scudamore dispatch of 8th Oct. n.s. *S.P. France,* Vol. 106.

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Antonio Boldu and their dependants in those islands against Henry Hyde and other Englishmen. This has not produced the results intended, because Aquila and the others have such authority that no one ventures to give evidence, and the English merchants deprived of support and beaten down by persecution and craft are too weak to undertake a process against such powerful opponents. As a proof of this, although your Serenity's orders have arrived for the process, no one has ventured to make himself responsible for it, and the English merchants, in fear of these tyrants may be forced, like Sig. Henry, to withdraw to other countries, to the destruction of the trade at those marts, carried on with so much profit to the state. It is hoped that your Serenity will provide against this by directing the process to be drawn up, after the style and with the secrecy of the Senate, so that the English merchants and witnesses may hope to escape the assassins, owing to the secrecy of their depositions. I impart this in support of the earnest petitions made by the nation.

I also beg you to hear the petition laid before you on the 30th August last, asking in the name of this Henry and others for a delegation to the government of Zante, so that he may have security against the outlawry unexpectedly issued against him by Aquila and Boldu and appear to prove his innocence and the malignity of the persecution.

With the same objects the same Henry has been represented to the Inquisitor Capello as a debtor in the chambers of Zante and Cephalonia for a very great sum, for exporting currants, and by his Excellency's order entered in the public books as a debtor, without his being notified, cited or heard, and without allowing him to appear or produce his accounts as he has begged. I ask your Serenity to appoint a sincere and disinterested judge in the Levant to hear what he has to say and examine his accounts, as that is sure to show that he is not a debtor to the state, the interests of which he has always put before his own, as is well known to your representatives in those parts. If he is shown to be a debtor he promises to pay promptly all that is due.

Memorial II.

I am to receive some books and other papers from my king's ambassador by way of Zurich. I ask your Serenity to order the official of the customs, or others, wherever they may come, to allow these books, about thirty, and papers to pass freely without opening the packets or looking for anything inside.

Most Serene Prince :

In the missives of the 7th I find a memorial presented by the secretary of England for the English merchants here, with orders to draw up a process upon all the points therein, and if there was no contumacy, to try and get back Hider from Turkey for the advantage of the public interests and the increase of trade, both of which I have supported with all my power, with every expression of regard for that nation. Of the facts in the memorial two have come to my knowledge, the wounding of the captain of

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the ship *Tomasina* and the serious outrage on the English consul. On the first I drew up a vigorous process against a single culprit, Zuanne, son of Pietro Aquila, fiscal advocate of this chamber, who gave himself up and was let out on a good bail. The wounding of the consul being a more serious matter because of his character and the circumstances of treachery and assassination I reported to your Serenity and also to the Inquisitor Capello, to hear the state's intentions. Four persons are involved in this, besides one Maria, who gave herself up, as two of the others have since done. The other two are to be proclaimed and I am making every effort to arrest them, although I fear I shall not succeed, owing to weakness of force and of Court.

This leads me to state that an armed barque is much needed for such matters, as I have represented before. Similar steps would have been taken about the other excesses mentioned in the memorial if any complaint or other indication had been given to justice. In any case I have called the English before me and assured them of the protection of the state, urging them to inform me of all offences against them, so that rigorous steps may be taken to right them and punish the guilty. This will certainly be done in the cases which have come to light, and steps have already been taken in that direction. They expressed their satisfaction, but as Henry Hider was away, being banished by the sentence of the Proveditore of Cephalonia on the complaint of Marc Antonio Boldu, son in law of that Pietro Aquila, and as he is the one most injured and interested and the most able to give information, they needed time to send some one to confer with him in the Morea, where he now is trading, to obtain the necessary information, although they did not think it would be of much use, if they did not have better support, as they had to deal with violence, which was used very secretly, so they assert. This contumacy of Hider prevents me for the moment from getting him back here from Turkey, as is desired for the increase of trade, which is actually declining, through the merchants betaking themselves to the Morea and Patras, in particular, where Hider is staying, and where we hear two English ships recently arrived, which touched at this port. If he has a safe conduct from the Inquisitor Capello and is restored to the favour of justice, as may easily happen, as Aquila asks for it, I will do my utmost to get him back to live here, and I will try and encourage his former devotion. Moreover he is entered in the books of this chamber as owing 9000 ducats. I will try to secure your Serenity's interests, although the English here assert that Hider is ready to prove that this is a mistake and that he owes nothing whatever. The Inquisitor has now summoned Pietro Aquila to Cephalonia on affairs of state. I am taking the opportunity, especially as a brawl has recently occurred between Aquila's son and his followers in a dispute with others of this city, upon which I have taken information for a process and issued a proclamation against some, others being summoned to appear, and I have told him not to leave there or let his son in law Boldu or his son Zuanne leave until further order from me, so that the

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English may bring further particulars about the matters in the memorial, which remain to be cleared up for the formation of the process, and further steps can be taken when your Excellencies have decided about Hider's contumacy, as while that lasts I do not see what I can do.

As regards Aquila's interest in the new impost, he has been approved in the magistracy of the Five Savii for Trade for three *carati*, and I am informed that he has in various ways made himself master of ten other *carati*. I have not been able to find out more owing to Hider's absence.

Zante, the 31st July, 1638, old style.

Francesco Marcello, Proveditore.

Copy from a paper entitled, Account of currants laded of a greater sum of the deposits made in the Chamber of Zante, existing therein.

Henry Hyde, English merchant deposited in the chamber of Zante for the following quantity of currants to be laded for the West in the ships indicated.

1634	27 March	the ship	*Sanson*	migliara	60
,,	9 May	,,	*Freeman*	,,	62
,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	70
,,	11 May	,,	,,	,,	175,500

1634 9 April he paid 12008 ducats of 6 lire 4 soldi the ducat to lade the following ships in advance by licence :

the *Mayflower*, 300 migl., the *Sanson*, 400 migl., the *Royal Exchange*, 300 migl., the *Hercules* 200 migl., the sættia *St. Margaret*, 8 migl., total, 1208 migl.

1634	6 July	the ship	*Parangon*	migliara	25
,,	20 Sept.	,,	*Scipio*	,,	2
,,	4 Dec.	,,	,,	,,	100
1635	6 March	,,	*Jeremiah*	,,	100
,,	11 to 30 March	,,	,,	,,	238,650
,,	28 July	,,	*Seguranza*	,,	200
,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	83
,,	25 July	,,	*George Bonaventura*	,,	80
,,	26 Feb.	,,	*Report*	,,	165
1636	4 March	,,	*Carlo Salutatione*	,,	156
,,	15 March	,,	,, ,,	,,	190
,,	29 March	,,	,, ,,	,,	157
,,	9 Jan.	,,	*Delight*	,,	100
,,	8 Feb.	,,	*Peter Andrew*	,,	20
1637	17 April	,,	*William*	,,	100
,,	23 Nov.	,,	*Employment*	,,	412
				Total ..	3708,150 (*Sic*)

Ser Henry has laded currants in the ships below, as appears by the books of the administrators and directors of the new impost.

1633	the ship	*Mayflower*	migliara	618,866
,,	,,	*Confidence*	,,	19,397

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1633	the tartana	*St. Margaret*	migliara	7,907
,,	the ship	*Hercules*	,,	304,35
,,	,,	*Fame*	,,	156,881
,,	,,	*Merchant Bonaventura*	,,	173,869
1634	,,	*Sanson*	,,	460,53
,,	,,	*Royal Exchange*	,,	235,823
,,	,,	*Freeman*	,,	292,513
,,	,,	*Parangon*	,,	17,81
,,	,,	*Scipio*	,,	106,234
,,	,,	*Seguranza*	,,	242,136
,,	,,	*Jeremiah*	,,	391,946
,,	,,	*Henry Bonaventura*	,,	311,510
1636	,,	*Abram*	,,	94,258
,,	,,	*Charles*	,,	99,929
,,	,,	*Report*	,,	152,208
,,	,,	*Salutation*	,,	362,458
,,	,,	*Peter Andrew*	,,	32,163
1637	,,	*Let*	,,	81,186
,,	,,	*William*	,,	121,172
,,	,,	*Abram*	,,	117,313
,,	,,	*Charles Salutation*	,,	473,977
,,	,,	*Golden Sun*	,,	234,779
,,	,,	*Report*	,,	152,508

Total	5260,202
Deduct the deposit	3708,150
Cargo of	1552,52

Laus Deo, 1637, the 16th February, new style, Zante.

Account drawn up by me, Orlando Calichiopulo, deputy of the Governor Capello, Inquisitor, syndic and Avogadore in the Levant for all currants laded in ships for the West from the 30th September, 1633 until the 24th November, 1637, showing the deposits entered in the books of the new impost, and that cargo was laded by the merchants for which they had not made deposit, the undermentioned ships not having brought an attestation from the Five Savii for trade that they took their cargo to Venice, so that they owe 5 ducats of 6 lire 4 soldi each for every migliaro and 3 soldi per lira, as well as 3 soldi per lira of the 10 ducats pertaining to the customers and of the tenth of a ducat one zantiot per migliaro and 3 soldi per lira of the said tenth.

Ser Henry Hyde made deposit of migliara		3708,150
and he laded	,,	5260,202
An excess of		1552,52

Due from the said Hyde—

	migliara.	*lire.*	*soldi.*
1635 on the ship *Jeremiah* from Venice	53,296	336	8
Henry Bonaventura from the West	231,510	11736	19
Peter Andrew ,, ,,	13,163	667	3

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		migliara.	*lire.*	*soldi.*
1635 on the ship *Let*	from the West	81,186	3117	14
William	,, ,,	21,172	1074	5
Charles Salutation	from Venice	70,906	407	14
Report	from the West	152,508	7731	16
Golden Sun	,,	234,779	11902	19
Abram	,,	117,313	5947	8
Total		975,833	42922	6
for the quantity loaded before the 1st April, 1634 for the tenths and the 3 soldi per lira		576,219	3313	3
Total		1552,52	46235	9

ZUANNE PECCHIS, Fiscal Controller.

Henry Hyde owes :

for currants that Orlandino Calichiopulo asserts he took on divers ships from 1633-7 inclusive, under two customers, to wit, Niccolo di Lazzari and the second of the same Hyde, in all 5260,202 migliara.

Hyde remains creditor on the balance for 3,682 migliara, without prejudice to other sums which legitimately rank as good. Total, 5263,884 migliara.

Henry Hyde ought to have :

156,881 migliara of currants laded on the ship *Fame*, 173,869 migliara of currants laded on the ship *Merchant Bonaventura*, in all 330,750 migliara, the duty pertaining to Todero Voltera, predecessor of Lazzari and Hyde, when Voltera had the deposits and so Hyde remains creditor for 6000 migliara of currants,

	migliara	330,750
The 117,313 m. of the ship *Abram* are withdrawn, because he notified them at another time, as appears by the account of 94,258m.	,,	117,313
The 473,977 m. of the ships *Charles* and *Salutation* are withdrawn for a like reason, as by the account of 99,929 m. in the name of the ship *Charles* and by the other of 362,458 m. in the name of the ship *Salutation*	,,	473,977
The 152,508 m. of the ship *Report* are withdrawn because notified another time, as by the account of 152,208 m.	,,	152,508
The 81,186 m. of the ship *Let* are withdrawn, as a manifest error, as such a ship has never been at Zante or Cephalonia	,,	81,186
300,000 m. should be withdrawn because the currants were soaked and shooting, and laded free of all duty by licence of the government of Zante and the customers, on the ship *Golden Sun*, only 234,779 m. being noted as the cargo of that ship	,,	300,000

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For deposit of 100,000 m. made by the ship *Abram* which is not entered to credit	migliara	100,000
Grand total to be placed to Hyde's credit from manifest errors to his hurt	,,	1555,734
He should further have credit for the deposits which he made as for Calchiopulo's account	,,	3708,150
Grand total of Hyde's credit	,,	5263,884

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

504. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I hear from Hamburg that the English ambassador has pressed the Ambassador Salvius hard, on behalf of his king, to take part in the congress at Lubeck, offering to give active assistance in forwarding the peace. But they believe that the object of the King of Great Britain is to obtain an opening in this way, without taking any more open interest in the negotiations to support the interests of the Palatine, his nephew. Salvius has written about it to Sweden and they expect the answer at any moment.

Poissy, the 21st September, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

505. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

They say that the Queen Mother is treating for a reconciliation through the Prince of Orange. From what they announce she offers to go to England, to remain in Holland or to come here, provided the king approves and will let her have her assignments. They would apparently like to see her established in England but no formal declaration has been made as yet.

Poissy, the 21st September, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

506. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After frequent discussions in the royal Council, his Majesty's decisions have taken shape and he has sent the Marquis of Hamilton to Scotland for the third time, his Majesty's chief pre-occupation rightly being to see that kingdom restored to quiet. On the other hand, while he is trying to secure his intent by negotiation, he does not relinquish his efforts to compel that people to obedience by force, if necessary. He keeps many captains and officers here, to whom he has paid some money for staying, even though idle, with the object of using them for levies in this country if the hopes of a settlement break down and further temporising becomes impossible.

Stimulated by the offices of the Ambassador Joachimi they are making a very searching enquiry about the Dutch ship

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that was burned. His Majesty has caused the ship last seized to be guarded, without doing anything more. Although these things offer some hope of indemnification to the parties concerned, yet unprejudiced observers and those who know most remain sceptical until they see some result from the very reasonable instances of those who have suffered such great losses without any fault of their own.

His Majesty's joy at the dauphin's birth is ever receiving fresh confirmation from outward demonstrations. To celebrate the event he has given the queen power to restore to liberty many prisoners under capital sentence. The Sieurs of San Ravi and Germas left yesterday for the French Court, to offer congratulations.

Two days ago a report circulated in the city and was believed at Court that the queen mother had landed at Dover. Although this proved false, yet at the first breath the king selected some one to meet her Majesty. This promptness makes speculative persons believe that the king feels sure that that princess means to come here. Monsigot, her familiar, is momentarily expected at Court, and he will supply more authentic information about the movements of his mistress.

Your Excellencies' letters of the 21st August and the 3rd inst. arrived together yesterday. I will inform his Majesty as instructed of the glorious success of the Venetian fleet in capturing sixteen Barbary ships. The Secretary Zonca shall start for Venice so soon as I have seen the king. The serious illness, which has endangered my life, and now the troublesome convalescence, together with his Majesty's absence forty leagues away,* have not permitted me to do more hitherto. I will present Zonca to his Majesty, a thing he deserves the more for the zeal and ability he has shown. I beg your Excellencies for the speedy despatch of the one who is to take his place.

London, the 24th September, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

507. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince Palatine is in Westphalia together with Chin, where he is most eager to provide himself with quarters for this winter. A number of Scottish gentlemen, who express their readiness to serve under him, might join him there. The Prince expects another regiment of English and possibly one of Scots, according to the turn which his affairs may take. The king continues to feed him with hopes of some covert encouragement, whereas he contents himself with adopting the most even and prudent circumspection as his rule.

The Hague, the 25th September, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

* At Woodstock. *Strafford Letters*, vol. ii. page 211.

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Sept. 28.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

508. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

To avoid receiving the Queen Mother the King of England has recently made fresh overtures to Bellievre for her reconciliation, which the king here has taken very badly. He has accordingly directed Bellievre to reply that domestic affairs ought to be dealt with domestically and they cannot listen to the proposals of foreign sovereigns, which may always be mixed with interest. It is thought unlikely, even if the King of Great Britain decides to receive her, that he will entertain her long to her satisfaction. They tell her that if she will retire to Florence she shall have all the revenues she enjoyed in France, otherwise they will leave the care of providing for her to those who offer her quarters. This shows that those who feel sure she will return to this kingdom have no grounds for their confidence. But any change may happen in a matter of so much delicacy.

Paris, the 28th September, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

509. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Agent Gerbier has come over here from Brussels, ostensibly to visit his country and see to his private affairs for twenty days, with his Majesty's leave. A subject of the Cardinal Infant accompanied him on the pretext of buying horses for his Highness. Certain circumstances however lead speculative persons to infer that a continuation of the negotiations about the Palatinate has induced the movement of these individuals. The Spaniards are past masters in those arts which are calculated on the one hand to tickle the king's ears with vain hopes, and on the other to obtain thereby advantages which they have enjoyed hitherto, which are so opportune and necessary for events in Flanders, while dissipating all fear that this crown will ever be buying fresh troubles at the price of the interests of others.

The troops collected here recently for the Palatine started for Holland last week. Lack of money did not permit the captains to increase them as their master required and wished. The levy only consisted of six hundred foot. This will serve rather to keep up the idea of assistance from his uncle than to strengthen greatly the forces of that prince. More ample succour has been prejudiced greatly by the disturbances of Scotland. The Marquis of Hamilton has taken back the most ample powers to satisfy entirely those daring subjects. They have gone so far as to claim that parliament shall be summoned in this kingdom also, so that jointly they may give a better reputation to the government in the future. This demand shows great sagacity, the object being to interest the English and win their sympathy, while by introducing the sickle directly into the royal authority they multiply the offence to his Majesty, and redouble the suspicion generated by their constant resolutions, that they mean to

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shake off altogether the yoke of obedience to their prince. He is distressed at hearing the results of this last mission and from seeing the interruption of his original design to achieve a position of despotic rule.

I cannot refrain here from expressing my thanks for the concession to me of the chain which the Catholic gave me, worth quite 1500 crowns more than that of my predecessor. His Majesty showed the same liberality to the nuncios and the ambassadors of the emperor, France and England. The Catholic thus placed your ministers on an equality with those of other crowns. It will also serve as a recompense for the presents asked of the ambassadress by the queen and of me by the Count Duke for the king, on more than one occasion, involving considerable expense, which called forth in return only the most gracious expressions and no other present beyond this chain.

London, the 1st October, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

510. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Admiral of Castile* has his army on the frontiers of Biscay to watch the French. It is confirmed that they have fortified S. Jean di Luz. This causes some uneasiness, especially as the naval force of the Archbishop of Bordeaux usually established at Bayonne, scours those waters and captures many English vessels bringing naval tackle (*bastimenti*) from England, which they claim may not be taken to Spain to their enemies.

Madrid, the 2nd October, 1638.

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Oct. 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

511. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Two gentlemen arrived recently from the King and Queen of Great Britain to offer congratulations.† They were introduced to their Majesties the day before yesterday by both English ambassadors.

Poissy, the 5th October, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

512. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The king has sent orders to the Vice Admiral of the fleet in the Downs, where the remainder of the fleet sent after the pirates is riding, to proceed to Scottish waters, as his Majesty fears that other foreign ships, with munitions of war may approach that coast. Past demonstrations have not altogether removed the suspicion that the Dutch may supply them to that people. This important step argues a lively lack of confidence in an agreement

* Don Juan Alonso Enriquez.

† Sir William de St. Ravy and Henry Jermyn.

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with those most obstinate subjects. Growing ever bolder they have recently published a book, which, in a most licentious manner not only justifies the reasons for their revolt, but, by pointing out the common interests involved, strongly urges the English not to afford the king the help they owe if the king proposes to beat down the privileges of that nation by force. His Majesty has had every copy of this book suppressed with the utmost energy, so that such pernicious notions may not be spread in this kingdom.

The Secretary of the Ambassador Roe reached the Court two days ago from Hamburg. He brought despatches for the king, which have not yet been deciphered, and so the contents have not transpired.

The negotiations of the Agent Gerbier have been kept wonderfully secret. He returns to Flanders today. Time will serve to give some indication of the importance of his transactions, though few or none place any confidence in them.

Their Majesties are relieved at the news of the restored health of the queen mother, and as a sign of esteem the king has sent a gentleman on purpose to visit her,* unless perchance he has instructions to offer his mediation for a reconciliation with her son. Meanwhile the preparations for her coming here and all talk about it have died away.

The absence of his Majesty. which delays my first audience, and the chronic sterility of this Court afford me no more material for your Excellencies. Your letters of the 4th. 7th and 16th ult. reached me together today. For the transport of tallow (*scevi*) to the Levant and Venice I will suggest the profit to be made to the shipmasters who trade there. I will send the Senate full information about gunpowder next week. Meanwhile I may report that the Spanish minister here bought a considerable quantity of the king these last months, for emergencies in Flanders. Besides the transport he had to pay double, as the duty is 18 pence the pound of 16 ounces, equivalent to about 51 soldi of our money, more or less, acording to the exchange. The French ambassador very justly remonstrated with his Majesty on hearing of this, which concerns his master so much. He also tried to obtain the same advantage, but after obtaining it he considered the price exorbitant and gave up the whole business.

London, the 8th October, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15. Senato. Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

513. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Owing to the delay the original idea of Monsigot coming to this Court had died away, but he appeared unexpectedly last Sunday. It appears that the news of the queen's landing on these shores was false, and disseminated in order to discover

* William Berkeley. He embarked for the Netherlands on Thursday the $\frac{4}{14}$th October. *See* his despatch of the 10th October. *S.P. For. Holland,* Vol. 154.

1638. the king's sentiments. On the announcement he directed the Treasurer to provide 30,000*l.* sterling, with an assignment of 200 per day, for her entertainment, although it is equally distasteful to everyone on several accounts, with the exception of the queen. When Monsigot was assured by this demonstration that the queen would be well received, he sent the news with all speed to Holland. They expect her Majesty here very soon, and are making the necessary preparations to receive her in state and with due respect.

They have sent a person of quality to meet her, with the royal coaches, and to accompany her on the journey.* The aldermen of the city have received orders to render her every honour. The most prudent ministers and the supporters of the Palatine by no means approve of the ease with which the king has allowed his wife to coax him to undertake this most expensive entertainment. They foretell that this will not only deprive him of the means of assisting the just cause of his nephew, but that the people, seeing the money employed uselessly, will become more and more difficult over the contributions, and the pernicious consequences of compelling them to do so by force are recognised.

Since the despatch of the Vice Admiral to Scottish waters news has come of the arrival and negotiations in that kingdom of the Marquis of Hamilton. This revives the hope of calming that dangerous storm, or at least of bringing back the leading men to their original loyalty to the king ; and by this opposition they feel more confidence about abasing thoroughly the pride of the obstinate. They are awaiting with the utmost impatience the particulars of the terms agreed upon, which everyone believes most advantageous for the people there.

The coming of the secretary of the Ambassador Roe from Hamburg, which aroused so much curiosity, proves to have been more for private than for public affairs.

Such precisely was the case with Gerbier also. He feared that those who guide the counsels of the queen mother here would bring about his ruin by calumny, as they threatened him more than once, when he prevented their mistress from coming to this kingdom. He therefore justified himself vigorously to the king, who not only accepted this but sent him back to his post with the distinction of knighthood.†

The Agent of Savoy has his foot in the stirrup. His last audience is appointed for Sunday. He has remonstrated strongly of late with his Majesty because they have given the title of duchess to the princess of Mantua, while they make such difficulties about according that of Royal Highness to the Duchess of Savoy. They told him that when Cæsar and the other princes grant his mistress the same advantages as those obtained by

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* The earl of Northumberland. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, pages 44, 48. Lord Goring also, according to Salvetti on the same date. Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962H.

†He was knighted at Hampton Court on the $\frac{2}{12}$ October. Metcalfe : *Book of Knights*, page 194.

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Mantua, his Majesty will not show himself backward in gratifying his sister in law.

London, the 15th October, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

514. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Gunpowder is manufactured in great quantities in this kingdom and is of the best quality. No one may sell it, the king having the monopoly. For guns the cost is estimated at 7*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per barrel of 100 lbs. of 16 ozs. including the duty, equivalent to 35 ducats 10 grossi of Venetian money *di banco*, more or less, according to the exchange. For muskets and guns together the Spanish Agent paid 21*d.* the pound, which would be 8*s.* more than the other. One obtains permission to export from the king, and I think that will be easy. The carriage to Venice costs about 8½*l.* per barrel, but it will not be easy to send a large quantity, as few ships lade for Venice, and we shall not find merchants willing to send their ships with gunpowder alone, because of the risk from fire.

The Count of Ognati, for its transport to Dunkirk, had to buy barques managed by only two sailors, at the cost of the Catholic. The merchants here are accustomed to supply themselves at Leghorn at a cheaper rate. Amsterdam also affords equal advantages, a great quantity being manufactured at Liége. Transport will also be easier there, as many ships lade for Venice, among which it can be divided.

I have intimated to the merchants who trade at Venice, the advantages for taking tallow (*scevi*) but they tell me that experience has shown that they derive no profit. 112 lbs. of 16 ozs. of this tallow pay 1*l.* 17*s.* sterling in duty, equivalent to 8 ducats 12 grossi *di banco*, more or less, according to the exchange; when the ships go to lade in Ireland, where they find better terms, they take away a certain quantity with advantage. An English ship is momentarily expected in these waters from Muscovy, which is lading straight for Venice. We hear that it will take a good supply of it. This is all I can report in obedience to instructions.

London, the 15th October, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

515. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Palatine's army diminishes notably, not from discomfort but from lack of money, so its total dissolution is feared. Curtius, the Imperial minister at Hamburg, has assured the other ministers, and particularly the minister of England who supports the interests of the Palatine, that that Prince has set on foot negotiations at Brussels with the emperor. This is to render him more

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suspect to the king of Denmark, who is intervening as mediator on behalf of the common cause, and to shut him out from participation in the negotiations at the diet of Lubeck.

The Hague, the 15th October, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 16. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

516. To the Ambassador in London.

We have received your letters of the 17th ult. containing news of raids by ships of Tunis in Irish waters. These barbarians attack all nations and their suppression is a common interest. The Senate has therefore welcomed the offices performed by the English ambassador at the Porte upon the late action of the fleet. You will thank his Majesty and the minister in a special audience, which will serve to incite them to a continuance of these offices if necessary, but in such a way as not to betray on our part any hesitation or want, preserving the dignity of the republic in every respect.

Ayes, 97. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 16. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

517. That the Secretary of England be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him ·

We have given the most sure proofs of our sincere disposition towards the English nation, and we have also granted the favours you last asked, showing that we regard the English as much as our own subjects, and we feel sure that the king of Great Britain will respond fully. We therefore regret the incident of Thomas Simeas, who went to Zante with the pretended title of consul and exercised that charge without having been presented to our republic and without coming to us for the ordinary patents. But what we regret most is that this has led to much confusion in the island, since he has claimed that the purchase of currants shall be performed by one person only at a restricted price, very much lower than in the past, and this might destroy the trade. We have therefore thought fit to send the consul away, and we inform you in order that you may give his Majesty a proper account of the affair. For the rest we are ready to receive anyone sent with due forms and commissions, which will not prejudice our subjects or disturb trade.*

Ayes, 98. Noes, 1. Neutral, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 16. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

518. To the Ambassador in London.

An Englishman has gone to Zante in the character of consul, who did not present himself to our representatives or ask for our ducali, his object clearly being to procure advantages for the English in trade to the detriment of our subjects, as our Prove-

* The Italian text of this is preserved among the state papers together with Talbot's reply in Talbot's despatch of the 22nd Oct. *S.P. For. Venice*, though there is no record in the register of the Secretary's audience.

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ditore has discovered. This was planned by the Levant Company in articles and orders for the purchase of currants. You know all that has been done for the English nation, but the way in which this consul was sent does not correspond with the upright intentions of the republic. As we feel sure that his Majesty will not approve you will represent to him and the ministers in a special audience the unmerited offence committed against us, informing him that we have dismissed the consul from the island, but that we shall always be ready to welcome anyone who is sent with proper commissions who will not do harm to our subjects. We shall wait to hear what you have to report upon this.

Ayes, 98. Noes, 0. Neutral, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

519. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Roe reports from Hamburg that the negotiations for an alliance with the Swedes, fluctuate without advancing, as they are averse from binding themselves not to make terms with the House of Austria which do not include the restitution of the Palatinate unless England advances proposals more advantageous for them. The offer to have thirty well armed ships cruising in the Channel to cut off supplies to Flanders, is subject to the uncertainty of the winds, and the greed of the commanders, and is not an equivalent to the king's proposal. They ask for help in men or money contributions to maintain a corps d'armée, or a decision to break openly with the Austrians. In the present state of affairs here and the corresponding disposition of the ministers who have influence with the king, and the aversion for expense and trouble, the wisest do not think it likely that these proposals will be embraced.

At St. James's, the usual lodging for royalty in this city, they are hastening preparations for the sumptuous entertainment of the queen mother. Unfavourable weather has so far prevented her from landing on these shores. The Earl of Northumberland, appointed by the king to meet and attend on her Majesty, stays on at Dover with the first officials of the crown. The queen here has returned earlier to her apartments here in order to see with her own eyes that the quarters are properly arranged.

His Majesty has again intimated to Monsigot, Fabroni and Cogneux, the three councillors of his mother in law, in the most serious manner, that during their stay here they must abstain from meddling in seditious practices, and also show the utmost reserve in their behaviour and speech, which is often more free than prudent, as the slighest lapse will suffice to have them sent under guard to Calais to be handed over to the ministers of the Most Christian. It is recognised that these intimations are intended to render it easy to abbreviate their stay here, as once they have gone, it is supposed there will be less difficulty about the departure of their mistress, who so far has shown a

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determination not to be deprived of their assistance. Those who cry out most against the expense and other consequences of this entertainment, count upon these circumstances soon compelling that princess to fall in with her son's proposals by betaking herself to Florence, where she may look for the state that befits her greatness.

The Marquis of Hamilton has introduced some quiet into Scotland by the grant of a synod to meet in November to revise the liturgy of the kingdom whereby the bishops will doubtless be utterly abolished from that country, and that a parliament shall meet next March, from which they fear further reduction of the royal authority from the audacity of the people. Yet, as the people are armed, the king orders that the arms shall be deposited in frontier towns or sold to other states. They, on the other hand, are doubtful if they will obtain disarmed what is promised them on paper only, and the smouldering embers kindle to flame again, with even greater danger than at first.

The Duchess of Chevreuse sent a gentleman recently to the Duke of Lorraine. When he comes back she says she will decide finally whether she will go back to France or remain with the queen here, whose graciousness makes her stay so pleasant. The duchess continues to make known her interest in the Spanish party and her great intimacy with the Catholic and the Count Duke, from whom she receives most frequent letters, and announces commissions for taking action, to such an extent that the Spanish minister here goes to her for orders and advices.

The king will be in the city tomorrow, at last. When the Master of the Ceremonies, who is stopping at Dover, has returned, I shall be able to make my public entry without seeing his Majesty again.

London, the 22nd October, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

520. To the Ambassador in London.

We enclose a copy of the reply given by the secretary of England to an office read to him. It amounts to the assertion that orders have been given by his Majesty to the merchants not to lade the currants of Zante before the 20th of December next, because of the abundance of that fruit at present in England. However, he does not deny, by this statement, that Simens was not sent with the character of consul, but rather aims at covering his faults by threadbare appearances. All this will serve you for illumination to use in measured and prudent offices. We have received your despatches of the 24th ult.

Ayes, 98. Noes, 1. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

521. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

A good number of the officers here, both English and Scots, are asking permission to return to their native country, some to take sides with the king's forces and others in favour of the

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opposite faction, according to their natural inclination or through the more fervent stimulus of passion. The prince resigns himself to this most unwillingly, as by such means he sees a considerable number of his tried military leaders disappearing.

The Hague, the 25th October, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

522. To the Ambassador in London.

Imprisonment of the Bailo by the Caimecan at the Sultan's order. The remonstrances made by the foreign ministers at the Porte have been without effect. To express the appreciation of the republic of the offices performed by the English ambassador on this occasion and to point out that the interests of all the powers are concerned, and the need to uphold the cause. The Senate will wait to hear the result of his representations in a matter of so much moment.

Ayes, 116. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

523. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

In the affair of the passports new difficulties keep arriving as fast as the old ones are smoothed away. The offices of the English ambassadors cause trouble. In their efforts for the Palatine they try either to upset the last treaty of Prague, so disadvantageous for him, or to keep the war going. At a special audience they have pressed the king, that in addition to the passports requested of the emperor for the Protestant princes of Germany, others shall be asked for the electors, including the Palatine by name. Schidmore himself assured me that his Majesty gave a favourable reply, and Buglione gave a more definite promise. The nuncio told me that when he remarked to Savigni that it would be too much to ask guarantees for the counts and cities of the empire in addition to the Protestant princes, he said that that was not enough but they would want them specifically for the Electors also. Yet none of the ministers here has said a word to me about it so far. Were it not that everything moves very slowly at this Court, this would lead me to believe that the promise to the English ambassadors was more to satisfy the king of Great Britain and not to prejudice the treaties that they wish to arrange with him, than from any intention to carry it into effect; but as they are incredibly lukewarm over even the most urgent affairs, I shall await the issue before forming judgment.

I may say however, that if they mean to act upon this there will be curious consequences for the peace. It will clearly offend the Duke of Bavaria deeply, who will not appreciate this change, seeing that the French ministers, to avoid offending him, refused the title of Elector to the Palatine when he was in England.

Poissy, the 26th October, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 26.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

524. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The sudden decision of the queen mother to proceed to England has cut short the negotiations of Chenut who went back to Holland a day or two ago. Apparently he takes word that if the queen will retire to Florence they will let her have her appointments, otherwise his Majesty will make no change. The English ambassadors had the same answer, so it is concluded that here they would be glad to see her in a neutral place where she will want for nothing.

One hears nothing about the Duke of la Vallette coming to Court, but rather of his going to England, or some other neutral place until the troubles which conspire against his person are resolved.*

The gentleman of the Prince Palatine, who saw the king recently, asked for help to support his troops.† They told him of their readiness to help. but that they will not stir a step before they see how solid the promises of the King of Great Britain may be, and their own assistance will be in accordance.

The two gentlemen who came from England with compliments on the birth of the dauphin, have taken leave of their Majesties.

Poissy, the 26th October, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

525. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Bailo at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The new English ambassador Cavalier Safilero has arrived with two great ships which have brought 17,000 *Londons in addition to a quantity of tin and other goods.‡ He has brought his wife with him and other merchants of his nation, who will set up a house. We have exchanged compliments thro' the secretaries. As regards present circumstances he has dilated upon the matter at length and has introduced the name of his king. He expects that orders will come from the camp and the present minister be dismissed. He has had a dispute with Bastangi Pasha as he would not favour some Jews, and introduce the enrolled members of his nation. One of his merchants, moreover, was beaten without cause, the ambassador himself having a narrow escape.*

The Vigne, of Pera, the 28th October, 1638.

[*Italian, deciphered.*]

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* He was accused of being responsible for the rout of the French army at Fuenterrabia on the 7th September.

† M. Romelian de Leuchtmaer. He had his first audience on the 22nd October and another on the 26th n.s. Scudamore to Coke the 12th and 19th Oct. o.s. *S.P. For. France*, Vol. 105.

‡ Sir Sackville Crow went out in the *Sampson*. This ship and her consort the *London* sailed from the Downs on Saturday the 7th August, n.s. *S.P. For. Archives*, Vols. 111, 149. *Levant Co.* Letter Book 20th March, 12th July; *Id.* Court Book 2nd August.

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Oct. 28.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

526. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

News has just reached the Princess Palatine, that the Prince, her son, has been compelled to raise the siege of Lemgoa. In retreating to a narrow pass for safety, he lost the greater part of his infantry.* The calvary took to flight and its officers were taken prisoners. The fate of Prince Rupert his brother, who behaved gallantly, is uncertain. The Palatine himself has betaken himself to Minden with the scanty remains of his men. The circumstances are still uncertain, and fuller reports are expected shortly.

The Hague, the 28th October, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

527. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty returned to town on Saturday, but the royal officials are cooling their heels at Dover, waiting for the queen mother. The delay arouses some hope that the efforts of Barchelei may have proved successful, he being sent to her Majesty under the show of compliment, in order to stop her coming, the royal patrimony being unequal to bear up long under the weight of so expensive a circumstance, which has led his Majesty to suspend payment to all pensioners. This has caused a stir among those first affected, and a universal murmur, as the people always dislike change and they fear even worse prejudice.

The Ambassador Gioachimi has at present ceased his offices to induce the king to revoke entirely the letters of reprisal against the ships of his masters, which are only suspended. Those concerned in the burning of one ship and the plundering of another are referred to the Admiralty Court,† which means a maze of difficulties and delays, out of which it is not easy to find a way. Accordingly all hope of recompense dwindles away.

His Majesty has appointed a royal ship, to escort the Resident of Savoy here to France, though only after the most pressing offices, as this favour is usually conceded to ambassadors only. This minister continues to assert that he has it from the king's lips that he means to send Fildin to Venice a second time ;‡ but his abilities are so discredited that the Court will want some better evidence. I will keep on the look out and advise the Senate punctually.

Reports from Scotland are mingled with rumours of doubtful events, as the wound has not completely healed. The king

* He was defeated at Gohfeld on Sunday the $\frac{7}{17}$ October in retreating from Lemgo in Lippe.

† The case of Nicholas Polhill and George Henley about the *Jupiter* (*See* No. 488 at page 442 above) seems to have been referred to Sir Henry Martin on the 10th October ; that of Henley and Augustine Phillips about the *Golden Wolf* had been referred on the 19th August. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, pages 51, 57.

‡ In a letter to Coke of the 2nd Sept. Fielding expressed a wish to return to Venice. *S.P. For. Savoy.*

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tries to keep the measures taken over these affairs a severe secret. He has accordingly sent home a Scot, who had news daily from that kingdom and did not hesitate to publish it quite frankly.

The Marquis of Hamilton has orders to stay on until the promised meeting of the synod and parliament. This will consume time, and through that efficacious master for getting rid of popular seditions, the king may be able to serve his own interests. In the scarcity of material this is all that the zeal of the most devoted minister can report. I have to thank your Excellencies for the honour of your letters of the 18th and 30th ult. and the 8th October, which reached me yesterday.

London, the 29th October, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

528. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The ministers most employed give assurance that his Majesty has formed generous decisions, greater than the first, for the support of the Palatine forces, which suffer from lack of money. As the royal treasure is powerless to support at the same time both this and the entertainment of the queen mother, it must be postponed, as contrary to the hopes of those who do not wish to see her in this kingdom, she has been carried by the winds to Harwich, sixty miles away, in derision of the great preparations made at Dover. She landed there with her suite of six hundred persons, but none of any rank. enjoying the commodities supplied magnificently by the king, and took to her bed to recover from the discomforts of the sea. and had recourse to medicine. His Majesty, who proposes to meet her in great state, twenty five miles in the country, is waiting to hear of her moving. The queen, her daughter, on account of her pregnancy, will only go a few leagues.* She maintains with all her might, in order to diminish the universal murmuring at such expense, that her mother will only remain a few days at the expense of her husband, and that her appanages will promptly be supplied from France to pay for her stay and all her requirements.

Having lost the chance of the ordinary embassy in France Fildin is employing every means for a new term with your Excellencies. He has sent his secretary here with gifts for the king and other presents for the queen.† His mother, who occupies the principal post in her Majesty's chamber, warmly supports the instances of her son. Against these, in his Majesty's

* The queen mother landed on the $\frac{18}{28}$th October. The king did not start to meet her until Monday the 8th Nov. n.s., spending the night at Chelmsford. The following day he met the queen at Sir Henry Mildmay's house at Moulsham, where she had spent the night. The king took her that night to Gidea Hall from which place he conducted her to London on Wednesday the 10th, to the quarters prepared for her at St. James's palace. It was there she first met her daughter, who had not stirred from London. John Reeve to Fielding the 1st Nov. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Report, page 284. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, page 65.

† John Reeve. Fielding to Coke the $\frac{4}{14}$ October. *S.P. For. Savoy.*

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Council are what happened at Venice and the dissatisfaction with his operations in Savoy, so he only has the royal favour for him.

They decided in the Council to add some earthworks to strengthen Varvich castle, which is on the Scottish frontier. This rendered the people there very suspicious. The more there is done to satisfy them the more bold they grow in neglecting their duty as obedient subjects. Their lively remonstrances caused the king to change his mind, his sole preoccupation being to avoid disturbances, so he prefers to live less safely in this kingdom rather than supply materials for increasing trouble in that country.

It appears that the Duchess of Chevreuse intends to go to Brussels rather than go to the Most Christian. In the future she will provide for her household solely with the 1000 crowns a month with which the Catholic king provides her. The gentleman sent from here to the Duke of Lorraine took him an invitation to proceed thither also, in order to discuss the measures adopted at this Court to his advantage, while keeping alive those with the Spaniards, on the point which he is negotiating with the ministers of France. These intercepted the letters sent to Spain to the Count of Olivares, and to her deep chagrin they have come into the hands of Cardinal Richelieu, as she is conducting intrigues which do not square with the interests of that crown, not to speak of the suggestions for the marriage of the prince, which I reported. No further particulars have transpired so far.

A Frenchman of rank has arrived here lately, and it is reported that the Duke of La Valette has also taken flight and is now at Plymouth ;* but they know nothing about it at Court as yet.

Since the king's return to town everything was arranged for my entry and first audience, but the king has notified me through the Master of the Ceremonies of his desire that they shall be postponed until his mother in law arrives, so that the principal lords of the Court and the Master of the Ceremonies himself, who is with the said queen, being at leisure, the function may take place with due ceremony.†

London, the 5th November, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

529. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

News has arrived of a defeat inflicted by the Imperialists upon the army of the Prince Palatine,‡ and of the capture of Prince Roberto his brother and of Lord Craven, compensated by the

* *See* No. 524 at page 466 above, and note. Bellievre writing on the 4th Nov. says : "Tout le monde scait ici que M. le Duc de la Valette est arrivé dans un vaisseau ecossais à un port de Cornouaille nommé Lezard." P.R.O. *Paris Transcripts.*

† Salvetti writing on the 29th October comments on the surprise and resentment felt at Court because Giustinian had not made his public entry, though he had been in London four months. Salvetti attributes the delay in large measure to the illness of the ambassador's wife and to his failure to find a suitable house. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H.

‡ At Gohfeld on the 17th October.

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death of Pietro Gotz. They regret the event here, but hope that it will serve as a spur to the King of Great Britain to come out with a more resolute declaration in favour of the public cause.

Poissy, the 5th November, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

530. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

They have no certain news of the Duke of La Vallette, some think he has gone to England, others to Italy. There is nothing certain either about the arrival of the queen mother in England. They say little or nothing about her at Court.

They feel sorry for the misfortunes of the Palatines, but have no idea of relieving them unless they first see an open and solid declaration in their favour from the King of Great Britain.

Paris, the 9th November, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

531. To the Ambassador in London.

With regard to the gunpowder upon reflection and if it is not possible to obtain more favourable terms, we do not think it will be to our advantage to purchase any, under the circumstances. However you will not lose touch with the matter out of consideration for what may happen later.

Vote of 300 ducats for couriers and the carriage of letters.

Ayes, 130. Noes, 0. Neutral, 4.

That the following be added to the letter for the Ambassador in London :

We have thought it necessary to inform his Majesty's secretary here of the arrest of the Bailo. This office will serve by a cordial friendliness to stimulate his Majesty's sincere propensity to support this matter on his side, with vigour, by means of his ambassador at the Porte.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

532. That the Secretary of England be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

As a concession to the pirates the arrest of our Bailo has been ordered at Constantinople. The Turkish ministers themselves recognise the outrage, but they have obeyed through fear. Everything goes to indicate vast designs on the part of the Turk against Christendom. All the powers and the king of Great Britain too are equally interested, as his ambassador at the Porte has shown by his action. We have directed our ambassador in London to thank his Majesty and we have desired to inform you as a further expression of our gratitude and of our confidence that his Majesty will not abandon so important a cause, which involves the safety of all Christendom.

Ayes, 14.

[*Italian.*]

1638.
Nov. 13.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

533. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Bailo at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

I keep the new English ambassador informed of what is taking place in the affair, in which his offers and his words could not be better. But he can do little or nothing until he has entered upon his charge.

The Vigne of Pera, the 13th November, 1638.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Nov. 19.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

534. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The queen mother entered this city on Wednesday* before a great crowd, being met by the king in the country. All the foreign ministers presented their respects on the following day. France said he did it of himself, as he had no orders from the Most Christian. He thus made himself safe with his king and satisfied their Majesties here, while opening a way for treating with her. From certain indications I feel sure that he has secret but cautious instructions for this. Her Majesty is visited every day with the utmost respect by the king and her daughter. The former frequently talks with her standing and uncovered, while the latter displays the most filial reverence, 5000*l.* sterling have been paid to her for her present needs, with an assignment of 3000*l.* a month for her daily familiar needs. The leaders of the merchants brought her a gilded basin with 1000*l.* sterling, as a gift.

On the other hand the queen by maintaining the most rigid hauteur does not afford equal satisfaction. When the royal Council paid its respects she received it seated and responded in a few words. She did the same with the ladies and other great lords of the realm, being always very sparing with her courtesies. This has caused further murmurs, and increases the desire to see her out of this country.

His Majesty chose to tell the Palatine's agent with his own lips his disposition to assist his master with a fresh sum of money to support his troops. That minister presses for the fulfilment of the promises, which is not easy with the extraordinary expenditure. It is as yet uncertain what the amount will be, but they think 20,000*l.* of their money, unless the confused reports here about the defeat of those forces give them cause to change their minds.

Having completed a year in Savoy Fildin has at last succeeded about returning to your Excellencies in his original capacity of ambassador extraordinary. His mother, who alone secured this for him, hopes that his commissions will be sent to her son within two weeks. I will inform your Serenity when this happens.

A French ship from New France which arrived here with a rich cargo, has been arrested by virtue of letters of reprisal granted to merchants concerned three years ago. The ambassador is much incensed, as he claims that it is contrary to the articles of peace between this crown and France. He has remonstrated

* *i.e.* Wednesday the 10th November n.s. *See* note at page 468, No. 528 above.

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strongly to the king, protesting that if it is not released soon they will seize all English ships now in French waters.*

Negotiations are still proceeding for the return of Chevreuse to France. They not only agree to give her every satisfaction, but an abbey for her daughter also if her mother will sign a confession of her faults, which she has steadfastly denied in the past, and so far she seems reluctant to embrace the proposal. However, she does not let the negotiations drop, while she ceaselessly encourages the correspondence between this House and the Spanish one. The queen here is preparing to send very rich gifts to her sister there, all for the purpose of the suggested marriage between her daughter and the prince there. The wisest see clearly that this will not go beyond negotiation, and that the Spaniards will press their advantages under the favour of such vain hopes.

Scottish affairs are agitated by fresh disturbances. A preacher who tried surreptitiously to introduce the Arminian faith there has been furiously hunted away by the people. The Marquis of Hamilton angrily pointed out that punishment belonged to the king and no other. They, on the other hand, contend for the complete freedom of the liturgy permitted to them, and they went so far as to tell the marquis that they will make any one who tries to do anything against this determination pay for it with his life. These proud remarks cause great apprehension to the most experienced ministers here, as they fear that even worse troubles will mature in the synod and parliament which have been granted.

The Duke of la Vallette landed in Cornwall and has provided himself with quarters in this city. I made my public entry on Monday, being met by Viscount Dangarvan, one of the first noblemen of the realm and the son of an earl, his Majesty sending the royal barges and coaches, with a numerous company of the gentlemen of the Court. His Majesty has appointed my audience for Sunday, and selected the Earl of Huntingdon to accompany me. By an adroit suggestion, without committing myself, I have secured that the queen's coach shall be sent to me also for the ceremony ; a great distinction, as it it has not been at the audience of my predecessors. I will see that the rest is carried out with proper decorum. I must add that I have observed that they make no difference between the ambassadors extraordinary of your Serenity and those of other crowns. If in the future it proves impracticable to get past errors amended by sending an earl for the entry, the Senate can easily avoid the disadvantage by giving the next envoy the title of ambassador extraordinary, as the Most Christian and Catholic crowns often do at this Court, and the king here does the same ; and once they have practised sending earls to the Venetian ministers they may easily go on doing the same with the ordinary ambassadors also.

London, the 19th November, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

* Writing on the 23rd Dec., Bellievre reports the release by the king's order of a ship of the Company of New France recently seized at Falmouth. P.R.O. *Paris Transcripts.*

1638.
Nov. 26.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

535. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I saw the king on Sunday, being taken by the Earl of Huntingdon, accompanied by the royal coaches and other ministers. I expressed your satisfaction at his good health and the prosperity of his house, your esteem for him and desire for the continuance of uninterrupted relations. I said I hoped I should give him satisfaction. With a radiant face the king said he desired the most cordial relations, which my predecessors had always cultivated. He expressed himself very graciously about me. He graciously received my brother Geronimo, who accompanied me on this long journey.

I presented your Excellencies' letters to the queen and performed the offices commanded to which she responded with expressions of regard for the Senate. The royal children are in the country. I will pay my respects when they return ; while today I shall perform suitable offices with the queen mother.

The king's sister and Prince Palatine have confirmed by an express the disaster to their arms. This fresh proof of how fortune has abandoned that unhappy house in its legitimate plans has filled his Majesty with grief. He is thinking of how to recover the second brother, Rupert, a prisoner of the enemy, and of introducing negotiations at Brussels, which can be continued at the imperial Court. The Princess Palatine presses with greater urgency for fresh help, and asks the king to maintain a force of 4000 foot for her son. The king does not consent to this but promises the selfsame succour to the cause as the Most Christian will supply. The French ambassador, however, has pointed out that his master's interest is very different from that of this crown, with its ties of kin and its promises of the most vigorous succour. He intimated adroitly that if hope of this is entirely excluded, France will be more ready to enter the temple of peace, leaving out the interests of the Palatine house. These remarks have made no impression so far, his Majesty clinging the more steadfastly to his original declarations the more the growing uncertainty of affairs in Scotland calls for the utmost reserve. He is assembling a certain number of men in Yorkshire and elsewhere, to provide for emergencies, in order to reduce those audacious subjects by force in the end, if he cannot do so by negotiation.

La Vallette has petitioned the king for an asylum and protection through the Duchess of Chevreuse. The king heard him willingly, but after the matter had been more thoroughly examined in the Council, he changed his mind, and intimated to the duke by a courier, that he did not know the reasons which had led the duke, the governor of a province and a general, to leave France, and the laws of a good friend and neighbour did not permit him to receive him. If they adhere to this the duke will have to go elsewhere.

The Chevreuse finds herself sorely tried. Richelieu and her husband urge her to return to France. Not only does her own feeling persuade her against this, *but the queen regnant of France*

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has let her know with the utmost secrecy that the Cardinal's proposals or promises are all specious, and a trick to draw her into his net, as a further cause of annoyance to the queen herself. A gentleman is expected here and when he comes these negotiations will be cut short or she will decide upon the journey. The letters written to the Duke of Lorraine and intercepted told him of the proposals made here in the name of the Catholic, that if this crown obliged France to restore Lorraine, he would immediately have the entire Palatinate handed over, offers which have proved difficult to carry into effect when previously proposed.

London, the 26th November, 1638.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 27. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

536. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Only two letters of your Serenity of the 16th ult. reach me from France this week. I have expressed to his Majesty, as instructed, at a special audience, the pleasure of the Senate at the way the English minister at Constantinople has upheld the common cause in the matter of the Barbary corsairs, in which I said all Christian princes were equally interested, and his Majesty in particular, who showed such praiseworthy zeal for the suppression of this pest of all the nations.

The king said his ambassador had instructions to maintain a good understanding with the ministers of Christian princes, and support all their interests, notably those of your Excellencies, for whom he has the greatest affection. In addition to the general instructions he will add special ones to support the good cause to the ambassador newly sent to the Porte. He seemed desirous of knowing the precise state of the matter at present, as although this crown certainly has treaties of peace with the Turk, and ought not to break, yet they can rule their plans according to circumstances. As I did not know for certain, I got out of it by speaking of the deeds of arms of your Serenity, so spirited and profitable for all Christendom.

I went on to tell him of the outrageous behaviour of his consul at Zante, which had obliged your Excellencies to expel him from the island. I omitted nothing that was calculated to impress him with the necessity for this step. He approved of the action and said he had no knowledge of the matter as yet. He condemned the minister for failing in his duty by neglecting to apply to your Excellencies for his own despatches and to your representative. The Secretaries confirmed his remarks.

The king also repeated his satisfaction with the Secretary Zonca, who has his foot in the stirrup to return home, according to the leave granted to him. I repeat my request that some one to take his place may be sent as speedily as possible, if this has not yet been done.

London, the 26th November, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

1638.
Nov. 27. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

537. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The reinforcements of English troops who were to have joined the Palatine on reaching the Weser found no captains to whom to report themselves or from whom to receive instructions. They were ready to take service anywhere, but found no one willing to have them. This incident only serves to intensify the deplorable condition of the relics of that force.

The Hague, the 27th November, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

538. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Since the news of the arrival of the Duke of La Valletta in England nothing further has come. They think he will proceed to Holland, where his wife proposes to join him. They are not very pleased here at the courteous welcome received by the queen mother in England. They profess to have an absolute assurance that in spite of the sympathies she expresses in agreement with the Spaniards, she left Flanders on purpose to make trouble against this kingdom everywhere.

St. Germain, the 30th November, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Ceffalonia. Venetian Archives.

539. Giacomo Donado, Venetian Proveditore in Cephalonia, to the Doge and Senate.

The trade in currants is the principal foundation by which the revenues of your Serenity are maintained. Where the purchase of these is advantageous to the merchants it is correspondingly prejudicial to the people, and obviously harmful to the public interests. Last year the currants were disposed of at only 20 reals the thousand, a decline of 5 to 6 reals from the preceding year. What is a much more serious matter, a million and a half of the old crop remained unsold, since the merchants have not yet taken them away, according to custom, and it is doubtful whether they will not have to be thrown away, to the great loss of the revenue. This year the price will be much lower. According to current report the currants will not fetch more than 15 to 16 reals the thousand, and there is a fear that the price may drop still lower, since a large quantity will still remain unsold, according to the estimate made by the English merchants. The cause of all this is the multiplicity of plantations of currants in the island, which increase every year in numbers, rendering it more and more difficult to dispose of the crop.

Simons has not yet appeared here. I will keep an eye on his proceedings. The disadvantage of having only one purchaser is clearly shown by the drop in prices.

Cephalonia, the 20th November, 1638, old style.

[*Italian.*]

1638.
Dec. 3.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

540. To the Ambassador in England.

We are without letters from you this week. Owing to the imminent danger of trouble with the Turks it is necessary to consider beforehand what may be required. We shall expect to hear from you what are the facilities and what would be the cost if we could obtain a certain number of ships for the transport of food to our islands, and if it would be to the advantage of the state to consider the purchase of some of them.

Ayes, 108. Noes, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 8.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

541. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Your Excellencies' letters of the 23rd and 26th October arrived this week from France. In obedience to these I yesterday expressed to his Majesty the pleasure of the senate at the recent offices of his minister at the Porte. I told him that they show more and more resentment, though unjustified, at the capture of the Barbary foists. The Caimecan, by order of the Sultan had had your Serenity's Bailo confined in a house in Galata, and has shown a violence which is quite incompatible with justice and right and offends the law of nations. The Most Christian and all princes are bound to uphold this most just cause, not only from piety but because the outrage against ambassadors was contrary to the ordinary practice among princes. I laboured to show that not your Serenity but all princes were concerned and his Majesty in particular, owing to his zeal, piety, generosity, and the interests of his subjects, vexed as they are by frequent incursions, and constant plundering by this Barbary race; and if their pride is not abased, commerce at sea will be destroyed, trade held up and all Christendom despoiled, especially this nation, in the great advantages which it enjoys from the safety of the sea and freedom of trade. These considerations oblige his Majesty to urge strenuously his minister at Constantinople to demonstrate plainly how great is the interest of the crown in this cause, and the necessity and determination to uphold it with all his might. Such offices would prove of great benefit to Christendom and increase his Majesty's deserts with the world, adding to his glory, while they would be most gratifying to your Excellencies, who are always ready to show the esteem you feel for this crown.

The king heard me very attentively, frequently nodding in agreement with what I said. He said he was deeply concerned. He would never fail that cause which he recognised as common to all Christendom. The offices of his ambassador were the result of general commissions. He would like to have in writing anything particular that your Excellencies desired in the matter, so that he could give the necessary instructions to his minister. I said I should not have expected less from so great a king. I would represent his admirable intentions to your Excellencies, who would be very pleased. He repeated that he would make the cause his own, and urged me repeatedly to ask for things of more

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consequence, saying that if he did not do more the fault would be mine, for not making representations for something more and more precisely. With this I took leave, expressing my thanks.

London, the 8th December, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 10. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

542. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The affairs of Scotland cause ever greater apprehension. The ecclesiastical assembly having met, the people have not allowed it to be in the king's name, but in that of the notables of the kingdom, an affront to the royal authority and correspondingly distasteful to his Majesty, who is determined not to suffer such liberties any more and continues his preparations to subdue the audacity of his subjects. The Earl of Arundel is declared general of the forces. They have recalled Colonel Axelle from Holland and propose to give him a high post.* All the country people are being assembled and they have directed the gentry to take the field at the places appointed with the horses they have to find at the end of the present month. His Majesty has sent a considerable sum of money to the frontier with abundant provision of munitions of war and food. All these steps, by no means approved by the wisest, in present jealousies, keep exciting worse troubles for this crown.

The Catholics make great offers upon this occasion, while his Majesty, on the other hand, studies every means to win over the English people, indicating intention of parliaments and other advantages, and having recently abolished these last days twenty two monopolies, granted in past years, forming a burden on the people which caused proportionate grumbling.

The Chevreuse has redoubled her offices with the king and finally got him to change his mind about the Duke of La Vallette leaving the kingdom ; indeed, with permission to stay, the king made him enter his own coach, to the disgust of the French minister, who had already hastened to inform his master that the duke would not be received into this kingdom. The duke has been to this house and expressed his deep devotion to your Serenity.

The Hispanophiles are working with all their might to soften the king's ire against the Spanish minister here. He is charged with having written to Count Curtius at Hamburg, that as he is negotiating the settlement of the Palatinate affair here, with good hope, they should let the transactions there drop. Although they have shown him his own letters, he has constantly denied this, making his Majesty very irate. The king has not only suspended his audiences, but has intimated to Spain, Brussels and Vienna that it is of no use to treat with a person without faith, who falsely propagates what is not true, and he has assured

* Sir Jacob Astley. On the 3rd Dec. o.s. he and his son Bernard were granted the office of Captain of Plymouth castle and St. Nicholas Island. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1638-9, page 143.

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the French ambassador that he is not conducting any transactions with the Spaniards on the subject, telling him all about the affair. However the strongest partisans of the Catholic feel confident of appeasing this tempest, as the king is very impressionable (*facile il re a tutte le impressioni.*)

They are eagerly awaiting from France the reports of the Ambassador Leicester, as to the results of his offices with the Most Christian for the queen mother, as the continuance of that expense becomes more and more burdensome.

Colonel Douglas, a servant of your Excellencies, has arrived at this Court. He has called and asked me to express his readiness to proceed to Venice whenever required.

As I am closing this the Secretary Cuch sends me the enclosed letter, by his Majesty's order for his minister at the Porte.* They assure me that he has orders to render every assistance in the matter of the Barbary foists. They thought it best to send the letter this way so that it may arrive at Constantinople in the quickest time, as his Majesty's despatches are frequently delayed on the way and lost.

London, the 10th December, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

543. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince Palatine has urgently represented his recent misfortunes to the king and ministers imploring their help. They made the usual reply, that if the King of Great Britain will supply him with certain means for keeping the field armed, he shall receive help and encouragement from this quarter also, otherwise they will not move a step for him. They have directed Bellievre to say this freely in England, and to show how necessary a union between the crowns is on this account also. The negotiations about this remain in some sense alive at Hamburg. M. d'Avo writes that the English solicit him coldly. Reflection upon the disturbances in Scotland appears to give them reason to fear that the offended Spaniards may avail themselves of the opportunity to encourage the rebels, with manifest danger of snatching the control of the kingdom away from the English crown. This thought rouses the ambassadors here to second the idea of peace more than they used.

Paris, the 14th December, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 17. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

544. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Last week his Majesty sent credentials and instructions to the Ambassador Fildin for a new service with your Excellencies, leaving it to him to decide the moment of his return. The instructions differ in no wise from his earlier ones, except an addition about the present affairs at the Porte, on which I hear

* There is no such letter attached.

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the king frequently converses with the pope's agent here, in particular, who has won his Majesty's confidence in no slight measure.

The feeling against the Spanish minister still persists. The offices I mentioned have produced no effect as the king would not listen. The Ambassador Joachimi is very uneasy as he fears that secret negotiations for peace between France and the House of Austria are far advanced, with the exclusion of the Duke of Lorraine on the one side and of his masters and the Palatine on the other. He considered the approaching fall of Brissach a sufficient motive to accelerate the conclusion. Those not blinded by prejudice or interest recognise the great difficulties.

The Marquis of Hamilton has sent his brother to the Court from Scotland.* He reports the steadfastness of the people not to have the bishops, and the preachers continually exhort them not to change their opinion. All the bishops are summoned to the synod, which 8000 armed foot are assembled to protect, to defend themselves against certain very serious charges. Some of them, to escape present danger, have resigned their bishoprics and sided with the Scots and adopted their faith. They have sent this cavalier back to his brother, with fresh commissions, and directions to take every care to avoid clashing with the charge with which a furious multitude frequently falls upon those who impugn their plans. Meanwhile his Majesty has made the Earl of Essex commander of the cavalry, to the entire satisfaction of the Puritans, who think from this that the king is not averse from their party, the strongest in the kingdom. President Cogneus, first councillor of the queen mother, has frequent conferences with the ministers here, which leaves a suspicion of secret intrigues to the profit of the Spaniards.

Your Excellencies' letters of the 6th and 13th ult. reach me this week. As regards gunpowder the king has suspended fresh licences for its export, even for the Catholic, as the fear that their stock will be needed for the Scottish troubles, the only thing which falls under the troubled attention of this Court. In other respects there is an absence of news, and one's pen rusts.

London, the 17th December, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 17. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

545. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I think it opportune to add to what I have already consigned to the courier, what I have just heard on good authority, that the king has made the most urgent representations to the French minister here and written to France as well, so that the Most Christian may arrange the release of Prince Rupert against that of the Pole Casimir. I cannot yet say what hopes the ambassador held out ; I will try and find out and report next week. Fildin's capacity with your Excellencies will be merely that of ambassador,

* Apparently Sir James Hamilton is meant (*See Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1638-9, page 152) and not the Marquis's only brother William.

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as they studiously avoid the terms ordinary or extraordinary. This will serve for such decisions as your Serenity may esteem necessary.

London, the 17th December, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 20. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

546. The Secretary of Great Britain came into the Collegio and spoke as follows :

I fear that some further delay in the Ambassador Fildin's arrival in this city may postpone his offices with your Serenity to express my king's satisfaction at the success against the Barbary fleet through the valour of that of the republic. Although this is tempered by the excitement of the Turks and their show of ill will it is certain that this just cause will have the blessing of God, assisted by so many princes of Christendom who are interested, among whom my king will certainly not be the last to prove his good will to the republic and desire its greater prosperity. I therefore come to confirm this.

The doge said they had never doubted his Majesty's good will, to which the republic cordially responded. They were ready in case of need to follow this up, to the glory of God and the consolation of all Christendom. After his Serenity had enquired after the Ambassador Fildin, the secretary took leave.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

547. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Buglione told me in confidence that he had some indication that the English ambassadors are trying to get the Prince of Poland exchanged for the Palatine's brother. I will try and find out about it, with due circumspection.

Paris, the 21st December, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

548. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors urge, though in vain, that the queen mother shall have the assignments upon her revenues. His Majesty sees that she is well housed and is content for the King of Great Britain to have the entire charge of this hospitality, although he did not invite his guest.

Paris, the 21st December, 1638.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

549. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty, guided by his own interests, is trying his hardest for the return of the queen mother to France. Two days ago the French ambassador had a long conference with him in her presence, when she promised faithfully to lay aside all her passion, and that, if allowed to return, she would be entirely submissive

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to the Most Christian and to Cardinal Richelieu as well. But so far these efforts have proved fruitless. The French ambassador steadily affirms the readiness of his master to supply his mother with all that her rank demands in the states of Florence. With respect to the exchange of Prince Rupert for Prince Casimir, he has evaded it by showing that it is not his duty to submit such offices in France, while hinting that the imperialists are unlikely to consent to it.

The Ambassador Roe's letters from Hamburg confirm the continued reluctance of the Swedes to make a league with this crown, if it does not bind itself by definite payments to support a corps d'armee, and to make an open breach with the House of Austria. The king, on the other hand, persists in his original idea of not going beyond what is arranged with France, which increases the belief that those transactions will end in nothing. Those who favour the Spanish side announce the despatch of a Catholic ambassador extraordinary to this Court, with instructions to offer assistance to reduce the Scots; the marriage between their prince and the princess here, and measures to satisfy his Majesty with respect to his nephews Palatine. The Most Christian ambassador actively opposes these specious proposals, pointing out that they are suggestions rather than a readiness to act.

The Princess Palatine has written very passionate letters from Holland, sent express, complaining of the rigorous imprisonment of her son by the imperialists, and reiterating her prayers for help for her most just cause. But the hopes of an accord with the Scots have fallen through. The Marquis of Hamilton has been recalled thence, having been audaciously cited by the people there with other royal councillors, to defend himself before the parliament of Scotland for having attempted to infringe their privileges. So everything is moving to the ripening of most serious perils to this state, and the plans for rendering efficient help to others are barred. The Spanish minister here has denied the passage in what he wrote to Count Curtius at Hamburg. He declares that he had the rest from the king's own lips. The one who interpreted his Majesty's remarks asserts the same, yet since the king denies any idea of the kind, the minister is left in the utmost torment and anxiety. *It is a lesson for those who have to deal with his Majesty in the future to employ the pen rather than the tongue, in order to escape such heartbreaking incidents. (Afferma il rimanente dalla lingua del Re udito, e se bene tali le asseveranze di chi interpreto le voci di Sua Maesta, discordando nondimeno Ella da tali concetti, fra li crucii delle angustie maggiori lascia questo ministro, et amaestrando a quelli che in avvenire dovevano trallar con la Maesta Sua per fuggir tali durissimi incontri di adoperar piu la penna che la lingua.)*

Your Excellencies' letters of the 3rd inst. have just reached me. I will send next week the information you desire about hiring or buying ships.

London, the 24th December, 1638.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1638. Dec. 27. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

550. The Secretary of Great Britain came into the Collegio and said :

The government of Zante has pronounced sentence of banishment against Mr. Thomas Limona, English merchant, for certain charges brought against him, of which he desires to clear himself. I ask your Serenity to give him the benefit of being heard again, with which I doubt not he will prove his innocence. The doge said they would always take pleasure in gratifying his Majesty's ministers, and they would take information about this.

The secretary said he was waiting for a reply to his Majesty's letter patent for the consul general of the English nation, presented by him ; he then took leave and went out.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

551. The Secretary of Great Britain came into the Collegio and said :

Lord Fildin has orders from his Majesty to return to continue his embassy here. He has instructed me to come and inform your Serenity and assure you of his desire to show his devotion and act as a good minister, fostering cordial relations. The doge said they highly appreciated the sentiments of the ambassador, whom they esteemed and loved as he deserved. They would see him back with satisfaction, and they would always respond where they could. The secretary then presented the following memorial, after which he took leave and went out, saying to me, the secretary that the ambassador would be here in about forty days.

THE MEMORIAL.

Viscount Filding, ambassador of Great Britain petitions your Serenity to release from the galleys Giuseppe Giannoncello of Castro in the Bergamese who was condemned for being accidentally present when some shots were fired at Pea. He deserved consideration because he was condemned by the Rectors of Bergamo with many irregularities, owing to which the Avogador Foscarini thought it just to interfere with the sentence. If your Serenity does not think fit to pardon him entirely, I ask at least that his case may be sent as soon as possible to the Council of Forty, Civil Vecchio, as it is a long time since the sentence was entered.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 30. Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia. Risposte. Venetian Archives.

552. We have seen the patents granted by the King of Great Britain in 1635 to Andrea Pelegnini giving powers to act in Italy as Consul for his nation. Such universal patents are not generally used in this state, but the usual course is a special, individual patent, with the name of consul, to this city or some other in the dominion, when your Serenity generally admits him. We do not know where Pelegnini proposes to exercise his general patents or where he will establish his abode. We suspect that he will go at will to the place which best suits his ends and private

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interests. We refer such a delicate matter to the pleasure of the state.

Given on the 30th December, 1638.

FRANCESCO ZEN
ANTONIO CIURAN
ZUANNE BARBARIGO
ALVISE VALARESSO
} Savii.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31.

Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

553. To the Ambassador in London.

Commendation of his office with the king about the present troubles of the republic with the Turks. To thank his Majesty at a special audience for what we may expect from him and for the letter sent to his ambassador at the Porte, giving us assurance that minister will not be unlike his predecessor, who showed himself a true friend of the republic. To induce the government in this way to send fresh incitement to the ambassador so that he may do what is necessary in defence of the cause. To express also to his Majesty the satisfaction felt at the return of the Ambassador Fielding, which has been announced by his Majesty's secretary.

Ayes, 102. Noes, 0. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

1639.

1639.
Jan. 7.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

554. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty has sent an express to direct the Marquis of Hamilton to stay on with the Scots, as after further discussion in the Council they recognised that his departure, by entirely putting a stop to all treaty, might possibly hasten those disturbances which the wisest ministers study to avoid and they are trying, by the merc noise of military preparations to bring back that people to its original loyalty and to re-establish the royal authority in the kingdom.

The sole reason for sending the Ambassador Roe to Denmark was to settle about some ancient claims which that crown has against this one, by virtue of the last league to assist the Palatine House. He reports that he has had his first interviews with that monarch, after which he is to return to Hamburg, and there treat in the interests of the Palatine's languishing fortune with the princes of the party. That prince is supposed to have arrived there by now, to support the negotiations and encourage assistance by his presence, which the mere suggestions of his uncle have not yet succeeded in obtaining.

Last week the Baron of Tornone arrived here from the Duchess of Savoy, in the capacity of a simple gentleman, to impart the death of the little duke.* On Sunday he saw their Majesties, who have put on mourning with the Court, to show their sympathy with that house. The gentleman has no other business and will return very soon to his mistress.

One Lopez, a Portuguese and an old servant of France, has recently arrived in the Downs, with bills and cash to the amount of 1,500,000 francs. He has proceeded to Holland, by order of the Most Christian, to buy warships, being escorted by royal ships, obtained for him by the French ambassador.

Quarrels between the ministers of the queen mother are disturbing her household. The President Cogneus wants the entire direction of his mistress and tries every way to bring about the fall of Fabroni, who has the highest place in her favour. Her stay here appears likely to be prolonged, causing some little distress, but on the other hand, being better advised than at first, her Majesty has laid aside her original haughtiness which offended everybody, and wins the most influential councillors by her graciousness. For the rest, they continue to pay her 3000*l.* a month promptly.

The pregnancy of the queen here having reached its term, they have sent to France for the usual wet nurse.

London, the 7th January, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

* Francis Hyacinth, duke of Savoy, who died on the 4th October, 1638.

1639.
Jan. 7.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

555. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I have given the king full particulars about the serious events at the Porte over the affair of the Barbary foists, pointing out that it concerns all Christendom, and how necessary it is to try every means for terminating this dispute. I again expressed your appreciation of his minister's offices.

The king thanked your Serenity for the communication. He would direct his ambassador at Constantinople to persist in his support of the common cause, and he would give him every assistance in this, not only because of the public service, but for that of your Serenity particularly. Your Excellencies should ask for anything definite that you want, so that he may take suitable measures. I expressed my appreciation of his Majesty's intentions and said I would apply to him in case of need.

It will be easy to buy or hire ships in the ports here. For ships of 400 butts, armed for war, with sixty men and 24 pieces of ordnance the merchants here are accustomed to pay 500*l.* sterling a month ; and for those of the same size and manning and guns, intended to transport goods, they are accustomed to give 350*l.* sterling and less, according to circumstances, and the ability of the one who makes the bargain. I am assured that purchase would be on more advantageous terms, and that is the usual practice of those who want ships for several months. But for this one would require the assistance of someone whose honesty and experience would protect the purchaser against the disadvantages so frequently experienced by those who, in this country, deal in matters they do not know.

London, the 7th January, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

556. That the Secretary of the King of Great Britain be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

We have learned with the utmost satisfaction of his Majesty's decision that the Ambassador Fielding shall return soon to reside here. He will enjoy the most complete tokens of our regard for that crown. The patents for the Consul Pelegrini have been sent and will be put in operation.

Ayes, 147. Noes, 1. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8.
Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

557. That by authority of this Council the magistrates concerned be directed to admit and have carried out the patent of the king of Great Britain appointing Andrea Pelegrini consul in Italy, observing the customary forms.

Ayes, 147. Noes, 1. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

1639.
Jan. 8.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

558. Giovanni Grimani, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Resident here has informed some of the leading ministers, with the greatest secrecy, (as he enjoys the most confidential relations with them all, without exception, and is always supplying them with quite fresh and authentic news of the events of France) that the English ambassadors at Paris have written to his king that the Most Christian is aiming at universal monarchy, and that they ought to take heed before the mischief is irreparable. The Agent stated that the Cardinal had told them to expect the conquest of the Palatine's dominions soon, and these would be handed over to him if he would recognise the investiture of France; and that when Brisach was taken the Most Christian would not agree to peace with the House of Austria even if they gave up all the empire and all that the Spaniards held beyond the Rhine. He says that the Ambassador Fildin wrote to the same effect from Turin. All this gives him a strong impression that the disturbances in Scotland are encouraged by the Cardinal. His king was so moved that he at once sent an express to the governor of Brisach urging him to hold out and never to surrender the place to the French. The Resident says the Cardinal has heard of this expedition and the Most Christian also and both are deeply indignant against England, so he feels sure of a speedy rupture between the two crowns.

The news gives no little satisfaction here, but great are the devices of princes! I do not know if the ambassadors write this plainly to the Resident, as we know of the instances made at Paris to get passports for the Palatine, and if he recovered his dominions I do not think there would be any great difficulty about his receiving them from France.

Vienna, the 8th January, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8.
Venetian MSS. Public Record Office.

559. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador, who was previously resident at this Court for his king for four years, has freely expressed himself that whatever they may say and promise here it will all end in talk and nothing, if they do not make peace, as they have so much to do to defend themselves against so many enemies by sea and land that they are not capable of assisting others. I may add, in confirmation of this that they frequently embrace things with great eagerness and afterwards whittle them down to nothing.

Madrid, the 8th January, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

560. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

With respect to the passports I have had a long interview with the Cardinal, and tried to get him to approve of the formula which I presented to the king for the allies in Germany. He

1639.

replied that those for Hesse and Weimar could not be refused, and the body of them would be accepted when they took away the exclusion of the reconciled princes and abolished the decree about the Palatine. If his interests are not settled it is vain to think of any treaty of peace. The English ambassadors make a great outcry about this, and the king ought not, in effect, to send plenipotentiaries to Cologne or admit the Duke of Lorraine there if the Palatine also has not access.

I urged that it was waste of time to insist about those not yet reconciled. The decree against the Palatine had no connection with the passports and ought not to prevent them. They might employ offices to get it abolished with greater ease. The king of Great Britain, through his ambassador at Hamburg might find some satisfactory compromise with Cæsar's ministers, without this question rendering the affair more difficult. The Cardinal persisted that they could not send plenipotentiaries to Cologne unless all the Princess of Germany, whether reconciled or no, were free to appear and treat there. In the end, however, I got him to admit that the point was not so important as he insisted at first, and that it was a good thing to rouse the King of Great Britain in the interests of the Palatine, seeing the cause was especially his, and he ought at least to help in settling it. He added that everything would be useless if the Dutch did not have the passport from Spain.

Paris, the 11th January, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

561. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassadors announce that their negotiations at Hamburg are progressing, but the Cardinal showed me that he attached very little importance to this. Viscount Schidmer has obtained permission to return home and he is waiting for the king to return from Fontainebleau in order to take leave.

Paris, the 11th January, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

562. To the Ambassador in London.

In your letters of the 8th December we hear of instructions to the Ambassador Fildin to return here. If we do not hear definitely whether he is to be ordinary or extraordinary we shall treat him as ordinary. This is for information. There is nothing fresh from Constantinople. The Bailo is still detained but there are signs that the Turks may listen to some accommodation, although they cannot be trusted since everything depends on the caprice of the sovereign.

Ayes, 144. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

1639.
Jan. 15.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

563. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I have told the most influential ministers as well about the Turkish claims in the matter of the Barbary foists, to which your Excellencies cannot consent. I showed the need of trying every means to put an end to this dispute. They all assured me of his Majesty's readiness to afford every assistance and that he had directed his ambassador to make the strongest representations at the Porte; and that if an open rupture ensues, with the consequent interruption or insecurity of the trade of the Christians in the Levant marts the king will allow the merchant company to attack the Sultan's dominions in the Archipelago with a well armed squadron. The merchants have petitioned the king more than once for the licence, and they told me that this would prove a most useful diversion, and make it very difficult for Turkish vessels to enter or leave their ports.

The leaders of the merchants have confirmed this to me, and their wish to try the effects with twenty five or thirty good ships, if they can obtain the letters of marque from the king. Once they had got these they would in the course of a few months cautiously withdraw from the Turkish dominions the capital of the English nation there.

The merchantmen *San Bonaventura* and *Margarita Costanza* sailed from here last week, both excellent vessels of 400 tons. The first is to go straight to Venice, the second to Leghorn and Ragusa, carefully avoiding Venetian waters. I send word so that your Excellencies may be able to take the necessary steps, in your need for ships to transport munitions.

The Prince Palatine has recently made strong representations to his Majesty of his needs, imploring fresh liberality for his relief. The reply consisted of a general declaration of goodwill, and that he should experience the effects at the next campaign.

Meanwhile all the ministers express the utmost satisfaction at the fall of Breisach,* in the assurance that the worse the Austrians fare the better it will be for the Palatine. That prince informs the king that he has conferred with the King of Denmark and obtained the most absolute promise that he will devote his utmost energies so that the interests of the Palatine House shall be comprised at the conclusion of a general treaty of peace.

The news that Prince Rupert is to remain in the custody of the Imperialists and not of the Duke of Bavaria, as they feared, has reassured his Majesty, who adroitly tried to secure this advantage from Cæsar.

Under the pretext of recruits for the Irish regiments at present fighting among the forces of the Most Christian, his Majesty has granted permission to the ambassador here for fresh levies of that nation, and with this example he has allowed the English colonels who serve the Catholic in Flanders, to fill up their companies.

* The fortress capitulated to Bernard of Saxe Weimar on the 17th December, after a siege lasting over 10 weeks.

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This affords an additional proof that his Majesty will not depart from the most perfect neutrality.*

The continued declarations in favour of the Scots of the mother of the Marquis of Hamilton, who has considerable influence in that country, arouses misgivings, in those who know best, about the loyalty of the Marquis himself, as being heir to that crown in default of the present line. No news has come from him this week and the Court is waiting for some with the utmost impatience.

Your Excellencies' letters of the 11th and 18th ult. have reached me this week.

London, the 15th January, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

564. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty has informed me through the Earl of Arundel and the Secretary Chuch of the strong remonstrance made by the Most Christian to the Earl of Leicester and by the Ambassador Believre to his Majesty upon the reports that while England is doing nothing for the Palatine at Hamburg, she is treating separately with the Spaniards at Brussels on behalf of that House.† The Secretary said this was utterly divergent from the truth, and entirely due to false reports spread by the Spanish minister here. On this account his Majesty had rightly refused him audience, and had intimated to his master a desire for his recall, because of his behaviour, They had made this right with the Most Christian, and desired that I would inform the Venetian minister at Paris of the baselessness of these reports, and to obtain information from him with regard to the grant of passports for the Protestant princes of Germany, as his Majesty would like to learn the particulars from me. He felt sure, moreover, that the Venetian ministers would not fail to work for the Palatine, whose cause the crowns of France and Sweden had now declared must be included in the general treaty of peace. By a general reply I avoided committing myself, speaking of your esteem for his Majesty and your desire for the prosperity of all the Palatine House.

Meanwhile, since Believre's office, they have sent a courier to Spain, with letters to the king and instructions to the Ambassador Hopton to repeat with vigour, not only the complaints against the Spanish minister here, but to point out in addition that as the Austrians have not so far agreed to any arrangements for the

* Bellievre made arrangements with Messrs. Erskine Gray and du Wall to raise levies in Scotland and Ireland respectively, to be sent across by the 15th April. On the 21st he reports that a week ago the king had given him permission to levy 1800 Irish. Bellievre to de Noyers the 6th, 13th and 21st. January. P.R.O. *Paris Transcripts.* On the 22nd March Sir William Tresham had a permit to transport 1000 men into Flanders to fill up the English regiments there. *S.P. For. Flanders.* Salvetti writes on the 21st Jan. that the captains serving the Spaniards in Flanders have obtained leave to make a levy of 1000 men to recruit two regiments, by virtue of the terms of peace between the two crowns. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H.

† *See Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, pages 179, 189.

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Palatine House, his Majesty is forced to consider more energetic means for relieving the fortunes of his nephew. But it is well known that these protests will not be backed by action, since this crown is rooted to its old principle of avoiding committments of any kind.

With the arrival of the Marquis of Hamilton at Court two days ago, the suspicions of him, I reported, have died away. The account he brings amounts to this, that if his Majesty is disposed to approve the things so far decided by the ecclesiastical assembly, and those which will be arranged in the parliament, the seeds of discontent will be buried; but if not he declares that every effort at an accommodation will prove fruitless. It is thought that his Majesty will find it prudent to accept by the laws of necessity, and upon these terms, although equally derogatory to his dignity and royal authority.

Having performed his task the gentleman of the Duchess of Savoy has gone to the coast. He received rich presents, from their Majesties as well as a jewel worth 2000 crowns from the queen mother which excited remark. The king also granted him a royal ship to take him across the sea, a favour usually reserved for ambassadors, and a further tribute of their regard here for that house.

After a bloody fight off Dover the Dunkirkers, with letters of reprisals, have carried off to their port an English ship back from the East Indies, with a very rich cargo. The Spaniards accuse the captain of having done much mischief to the subjects of the Catholic beyond the line. Everyone here is scandalised at such a thing, and they have written sharply to Brussels for restitution. That is unlikely and so the bitter feeling will grow.*

Colonel Douglas has been to tell me of the offers of employment made to him by the French ambassador here and by the agent of the Duke of Weimar. He avers he will not accept anything before he knows the pleasure of your Excellencies. He asked me to express his wish to know if you intended to avail yourselves of his services, so that he may know what to do. He added that if the Senate should require levies of this nation he would gladly undertake it, and would also find a merchant who would undertake the transport on favourable terms.

London, the 21st January, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

565. To the Ambassador in London.

The talk of a French diversion in Scotland is very important. You will keep a close watch on this and advise us of any progress made. The English ambassador to Venice has reached Milan

* The *Providence* of London belonging to a company of the same name, was attacked on the 4th January o.s. two leagues from Dungeness by Capt. Springelfelt of Dunkirk. Three men were killed and five wounded in the fight, and the ship was carried off to Dunkirk with its cargo valued at 400,000 florins. Gerbier's memorial of the 5th February. *S.P. For. Flanders.* Coke's instructions are dated the 9th January o.s. *Ibid.*

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and is travelling incognito through Parma and Modena.* He left the duchess in Turin not completely recovered.

Ayes, 146. Noes, 3. Neutral, 14.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

566. To the Ambassador in London.

Commendation of his offices about the Turks. To express the gratitude of the republic to the king at a special audience. The Turks now seem more inclined to negotiate. Approve of the steps he has taken about the hiring of ships, but the cost seems very high and more advantageous offers come from other quarters. Accordingly all he has to do is to keep the shipmasters in treaty without committing himself.

The like to the Hague, *mutatis mutandis*.

Ayes, 142. Noes, 0. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

567. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I have this week received your Excellencies' letters of the 23rd and 31st ult. and, as instructed, I have expressed to his Majesty your appreciation of his action for the common cause, I gave him the latest advices from Constantinople, referred to the pleasure given by the offices of his minister at the Porte, and adroitly intimated the advisability of the strongest injunction upon the new ambassador to support the claims of Christendom, indicating the great interest which this crown has in this affair, with all Christian princes. I went on to tell him of the gratification with which you were preparing to see the Ambassador Fildin. The king thanked your Serenity for the confidence. He would repeat the orders to the new ambassador at Constantinople about supporting the Senate. I enclose a copy of the new instructions in fulfilment of this. I have succeeded in having the ambassador directed to declare to the Porte that this crown, in conjunction with all the Christian powers, is determined to defend this most just and common cause. Beyond this and the permission to the merchant company here, in case of a rupture of intercourse, to scour the waters of the Archipelago with a squadron of armed ships, Christendom can expect but little from England, with the existing troubles of this kingdom, although the ministers declare that if it comes to an open rupture, the king will show his generous spirit by his notable deeds.

London, the 28th January, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure.

568. From a letter of Sïr John Coke, Secretary of State, to Sir [Sackville] Crow, his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.†

* Fielding left Turin on the 13th January and reached Milan on the 16th. Fielding to Coke from Milan, the 19th January. *S.P. For. Venice.*

† The draft letter to this effect among the state papers is dated the 6th December 1638 o.s. *S.P. For. Turkey.*

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To perform the best offices for the ministers of Christian princes and those who profess Christianity. With respect to the Venetians, in particular now menaced with a war if they do not give satisfaction to the Turk, he will contribute his best offices with the Caimecam to facilitate an accommodation, representing the great prejudice done if they continue to discourage trade and encourage the pirates of Algiers. Against these the king has made several complaints, without effect, indeed the pirates have the Sultan's support. They continue their depredations and will ultimately force a union of all the Christian powers for the defence of trade ; whereas if this interruption ceases, the Turks will derive great profit. This is a repetition of former instructions. With respect to the Bailo he will speak to the Caimecam and point out how the arrest of a public minister destroys all the confidence required between princes, such as the law of Nature and of Nations has established and preserved between all men of what ever religion or condition.

Whitehall, the 18th January, 1638.

[*French.*]

Jan. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

569. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Since the arrival of the Marquis of Hamilton the Scots have sent a gentleman here with letters to the king, full of the most humble expressions and declarations of their unchangeable loyalty.* They beg him to approve of all that the synod has done, representing strongly that their action has been solely directed for the service of God, of the crown and the preservation of their ancient privileges.

His Majesty decided to hear the opinion of the great Council of Scotland and of England also, in separate meetings, upon such apparently specious proposals. Although there have been frequent meetings this week, yet they have decided nothing as yet. The councillors disagree among themselves. Some propose the utmost severity against the Scots. Others, who are wiser, recommend milder measures. The king inclines more to this, but he does not neglect active military preparation. He is having the country people mustered every day, and he recently sent a captain with some soldiers and arms to the frontier.†

The queen mother has tried hard to make it appear that the manifesto issued on her departure from Flanders, was without her consent. She has laboured at a new one, but when she asked permission to publish it, the ministers found it full of slanders against the French government, and refused, as the king wishes to avoid anything likely to inflame the son more against his

* Mr. Winram. Burnet : *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, page 145. Salvetti, writing on the same date, mentions two, and says they arrived on Monday [the 24th]. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H.

† Sir Francis Willoughby was sent to Carlisle with 500 men out of Ireland *Strafford Letters*, Vol. II., page 255. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, page 12.

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mother.* Everyone is sorry for her, but they want to see her out of this country, in order to escape the very heavy expense.

A gentleman has reached the Duchess of Chevreuse from France with orders to arrange her return to that country.† She has no wish to go, because she does not want to admit her faults, and intimates that the guarantees offered do not suffice. She has accordingly sent some one else to her husband, to try to prolong her absence in the effort to obtain better conditions.

The Ambassador Believre has orders to return to France, and then come back here. The real reasons for this journey have not transpired. It increases the suspicion of the ministers that France contemplates encouraging the sedition of the Scots, and that Cardinal Richelieu wants a very detailed account of affairs here from the ambassador. It is publicly stated, from the palace, that the chief object of the gentleman who came to the Chevreuse was to spy about these Scottish affairs.

London, the 28th January, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Senato Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

570. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I have conferred with the English ambassador extraordinary about the Imperial decree excluding the Palatine from the peace congress. He remarked that his king had been much moved at the news and was determined to make every effort to have the decree abolished not at Brussels separately, but at Cologne and Lubeck, with all the others. He wanted me to get a promise that the Palatine might go there as the ally of France. I spoke to the Cardinal about it, to oblige him. I got from him that by virtue of old alliances he thought the Palatine might have the title of ally of the Most Christian, and the king always admitted it, but as there was no new alliance with him, stress could not be laid upon it without deceit and committing a mortal sin. Accordingly the Palatine thought he would fare better at a special congress at Brussels ; he might go there with a light heart. The Cardinal said the king would like to see this done. I urged that the common interests did not admit of such a division. He did not deny it, but I gathered that he was rather set upon treating about Lorraine apart from the Palatine, although he assured me he had not changed his views ; a point which renders the abolition of the decree doubly important and further indicates that it is safer to obtain some security for the Palatine separately, so that he may not be absolutely shut out from the congress either through their not supporting him here or by the emperor objecting to him as the ally of France.

* A manifesto issued in the name of the queen mother was published at the Hague on the 19th November, under the title "Manifeste de la reine mère contenant le sujet de son depart de Flandres," printed by J. Burchoorn. Henrard : *Marie de Medicis dans les Pays Bas*, page 617.

† The abbé du Dorat, who brought letters from the duke of Chevreuse. He was accompanied by Boispillé. Salvetti, on 28 Jan. and 4 Feb. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H. Batiffol ; *La Duchesse de Chevreuse*, pages 181, 182.

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Without arousing or fomenting jealousy I spoke about it to the English ambassador here, when I told him the Cardinal's answer. He is indeed greatly confused (*adombrato*), in fact he feels certain that the conference of Brussels was arranged in concert with the King of Great Britain, and that is the reason why they made the remonstrances through Bellievre of which your Excellencies know.

Paris, the 1st February, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Filza. Venetian Archives.

571. The Secretary of Great Britain came into the Collegio and said :

The Ambassador Fildin arrived in this city last Saturday.* Although he is not ready to appear and receive the usual welcome he thinks it his duty to inform your Serenity and to express his satisfaction at taking up this charge again. After the doge had expressed his gratification the secretary departed.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3. Senato Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

572. To the Ambassador in London.

With reference to the instances of the English merchants to undertake some enterprise in the states of the Archipelago you must keep a sharp look out upon their proceedings, without committing yourself in any way, merely advising us as to how much their merchandise would amount to and what is said about the matter, in order to afford us most essential information in the present state of affairs.

Ayes, 142. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

573. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

During these last days the ministers have been meeting constantly about the very serious affairs of Scotland, which become worse daily. They have not only decided to surround the castle of Berwick with new fortifications but his Majesty has resolved to go to York next month, with the purpose of assembling there the troops which he has ordered with great diligence from every quarter, in the hope of getting together a force of 40,000 combatants before long. The kingdom of Ireland, whither they have sent a great quantity of arms, offers 10,000 foot paid, and the state of York promises a like number. His Majesty asks the aldermen of this city for troops, and on each of the artists (*artisti*) of London, who are very numerous, he has laid the obligation of finding a soldier.†

* *i.e.* the 29th January n.s. His household arrived on the 25th. Talbot to Coke, the 28th Jan. 1639. *S.P. For. Venice.*

† The meaning is obscure but it seems to point to the freemen of the city of London. On the 18th Feb. a warrant was issued for a levy of 3000 men from the trained bands for service against the Scots. *Index to the Remembrancia of the City of London*, page 538.

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The Scots on their side show themselves equally tenacious in their claims and vigilant in their preparations for resistance. They have divided the country into four parts, each being obliged to supply 50,000 foot, paid for three months, for the defence of the common liberty. They have also decided unanimously to set aside every year, until the end of the present differences, one fifth of their incomes to be spent on the requirements of the war.

They have provided themselves with a sufficiency of munitions and arms from Holland and Hamburg, and have fetched many guns from Sweden through Colonel Lesle. In sight of Carlisle, a frontier town, they have established a body of 6000 infantry and they have distributed even more numerous forces over against Ireland.

The queen mother has revised her manifesto, not only erasing everything offensive to France, but only recording things calculated to mollify her son. So the king has permitted publication, since when the queen has sent a copy to Flanders by a gentleman, express. I enclose a translation.*

The queen gave birth to a princess on Sunday, but after only one hour of the miseries of this world, God called her back to Heaven, to the deep grief of her mother, who is now quite well, after some painful experiences.†

The Most Christian has withdrawn his instructions to the French ambassador to return. The Abbot Dorad, has come to arrange the return of the Chevreuse to France, having brought the instructions which he will have received orally from his master, the particulars of which have not transpired.

By the unexpected change of various posts at Court many of the old servants of the crown find themselves dismissed from the king's service. He has chosen on this occasion to express markedly his satisfaction with the operations of the Marquis of Hamilton in Scotland, having given his brother one of the best posts.

London, the 5th February, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

574. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Near Cadiz an English ship has been burned, which was taking to Dunkirk thirty cases of ryals belonging to the Assentistas

* The enclosure is wanting. The full title of the manifesto is "Declaration de la reyne mére du roy tres chrestien, contenant les raisons de sa sortie des Pays Bas, et le desaveu d'un manifeste qui court soubs son nom sur le mesme subject. A Londres MDCXXXIX." Henrard: *Marie de Medicis dans les Pays Bas.* Monsigot took the copy to the Cardinal Infant, Salvetti, the 4th Feb. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H.

† The child born on Sunday 30th January, lived long enough to be christened Katharine "this child is said to have gone nearer to the queen than ever any yet did, but she is indifferently well." Smith to Pennington, 24 Jan. o.s. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1638-9, page 362.

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here. The damage is serious as all the money is considered to be lost.*

Madrid, the 5th February, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

Feb. 8. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

575. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador in ordinary, having taken leave, of their Majesties, will go soon. They write from England that Bellievre is coming here, but I find nothing to bear this out, or what has aroused the suspicions of the King of Great Britain that they are arranging to supply help to the Scots.

They are waiting to hear from the gentleman sent to the Duchess of Chevreuse what her intentions may be. They would be glad if she returned here, in order to diminish the clique of French malcontents in that country, which is becoming far too numerous.

Paris, the 8th February, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

576. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

They are actively pushing on their plans to re-establish the royal authority in Scotland by arms. All the gentry have orders to follow the king to York next month, with three horses each. They propose to recall from Holland through the minister here, all the English troops serving there. His Majesty has appointed the Earl of Essex, previously made general of the cavalry, lieutenant general of the army. The Earl of Holland will command the cavalry, and Colonel Axele, an officer of credit and experience, will act as general master of the field.† The king has sent to the Viceroy of Ireland to hasten to put the places over against Scotland in a position of defence to prevent the Scots from crossing to attack that kingdom. The commanders consider some fresh fortification necessary for Carlisle, but as the enemy is close and overwhelming, they do not dare to attempt anything there, for fear of causing trouble at a time when they are unable to offer a stout resistance.

Besides these decisions arranged in the meetings of past days, the ministers have jointly urged upon the king, with free and weighty arguments, that amid all these difficulties he ought not to delay any longer to summon a parliament in England, to defend the necessity for the steps taken, to his subjects, and to obtain from them the necessary contributions, by a more gracious

*The *Charity* of London, a ship of 300 tons, freighted by Flemings and having in her about 30 chests of the Assentistas' money, going over the bar of St. Lucar was blown up by her powder and sunk presently with all her lading. Hopton to Coke, the 1 Feb. 1639 n.s. *S.P. For. Spain.* *Assentista* is Spanish for contractor.

† The appointment of Sir Jacob Astley as sergeant major general of the field was notified on the $\frac{11}{21}$ January. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, page 307.

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act of authority. But his Majesty resents such proposals. He expressed sharply his displeasure at such advice, and showed that by pledging the royal revenues for two years, he would obtain enough money to support the army for six months, without laying fresh charges on the people, and if it was required for a longer time, he would then take such counsel as time would supply (*Sua Maesta nondimeno aliena da tali propositioni, ha con seriose voci dichiarato poco agradimento a questo consiglio, et dimostrato che impegnando per doi anni le rendite reali, senza aggravare nuovamente i popoli, raccogliera denaro sufficiente per mantener sei mesi l'armate, et che dilongandosi d'avantaggio i bisogni, prendera poi quei consigli che dal tempo gli saranno somministrati.*)

To the repeated representations of the French ambassador that the Most Christian will gladly supply his mother with every commodity at Florence, the queen responds that her love for her son does not permit her to go so far from him, while at her age she has not the courage to undertake the journey. So if France remains obdurate England will enjoy for a long while the advantage of this costly hospitality.

The Spanish minister continues retired, and is unable to see the king. They are waiting with curiosity to hear how the Catholic received his defence.

The physicians fear that the queen may fall into a decline, as she has been reduced to a very weak condition by her confinement. They recommend, as the only remedy, that she shall go to France for the better air. At the palace they say freely that if her state of health continues such, the king may easily agree to his wife crossing the sea for some months.

London, the 11th February, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

577. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I saw the king on Tuesday about condolences on the loss of the princess. He received them very graciously, and then expressed the wish to know if your differences with the Porte were taking a turn for the better, as he had heard. I thought fit to tell him that though the last letters from Constantinople gave hopes of some opening for negotiation, yet your Excellencies felt doubtful about the objects of the Turks, whether they were sincere or merely cloaking other designs. I pointed out how necessary it was for the Senate to keep on the alert, and how necessary that Christian princes should support the public cause. The king answered that the inclination of the Turks towards an adjustment doubtless depended on their present difficulties with the Persians. All the same, he would be ready, if required, to join with the other princes of Christendom in defence of the common interest. I expressed appreciation and assured him that this would greatly encourage the Senate.

London, the 11th February, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

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Venetian MSS. Public Record Office.

578. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Count Duke has written to the Marquis of Leganes, among other things, that he is sure of England. They are treating for a closer union which he hopes will be brought about by means of Cottington, seeing that parliament is on their side here. Even if this is not effected they will, at all events, bring the daughter of the king here to be educated.

Madrid, the 12th February, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 11.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

579. To the Ambassador in London.

Commendation of his office with the king about the trouble with the Turks. He is to thank the king at a special audience for his offers and for the letter written to the ambassador. Progress of the siege of Babylon. Acknowledge receipt of his letters of the 28th January.

Ayes, 95. Noes, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 18.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

580. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty has made the strongest representations to the French minister here to induce the Most Christian to send the troops commanded by Weimar into the first campaign against the states of the Duke of Bavaria, and he has directed the Earl of Leicester to urge the matter strongly. But this does not happen to agree with the interests and present inclination of France, and the ambassador cut things short by answering, that if this crown encourages the enterprise with vigorous assistance his master will not fail to support England for the benefit of the Palatine House. The king has bound himself upon that question, by fresh declarations, not to lend an ear to any sort of negotiation with the Spaniards so long as those at Hamburg continue.

A courier from Spain brings instructions to the minister here to offer the Catholic forces to his Majesty to reduce the Scots, and to invite him to the defence of the public cause if the differences between your Excellencies and the Turks go further. In spite of his efforts to obtain audience through Madame de Chevreuse and the Secretaries, it was all in vain.

On the other hand the ministers have been filled with the greatest misgivings by the sudden departure from Flanders for Spain of the banished Earl of Tyrone, who was previously involved in intrigues for rebellion in Ireland. They suspect that the Spaniards are planning to make fresh trouble for this crown in Ireland, amid the present disturbances in Scotland.*

* The misgivings proved unfounded. Writing on the 29th May Hopton reported "My opinion is that their intentions are very fair to His Majesty . . . . and that they will serve him very honourably . . . . and not give way to any disorder in Ireland, which hath been endeavoured; and truly I am of opinion that may be one cause that they keep here Tirone, who in reason ought to have been with his regiment; and here they entertain him with a golden key, without exercise and with a place of Major domo." *S.P. For. Spain.*

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They are busy preparing for the journey to York, and a public proclamation strictly enjoins all natives of that state to withdraw to their houses, to serve armed in these emergencies.*

The Dutch and French ambassadors are preparing to follow the Court. I shall not stir, unless expressly commanded by your Excellencies. I hope you will not consider the presence of your minister necessary in that troubled country.

At the report of these movements the Scots, by fresh letters to the king, express their desire to enter upon some conference for an agreement, and ask for a safe conduct for a gentleman whom they have decided to send here for this purpose: but the councillors are divided upon whether they should grant this promptly and hear him, and so far they have not made up their minds. Those who are able to deceive themselves into believing what they desire begin to feel hopeful of a composition.

The French ambassador here refers slightingly to the queen mother's manifesto. He says its only object is to justify her with the Spaniards and to obtain from the Cardinal Infant permission for the passage of the embroidery which she left at Maastricht. He says it will not help her to draw nearer her son.

The secretary of the Ambassador Fildin set out post last week for Venice. His mother, through her influence at the palace, has got an alteration made in the credentials already despatched to him, naming him positively ambassador extraordinary.†

London, the 18th February, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 21. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

581. The Secretary of Great Britain came into the Collegio and said:

The ambassador is much distressed because he has not been able, owing to his affairs and indisposition, to perform his duties and set forth the matters for which he has commissions. He is even obliged to go away for eight days, and will then return by way of Chioza, feeling sure that as ambassador extraordinary he will receive the usual demonstrations accorded to those who come in that capacity and to others sent by his Majesty.‡

The doge said they would always welcome his Majesty's ministers, as from a great friend of the republic, and they greatly loved and esteemed the ambassador. He would receive every suitable demonstration. They had no information about his

* Proclamation of the 29th January o.s. directing all noblemen etc. to repair to their houses and lands in the northern parts by the 1st March, there to abide for the service and safeguard of their country. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, page 376. This step was taken by virtue of an order in Council of the 22nd Jan. o.s. *Id.* page 346.

† The Secretary Reeve had been sent to England at the end of September (No. 528, at page 468 above). The credentials, printed immediately below, are dated the 18th January, o.s. There seems to be no draft of them among the state papers.

‡ Since my arrival here I cannot find a house fit for me, so as I am forced still to continue incognito. The other impediment . . . . is removed by the Secretary Coke's sending me copies of His Majesty's letters. Fielding to Windebank the 11th February. *S.P. For. Venice*, Vol. 42.

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coming as ambassador extraordinary, and did not know the tenor of his credentials. When the Signory had heard they would consult together.

The secretary said, I have his Majesty's letter, which he handed in, though it was not an original, as the secretary stated, but merely a copy.

[*Italian.*]

THE LETTER.

Carolus Dei gratia Mag. Brit. etc. Rex Fidei Defensor etc. Serenissimo Principi ac Dom. Francisco Erizzo, Venetiarum Duci, amico nostro carissimo, salutem: Quandoquidem nobilissimum nobisque perquam dilectum Vicecomitem a Fielding V. Serenitatis prius notum, et ob quædam negotia nostra alibi hucusque occupatum, Hunc iterum Legatum extraordinarium ad Serenitatem V. redeundum duximus, Illi idcirco ut pristina vestigia in conservanda omnibus in rebus amicitia nostra sequatur, mandavimus quod illum sedulo facturum speramus si quidem optime novit nihil nobis gratius fore, quam se vobis omnibus studiis et ufficiis quæ præstari ab illo equum erit gratum reddere. Vos igitur rogamus, ut illi eis in rebus quas secundum temporum occasiones nostro nomine aget, fidem adhibere pristinaque vestra benevolentia eum afficere velitis.

Datae die 18 Januarii, 1638.

Feb. 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

582. GIOVANNI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This week they have reviewed several companies of horse of the neighbourhood, always in the king's presence. His eagerness to arm meets with a practical check in the shortness of money and the ill will of the people, who become ever bolder in their cries for the meeting of a parliament in this kingdom also. Many of the gentry ordered to serve his Majesty with soldiers excuse themselves as being unable, and others freely protest that the royal authority does not extend to this, but an act of parliament is necessary. Colonel Axele, who was charged to fortify Berwick castle, has sent word by courier that if they do not send more troops there he does not consider it expedient to begin the work, as he fears that the Scots may not only disturb its progress, but overrun the country as well, under the pretext of that work.

His Majesty's agent* has arrived here post from the Swiss. He brings word of negotiations to encourage the Duke of Weimar to attack Bavaria's dominions, and of some overtures for a marriage between the young Palatine princess and that prince. He says that after the proposals have been examined he will return to his residence, and will confer again with Weimar. From here they will send him no help beyond fair words, it being impossible to do anything for the time being.

Their Majesties have sent Mr. German to the Most Christian, in the capacity of a gentleman, with instructions to take him

* Oliver Fleming.

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assurances on behalf of his mother that she will live in complete subjection to his Majesty, and asking for permission to withdraw to that country, or at least to supply her with the means to remain in England without being a burden on this crown. She is expecting her baggage from Maastricht soon, as she has obtained the passport from the Cardinal Infant.

The levy of 3000 Scots granted to France is progressing successfully. Suspicion that they are fomenting trouble in that kingdom increases in the hearts of the ministers, a sentiment augmented by the great quantity of munitions assembled by the Most Christian at Calais.

The Dunkirk fleet for Spain having sailed with a favourable wind, has been gloriously defeated by the Dutch. Some ships which took refuge in the ports of this kingdom have been seized by his Majesty's order, as compensation for the English ship carried off to Dunkirk lately.*

The Genoese have issued the most pressing orders for the purchase of ships of war here, and they request his Majesty to grant leave for this.

They expect the Ambassador Fildin at Court in a few days to celebrate his marriage with a very rich lady, arranged this week.† It is not thought that he will return to Venice again, but that he will have some employment in the palace. This is all the news I can send from this tiresome Court. I have received your Excellencies' letters of the 22nd and 28th ult.

London, the 25th February, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

583. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Bailo at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

I showed the old English ambassador the letter of his king forwarded by your Serenity. He was very pleased, as not having received any reply about the interposition of his offices in the matter of the pirates he was afraid that his king did not approve, seeing that he had acted without instructions. He will show the letter to the new ambassador, who also has instructions to do what may be required, in case of need.

Galata, the 26th February, 1638. [M.V.]

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

March 1. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

584. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

With respect to the passports for the Palatine the Ambassador Lester has been to tell me that the King of Great Britain desires

* The action took place off Gravelines on the 18th February in attempting to break through the Dutch blockading squadron commanded by Tromp. Two Dunkirkers were taken and the Vice Admiral sunk, while over 1500 troops were reported to be slain. Le Clerc : *Hist. des Provinces Unies* Vol. ii, page 191 ; *Mercure Francais* Vol. xxiii, page 179 ; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, page 479. The English ship referred to was the *Providence*. *See* No. 564 at page 490 above.

† Penelope widow of Paul Viscount Bayning of Bentley Hall, Essex, who died 11 June 1638, the daughter and sole heir of Sir Robert Naunton. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1637-8, page 556 ; *Hist. MSS. Commission*, 3 Report, page 76. *Id.* Denbigh *MSS.* pt. v., page 66.

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that he may enjoy those which serve for the other allies of France. I told him what the Cardinal had said to me that they cannot call him an ally here, unless by virtue of the ancient alliances with his house. I suggested, as from myself, that it might not be a bad thing, in order to avoid dispute, in any event, to obtain securities for him separately, and the matter might possibly be arranged with ease through the ambassador Ro at Hamburg, now it was clearly seen that the treaty of Brussels could not be carried out, the King of Great Britain having declared that the reports had been spread designedly by the Spanish Agent, resident with him. The ambassador confirmed this and that his king was very indignant about it. On the matter of the passports he maintained that there could be no doubt about the Palatine being the ally of France. The emperor had admitted as much, since he would not let him enjoy general passports like the others, and was obliged to make a formal declaration to exclude him.

I have tried especially hard to find out *if Duke Bernard has on foot any fresh secret negotiations with the King of Great Britain. I find he is constantly urging that monarch to help him, but I cannot find any definite negotiations, and they certainly have no suspicion of it at Court. It is true that the journey to England of the English resident in Switzerland might cause some suspicion, owing to his conversation with the Resident Vico. But one in a position to know asserts that this journey was only for his personal affairs, and he himself told me as much. If there is anything recondite the Ambassador Giustinian will be able to find it out, and I will gather all the information I can here. The coming of Duke Bernard here will probably disperse all these shadows.*

Paris, the 1st March, 1639.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 1. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

585. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador at a special audience has urged his Majesty to conclude the negotiations of Hamburg, protesting that if they are not resolved soon his king will recall the ambassadors sent on that affair. His Majesty replied in substance that his sentiments in the matter were the same as ever, and the Swedes were responsible for all the hitches. But in England they believe the contrary and they think that all the Swedish ministers say is prompted from here. So after four years and more it looks as if this want of confidence added to other difficulties will lead to failure. It was stated that the Queen of Great Britain was coming to this Court to be cured of certain ailments, and much speculation has been rife at Court upon this, but the ambassador cut it all short by stating that she has no intention of undertaking this journey.

Paris, the 1st March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

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March 5.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

586. That the Ambassador Fildin receive the treatment which is customary with ambassadors extraordinary. That on his arrival at Chioza he be received and lodged in the Palazzo at the public cost, together with his suite, and the magistracy of the Rason Vecchie shall arrange for the provision of everything necessary. In the absence of the Podesta some one else shall go there to pay the usual honours.

That the secretary of England be informed that the same procedure will be adopted towards the ambassador as was observed in the year 1634. If he asks that a house be provided he shall be told that we cannot change what was arranged before to his complete satisfaction, and if the ambassador means to stay it will be necessary for him to find a house. Accordingly there is no need to issue any orders upon this point, and it will be better to present the ambassador with abundance of refreshments for some days.

Ayes, 121. Noes, 7. Neutral, 12. It requires 4/5ths.

On the 5th March in the Collegio :

Ayes, 20. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 5.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

587. Giovanni Grimani, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

At the moment when the English Resident is about to leave I hear that Bavaria has come to an agreement with England. He and his descendants are to have the electoral vote and the Upper Palatinate, while the Palatine family are to have the vote if his line becomes extinct, and the Lower Palatinate is to be restored to them at once together with Heidelberg, Bavaria receiving compensation from the emperor or the Spaniards. The king of England further promises to unite vigorously with the interests of the Austrian party for the liberation of the empire from the French forces, for the restitution of Piedmont, Monferrat, Alsace and Lorraine, and for a universal peace, making a strong alliance while leaving a place for France to enter it. Prince Tomaso has transacted this business in great measure.

Vienna, the 5th March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

March 5.
Inquisitori di Stato Spagna. Venetian Archives.

588. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the Inquisitors of State.

Encloses copy of a letter from the Count Duke to the Marquis of Leganes.

Madrid, the 5th March, 1639.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Enclosure.

589. The Count of San Lucar to the Marquis of Leganes of 26 Jan. 1638. [M.V.]

We are sure of England and are even treating for a closer union, which will be effected, because Francis Cottington and the Parliament are entirely for us. It is true that the proposal is not

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to be carried out but at any rate the girl will be brought here to be educated. We shall try to have at sea as large a fleet of galleys as possible, under the Marquis of Villafranca.

[*Spanish; copy.*]

March 7. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

590. The Secretary of Great Britain came into the Collegio and said:

The Ambassador has charged me to come here to learn what you have decided about his reception as ambassador extraordinary, so that he may know what he is to do.

The doge said, We think nothing is decided, the secretary will inform you what concerns this matter.

The Collegio instructed me, the secretary to tell him that the ambassador would be received in the same way as he was in 1634 when he came in the same capacity, and the Senate, as a testimony of esteem had given orders that he should be defrayed and accompanied at Chioza, with what else is contained in the deliberation of this Council of the 5th inst. and to make known to the secretary that it is not usual to receive and defray at Chioza. The secretary said that the ambassador claimed the house, and without it he would not come here. I replied that even the first time he had not had the house, but he should receive abundant refreshments instead. The secretary replied, I have instructions in writing to declare that the ambassador requires all the prerogatives and especially that of the house. He gave me the paper. After it was read in the Collegio I had orders from his Serenity to tell the secretary that everything should be laid before the Senate, which is master and they would let him know anything else there might be.

I did this and the secretary replied that the ambassador is not here to beg for honours and demonstrations to gain reputation, as he knows well that these are due to him, and went away.

Instructions for Sig. Rabot.

You will go to the Collegio to receive his Serenity's answer to the instance made last week about my reception. If it is not perfectly satisfactory in granting all the honours due to an extraordinary, in lodging, defraying expenses, especially in that city, and the other ceremonies observed to ministers of that description, you will tell his Serenity that my king's honour does not permit me to accept inferior treatment from what is customary in such cases, upon which we ask his Serenity to give prompt satisfaction, as time and affairs demand this.

B. Fildin.

[*Italian.*]

March 8. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

591. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. Germen sent by the King of Great Britain, has arrived here to treat either for the return of the queen mother to France, or for some assignment for his maintenance. He has not yet seen the king or the ministers, but they have their answers all ready for

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him. It amounts in substance to this : that the queen may come when she likes, but they will not enter into any definite engagement with her unless she decides to proceed to Florence. They speak thus as they are determined she shall not come to France and they will not give her any assignment.

Paris, the 8th March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

592. That the Secretary of the King of Great Britain be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

We have given order for the Ambassador Fildin, on his arrival, to be treated with all the customary honours, in the assurance that he will appreciate our regard and the esteem we entertain for his sovereign.

Ayes, 86. Noes, 1. Neutral, 15.

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

593. That the Secretary of the King of Great Britain be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

On receiving the news of the return of the Ambassador Fildin we have desired to show him the most conspicuous marks of regard. As we wish to give him complete satisfaction we have arranged to provide him with a house and to defray him for the number of days customary with ambassadors extraordinary.

Ayes, 85. Noes, 5. Neutral, 99.

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

594. To the Ambassador in London.

We enclose a copy of the office read to the English secretary about the reception of the Ambassador Fildin, in response to the secretary's demand that we should give him quarters. We consider that it would be pernicious to accede to all the secretary's improper demands. We do not find that when Piero Contarini was sent as ambassador extraordinary to England he received any different treatment from the ordinary.* We send this for information and so that you may be able to contradict any misrepresentations by Fildin.

Ayes, 86. Noes, 1. Neutral, 6.

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

595. The advocate Pighetti being summoned before the Savii said :

Five or six days ago, when I was masquerading in ca Morosini at San Stefano I saw the Ambassador Fildin, also masked. I recognised him by a ribbon he had in his hat. He sent word that he wished to speak with me. At the very beginning he complained

* Ambassador from October 1617 to the end of 1618. *See* Vol. XV., of this *Calendar*.

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bitterly, to use his very words, of the way their Excellencies treat him, when he had declared that if he did not have the house and all the other prerogatives proper to ambassadors extraordinary he would certainly go back to England, without performing any office here and God knew when another ambassador would come here from his Majesty. I must add, what I had forgotten, that his Excellency had commissions to speak of very serious matters, which concern the republic more than his king.

[*Italian.*]

March 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

596. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Council of Scotland has this week sent a very seditious paper to his Majesty, to all the ministers and principal lords of the Court, in which they labour to prove that the interest and liberty of the English are inseparably bound up with the cause of the Scots, and state that they wish to refer the present differences absolutely to the judgment of the English parliament. This announcement is the more plausible in this country since it increases the excitement of those who want a change, and it has compelled his Majesty to forbid under the most severe penalties not only the publication but the reading and even the possession of this paper.

They have issued orders for rigorous proceedings against those who have shown reluctance to serve in the present emergencies; and the Bishop of Lincoln, who set out, in a very long paper, to censure the new regulations for religion ordered in Scotland, has been severely punished. On the other hand the offers made to his Majesty through the papal minister here by the Catholic clergy to obtain large contributions from the Catholics of the country, have gratified the king exceedingly.

The French ambassador here has exerted himself to the utmost to stop the mission to the Most Christian of Mr. Germano. He states openly that any request of his master to satisfy the queen mother must prove fruitless, if she does not consent to proceed to the dominions of the Grand Duke. Yet the king has decided that he shall go, considering everything necessary in order to escape the expense, which becomes more sensible every day.

Believre has repeated a mild request that the stay of the Duke of La Valette here may be cut short, but without effect as yet, owing to the influential interposition of the queen with his Majesty.

The Duchess of Chevreuse has decided not to return to France, unless they send her guarantees without limitations, as she finds the pardon sent her by the Most Christian very faulty and is more suspicious than ever of some evil machination.

Under the pretext of sending to the Holy House a very rich votive offering of gold and jewels, the queen has sent a Capuchin friar to Rome, with instructions to make arrangements for the ever firmer establishment of the Catholic faith in England, and

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to urge the pope as well to make the warmest representations to advance an accommodation between the queen mother and her son.*

They send from Dunkirk that the damage to the Spanish fleet in the action reported is considerably less than announced, and that the ships will very soon be repaired and once more resume their voyage to Coruña.†

Your Excellencies' letters which reach me this week are of the 3rd and 5th ult.

London, the 11th March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

March 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

597. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

Fresh difficulties have arisen these last days between the Dutch and English merchants, which have caused a great deal of bad blood on both sides and loss to each of the parties, through fresh impositions and seizures. This circumstance with the bitter feeling resulting from it, has seemed a favourable opportunity to the English Resident for reviving the ancient pretentions of the crown over the Indies, and to bring to life once again arguments which were lying dormant. The signors of the Assembly have taken the matter in hand and have expressed the intention to have everything put straight and defined according to the dictates of equity.

One hears repeated on this side the complaints which the Spaniards make at Brussels against the English for their crooked procedure, both in the Indies and in the Ocean, protesting a grievance because the English appear in the Indies sometimes in the guise of Dutchmen, when the latter are in the ascendant, and then as Englishmen when they find the Dutch power in the Ocean to be on the decline, and also to avoid the reprisals on both sides.

It is further announced here that the King of Spain has declared all to be pirates who have access to the Indies without his permission and licence and that all the goods which they carry are his proper appurtenances and under his jurisdiction, so that they may be considered lawful booty even in the ports, when they are not accompanied by his authority. If the decree is really such as the merchants here describe it, it will certainly excite to an equal degree both derision and anger, as well in England as here.

The Hague, the 11th March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

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* The messenger was Father Jean Marie de Tresson, superior of the Capuchins of the queen's chapel. *Court and Times of Charles I.*, Vol. ii, page 331. According to Bellievre he was sent "accomplir un voeu qu'a fait Sa Majesté en ses dernieres couches." Bellievre to Chavigny the 3rd March. P.R.O. *Paris Transcripts.* *See also* Barberini to Conn, the 18th and 25th June, and Ferragalli to Conn, the 18th June. P.R.O. *Rome Transcripts.*

† 12 warships and 6 armed merchantmen actually sailed on the 10th, and successfully evading Tromp, got away to Spain. Le Clerc: *Hist. des Provinces Unies*, Vol. ii, page 192.

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March 12.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

598. Giovanni Grimani, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Agent Teller is all ready to start for home. He says he will pass through Brussels to see what is on the carpet there about the Prince Palatine, and inform his king. He says, however, that if the point of the electoral vote is not to be treated equally with the children of Bavaria he has no hope of arranging anything satisfactory. But he believes that the Duke of Bavaria is anxious to leave his children in the enjoyment of peace, and he cannot do that unless there is an adjustment with the Palatine, nor should he have any great objection to this.

Vienna, the 12th March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

March 12.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Zante. Venetian Archives.

599. Francesco Marcello, Venetian Proveditore of Zante, to the Doge and Senate.

Henry Hider arrived here last January in the ship *Merchant Adventurer*. His accounts have been examined and various errors found. It appears that he owes 2233 lire 10 grossi to the Chamber, and he is also creditor for a considerable sum. I have sent to the Proveditore of Corfu to direct Pietro Aquila and Zuanne his son to go to Corfu with Boldu, in the interests of Justice. I will see that Hider has the best of treatment and I hope at any rate to manage so that he will not abandon the trade in the islands, even if he continues that in the Morea.

Zante, the 2nd March, 1639, old style.

[*Italian.*]

March 15.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

600. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I have made representations to the Cardinal for Prince Casimir, who has been taken to the castle of Vincennes, but I do not expect any result. They again give an ambiguous answer to the English ambassador who wants him exchanged against Prince Rupert. They do not seem inclined either to exchange him with the Elector of Treves ; they seem especially anxious to keep him until the end of the war.

Paris, the 15th March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

March 15.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

601. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Cardinal has begun to treat with M. Germen about the queen mother, with scant hope of arranging anything satisfactory. His Eminence told him that he had power from the king to deal with all the affairs of the kingdom abroad, with the exception of this one.

Paris, the 15th March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

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March 17. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

602. To the Ambassador in London.

As the English secretary insisted that the ambassador ought to receive his lodging from the state, as being extraordinary, we have decided to gratify him, out of regard for that crown, as you will see by the enclosed copy of the office read to the secretary. You will use the information for our advantage. We shall be glad to learn if Lord Fildin will be returning to Venice after his marriage and in what capacity. We also wish to know the quality of the ships which the Genoese are buying and what they offer for them.

Ayes, 142. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 17. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

603. To the Proveditore upon the frontiers of Loreto.

Order to go and receive the English ambassador extraordinary at Chioza to give him the hand and the title of "Excellency." The magistracy of the Rason Vecchie will make the necessary provisions and by the ministers of that body you will be advised of the exact day for the office.

Ayes, 142. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 17. Senato, Mar, Venetian Archives.

604. That 100 ducats be given to Gieronimo Agustini, appointed as secretary to the Ambassador Zustignan in England, for his equipment, as well as a sum of 300 crowns for the journey.

Ayes, 136. Noes, 7. Neutral, 8.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

605. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Preparations are being completed with great activity for his Majesty's march, which will take place within two weeks. He has urgently requested this city, which recently refused to pay him 100,000*l.*, to show at least their good will by supplying 3000 men for the present emergency.* But the aldermen have refused this also, pointing out that the obligation of the people does not extend beyond the simple defence of London. Thus with difficulties in every quarter and the lack of good will among the people, it is evident that the royal forces will be very feeble on this occasion. Besides some of the lords commanded, his Majesty will have 5000 foot and 1200 horse in his pay. They do not know what other troops the king may expect from the counties, and so their plans about the manner of conducting the war are at present doubtful.

Two days ago his Majesty issued a proclamation full of the most contumelious expressions against the Scots, stating their crimes and the necessity for him to go to the frontier in person to compel their obedience by arms.† He hopes by this declaration to

* *See* note, at page 494 above.

† Proclamation dated the 27th February, o.s. concerning the seditious practices of some of Scotland. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, page 507.

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render them odious to all, but without success, indeed everyone applauds their steadfastness.

Several ships have arrived at Calais from Holland, laden with munitions of war. This serves to increase the suspicion that the Most Christian means to attack Dunkirk. With their present preoccupations here they cannot thwart such an enterprise on the part of France, most detrimental as it would be to the interests of this kingdom, and the most prudent ministers are accordingly greatly distressed.

They have granted permission to the Earl of Leicester to return home for a few days, under the pretext of domestic cares. It is not thought that he will return again to the French Court, the experience he has obtained has shown the difficulty of success in the negotiations conducted there for the relief of the Palatine house.

The Ambassador Roe also asks for leave to return home, representing the successful conduct of the negotiations at Hamburg as hopeless; and his wife hopes to obtain it. With these negotiations fallen through the Spaniards will be relieved of all anxiety and the Palatine deprived of all hope of retrieving his fortunes.

The Spanish fleet has come out of Dunkirk once more, sixteen ships strong and sailed unmolested on its voyage to Spanish waters.

The Duke of La Valette came to this house two days ago. He asked me to represent his desire to enter the service of your Excellencies, if you judge him worthy. I replied with general expressions of your esteem for him.

London, the 18th March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

March 19. Senato, Terra. Venetian Archives.

606. That the Proveditore General of the Treasury consign to the magistracy of the Rason Vecchie the following gold and silver articles for use in the quarters of the English ambassador extraordinary:

Royal dishes	number	14
Ovals (*ouadi*)	,,	12
Plates	,,	24
For napkins	,,	150
Total	,,	300
Basins	number	12
Copper pans (*ramini*)	,,	12
Metal stands (*mezzole*)	,,	15
Small buckets and boxes	,,	6
Refrigerator	,,	1
Salt cellars	,,	8
Salvers	,,	16
Candlesticks	,,	24
Snuffers (*parafumi*)	,,	4
Potcovers for the table (*zorziere per tavola*)	,,	6

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Gilt branches	,,	4
Water pots	,,	4
Knives, forks, knife rests (*pironi*) and spoons	,,	60 of each sort.
Panchera	,,	1
Cups	,,	2

SAROTTI, Secretary.

Ayes, 155. Noes, 5. Neutral, 12.
[*Italian.*]

March 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

607. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They talk of sending an ordinary ambassador to England in place of Don Alonso di Cardenas, but the individual has not yet been nominated.

Madrid, the 19th March, 1639.
[*Italian.*] *Copy.*

March 22. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

608. ANZOLO CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador Schidmor departed recently for England. He has left his secretary here to try and get his present changed, as he is not satisfied with what the Master of the Ceremonies gave him, in the king's name, and sent it back. His Majesty seems offended, and most people believe that he will not get any thing else. The Earl of Leicester is also about to go. He has not taken leave of the king, saying that he has merely obtained leave to go to England for a few days on his private affairs. They consider this a pretext at Court and believe that he will not return.

The suspicions of the English keep augmenting that his Majesty is encouraging the rebels in Scotland. But here they do not think of the matter, as the present state of affairs obliges French forces to attend to other things. M. Germen has taken back a curt answer about the queen mother. His Majesty confines himself to the old idea that he is ready to supply her with what she wishes at Florence and not elsewhere.

Paris, the 22nd March, 1639.
[*Italian.*]

March 25. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

609. To the Proveditore upon the frontiers of Loreto.

In addition to the orders of the 17th he is to go and meet the ambassador with a certain number of boats and as many citizens as he consider suitable. He is to use the terms prescribed and to behave in the same manner as was observed with this same ambassador four years ago, and as is done with all the ambassadors extraordinary of crowned heads.

Ayes, 120. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.
[*Italian.*]

1639.
March 25.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

610. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Two ambassadors, one from Sweden and the other from Denmark are expected at this Court very shortly, their chief task being to arrange a composition of the differences between his Majesty and the Scots. Whether in such a delicate matter as this mediation will be accepted, the result will show. Some declare frankly that these offices will not be received.

The ministers hold long discussions every day, in his Majesty's presence, as to the manipulation of the forces, and if they shall attack the enemy in his own country, or cut him off from the sea with a squadron of well armed ships, while blockading him with the army by land. Their decisions waver and will only mature at York, whither the greater part of the nobility, who are to accompany his Majesty, are to proceed on Monday.

The Scots, on their side are erecting a good fort on the coast to prevent any attack by the king on Edinburgh from the sea.* They have confiscated the goods of the very few who have refused to pledge themselves to the declaration of their party, and forced them to leave the country. Many of them have come to this city. A general census of all the French and Scots here has recently been ordered, as a measure of precaution, in the king's absence, against any sudden disturbance.

With the universal and open suspicion that France is fomenting these disturbances, the Ambassador Bellievre has earnestly represented to his Majesty the falsity of such ideas, and the sincere desire of his master to see this crown relieved of all preoccupations. so that it may attend with more freedom to the relief of the Palatine House, and abase the pride of those who oppress it.

Fresh complaints are heard against the Dunkirkers, for having taken, in northern waters many barques laden with the fish of the merchants' company here. Many of the leading ministers are interested in this and show great resentment. They have ordered the Agent Gerbier at Brussels to speak strongly to the Cardinal Infant for their restoration, otherwise he must threaten the issue of letters of reprisals against the Catholic's subjects and ships.†

The disinclination of the Duke of Weimar to allow the French the complete control of the important post of Brisach, gives great pleasure here. Apparently they continue to hold out some promises to induce him to usc his victorious forces in the interests of the Palatine.

Your Excellencies' letters received this week are of the 25th and 17th ult., I cannot sufficiently express my thanks.

London, the 25th March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

* Roger Widdrington reported that 900 men were already at work and 2 or 3000 more intended to make a trench and sluice about Leith. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, page 565.

† Two vessels were taken laden with fish belonging to the Fishing Association in which the earls of Pembroke and Arundel were interested. It was claimed they belonged to the Dutch because Dutch captains were found on board. Northumberland was authorised to make reprisals on the Dunkirkers. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, pages 596, 602; *Id.* 1639-40, page 239; Salvetti, despatch of 25th March, Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962H.

1639.
March 26.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

611. Giovanni Grimani, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Prince Rupert has arrived at Linz, having been brought by the Spanish Colonel to whom he was consigned by Hasfelt, with a guard of forty horse. He is lodged in the imperial palace there. So far he has only been allowed three gentlemen of his household to wait on him, an Englishman, an Irishman and a Scot. Count Erasmo di Starembergh has been sent to him by the emperor to attend to his custody. For the rest he is well treated. He is pronounced a most charming prince of very superior manners and ideas, young as he is (*vien predicato per un gentilissimo prencipe, ma di maniere e pensieri, se ben giovanetto, molto elevato.*)

Vienna, the 26th March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

March 29.
Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

612. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador extraordinary has set out for the coast, leaving a great part of his household here. Report says he will return soon, but no one believes it. We hear that the ambassador Ro has also been recalled from Hamburg, which means the utter breaking off of the alliance which has been so much discussed. They are always talking about the Scots receiving encouragement from here, but I find nothing to bear this out.

M. Germen has seen the Cardinal once more, but has made no progress in his negotiations. They persist in their decision not to assist the queen anywhere but in Florence, whither she is most determined not to go. Apparently they are starting some fresh negotiations for the return of the Count of Soissons.

Paris, the 29th March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

March 29.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

613. The Ambassador of Great Britain came into the Collegio, having been fetched from his house and accompanied with the usual forms ; he said in public audience :

The king, my master, sends me back to confirm the ancient intimate relations, especially in present circumstances, assuring you that I shall never fail to show the greatest esteem for your Serenity, both to please his Majesty and to make some return for my obligations, increased on the present occasion by the numerous honours I have received, and by the favours done me by the Proveditore of Chioza. First of all I present my letters of credence. He gave them to the doge, who handed them to the secretary, and they were read.

The doge said they rejoiced at the continued testimony of the king's friendship, to which they responded with all cordiality. They also rejoiced at his lordship's return, as he was loved and esteemed by the republic and worthily sustained the reputation of that crown. He would always find them ready to give him every satisfaction.

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The ambassador said that the republic's kindness confirmed his hopes of enjoying honours and favours, laying him under still further obligations. The doge replied suitably, congratulating the ambassador on his good health, who then took leave and went out.

BALLARINO, Secretary.

The King's letter follows, dated the 18th January, 1638 (as above).

[*Italian.*]

614. Letters of Credence for Viscount a Fielding as ambassador extraordinary to the republic. Dated at Westminster 18 January 1638, signed Carolus Rex.*

[*Latin.*]

March 31. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

615. To the Ambassador in London.

Account of the honours accorded to the Ambassador Fildin at his entry.

We shall be glad to know what his Majesty thinks of this copious testimony of our regard. You will thank his Majesty at a special audience for his offers with respect to the Turkish difficulty, and you will also tell him of our efforts in favour of universal peace by sending an ambassador extraordinary to the pope.†

Ayes, 157. Noes, 0. Neutral. 5.

[*Italian.*]

March 31. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

616. The Ambassador of Great Britain came into the Collegio and said:

Your Serenity's favours to me should lay my king under an obligation and increase his desire for the prosperity of the republic. This and the present state of affairs with the threats of the Turk against Christendom makes my king especially satisfied with the glorious victory of your Serenity's arms over the pirates, though it was followed by regret when he learned of the Turk's indignation and his unjust measures, with the arrest of the Bailo. But as this comes from barbarians too much heed need not be paid to it, as they cannot diminish one jot the greatness and generosity of this republic, which has made itself so conspicuous in the world.

The chief reason for my quick coming to this city was to obey my king's orders to assure you that he will make a point of seconding the republic and of assisting your interests so far as possible. At the first instances of the Ambassador Giustiniano my king wrote strongly to his ambassador at the Porte ordering him to stand by the Bailo in this cause, defending and supporting him, and trying to obtain his release, in which he has certainly been most active. At further requests from his Excellency the king readily agreed to render further assistance, and I confirm

* No. 581 at page 500 above.

† Giovanni Nani, Procurator of San Marco.

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this, assuring you that England will do all that it can in this emergency to ward off the danger. His Majesty recognises the harm done by the present dissensions of Christendom, and how advantageous it would be to remove them, and he offers to unite with your Serenity for a good universal peace, the conclusion of which can alone give well grounded hopes of foiling the common enemy. As I desire the republic to recognise my good will, I venture to point out that in order to regulate his Majesty's decisions he must know definitely whether you mean to break with the Turk or to come to terms. If the latter, his Majesty will help, and it will be advisable to adjust the means; if the former my king will give all the help he can. The prudent foresight of the republic is worthy of all praise, in the naval preparations, to be ready for all eventualities. I will represent everything sincerely and offer my pen, from my great desire to serve you well, and my sword and life as well.

The doge replied, The republic has always honoured and esteemed his Majesty and the present occasion makes our regard stronger, if possible, when we see his readiness to help. The occasion is not for the republic alone, but all Christendom is concerned, being in manifest danger from the Turk's fury unless every one prepares for defence. We esteem his Majesty as much and we may say more than the other powers, owing to the great part which he has in this cause, and because he can contribute so much. We value his offers most highly.

The ambassador said, From this grave matter I must pass to a private one namely my indebtedness for the favours shown at my entry. It increases my desire to show my devotion. I have been so well treated, by the Proveditore Delfino also, that I shall never forget it, and I shall always desire to make return. Among these favours your Serenity has honoured me with my house. I have stayed there long enough and I now desire to cause you no further trouble and ask you to permit me to go to my own, where I shall always be equally full of devotion to serve you.

The doge replied, We are sorry that the season did not allow us to do more. You deserve the greatest demonstrations and the republic will never be sparing in them. After further complimentary remarks the ambassador took leave and went out.

[*Italian.*]

April 1. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

617. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The royal household, the secretaries of state and the greater part of the Court set out on Monday on the appointed journey to York. His Majesty will follow next week. Before he started I thought fit to convey to him fresh assurances of your esteem and to wish him every success. The king was very pleased, and, in return, expressed his affection and esteem for the Senate.

The Scots have made a very sagacious answer to the recent declarations against them. They protest the uprightness of their

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intentions, which are solely guided by the health of their souls and the preservation of the ancient privileges of the kingdom, with a firm and unchangeable determination to adhere to their devotion to his Majesty ; and they declare that this consideration has obliged them to close their ears to proposals of powerful assistance liberally made to them by great princes. On the other hand advices come of their devoting all their energies for offering a bold front to the royal forces. The Viceroy of Ireland has sent word by courier that these will be very powerful on that side, and he promises every success. The county of York also has sent fresh assurances that the people of those parts will be ready to assist in that most just enterprise. But though these reports cause satisfaction, everyone does not take them as absolutely sincere.

The census of all the French and other foreigners living at present in this city has been completed. As the number turns out considerably less than they thought, it has dissipated the first suspicious rumours.*

The agent of this crown will return to his residence in Switzerland in a fortnight. His Majesty has knighted him, as a testimony to his loyal service.† He will take instructions to arrange some agreement with the Duke of Weimar in the interests of the Palatine House. But as they cannot invigorate these with prompt assistance in money, and France may possibly oppose them, hopes of success are not brilliant.

A person has arrived here from the Hague, who is going to Brussels under the pretext of private affairs, to try and open fresh negotiations for a truce between the Spaniards and the Dutch.

Here they are awaiting with impatience the return of Mr. German, from France so that they may know definitely the final intentions of the Most Christian about his mother, who is resolved not to move from her quarters here unless they allow her to return to France.

The marriage of the Ambassador Fildin is upset ; the lady destined for him being given to another, regardless of the former promise,‡ so they think he will not pursue his journey to this Court, but will resume his way to Venice.

I have your Excellencies' letters of the 5th ult.

London, the 1st April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

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* The state papers contain returns of foreigners made by the Justices of the Peace in Surrey, Middlesex and Westminster by virtue of orders of the Council of the 4th and 10th March o.s. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, pages 562, 563, 579.

† Fleming's name is not recorded in either Metcalfe's *Book of Knights* or Shaw's *Knights of England*, but in his instructions, dated 4 April 1639, he is styled Sir Oliver Fleming, knight, (*S.P. For. Switzerland*), so it is probable he was dubbed just before that date.

‡ *See* No. 582 at page 501 above, and note. Lady Bayning was married to Philip lord Herbert son of the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery on Thursday 28 March—7 April. The wedding was apparently carried out in haste and surreptitiously (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, page 622) although Salvetti, writing on the 15th, says that the Lord Chamberlain delayed his journey north on account of it. The lady's dowry was estimated at 160,000 crowns. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H.

1639.
April 2.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

618. Giovanni Grimani, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

I now have full particulars of the agreement between Bavaria and the Palatine. When I took exception to the refusal of passports to the Palatine this was communicated to Bavaria, who at once sent commissioners here with full powers. They opened negotiations with the English Agent Teller for a new treaty at Brussels. The particulars were arranged because he said he had orders not to listen to any fresh negotiations otherwise. All was conducted very secretly and settled exactly as I reported. Don Annibal Gonzaga* was sent off at once to Madrid for the Catholic's approval, and Teller was sent to England with orders to make sure at Brussels that powers have reached the Infant from Spain for this, so that the king his master may send his own minister, on his arrival. The Count of Nassau† was appointed by agreement plenipotentiary of the emperor, and was to leave Frankfort. The emperor told me without reserve that the decree excluding the Palatine from Cologne ought not to prevent the meeting at Brussels.

Vienna, the 2nd April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

April 2.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

619. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

Doctor Grasvinchel has asked me to petition your Serenity to return his book about Savoy, which was sent to you for revision two years ago. The States are now urging him to have it printed, because it contains some things about the government here; but he would not do so without the consent of your Excellencies.‡ I undertook to present his petition if he would assure me that he would not print the book that treats of the Adriatic, or that he would only do so subject to the corrections which I had handed to him. He gave me his promise about this.

The Hague, the 2nd April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

April 3.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

620. Last Saturday evening I, Francesco Zonca went to the English ambassador to read to him, by order of the state what I was instructed. I went to the house where he lives and being admitted to his room I told him how your Excellencies had sent me to read him a paper. He replied very courteously, thanking the Senate for so much honour, and made me sit while I read it. After hearing it he thanked your Serenity for the continued confidence and he would try and thank you in person. He greatly regretted that the news from Constantinople was not what you wished. Such as it was he would send it to his king at the

* Of the Sabbioneda branch, Prince of the Empire and chief steward of the Empress Eleanora.

† Count John Louis of Nassau Hadamar.

‡ Graswinckel's "Dissertatio de jure praecedentiae inter Serenissimam Venetam Rempublicam et serenissimum Sabaudiae ducem" was printed by the Elzevirs at Louvain in 1644.

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earliest opportunity, sure that he also would be sorry, from his affection for the republic. He added, I should like a copy of the paper, to inform his Majesty better, so that he can take better measures. I told him I only had orders to read it, and he asked me at least to read it again, so I obliged him, reading slowly so that he might take it in better. After this he said that was enough and he would not need a copy. He noted the names of the Caimecan and Olacco and asked after your Serenity's health. He made some complimentary remarks to me about my return from England, and I came away.

[*Italian.*]

April 7. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

621. The Ambassador of Great Britain came into the Collegio and said:

Your Serenity honoured me by communicating the affairs of Constantinople through your secretary. This has greatly obliged me as a sign of confidence I will inform my king earnestly. I am very sorry that there is fear of a rupture there. I confirm my king's offer of help, and whatever else he can do. By his command I must proceed to London on affairs that admit of no delay. I shall obey unless your Serenity orders the contrary. I have orders to make the journey in six weeks, going and returning. I shall leave my household here as a sign and pledge of my return, and I will give you the greatest proofs of my devotion. During my stay at Turin I found the duchess most well disposed towards the republic, and I reported this through Talma whom I left here. I think she is very inclined to the adjustment of past differences. I shall try and obtain orders from my king for this good work. As there are articles I would not trust them to memory and I have them here in writing.

The senior councillor, Antonio da Canal said the republic always welcomed his friendly testimony. The Signory would consider his proposals and send him word.

The ambassador added, I must also commend to your Serenity his Majesty's subjects living in this city and in the islands, commended to my protection. Simeas, who was sent as consul to Zante some months ago, has been sent away, because they say he was not presented to the Proveditore. His charge is necessary because dissensions often arise between merchants, and he should adjust them, saving the authority of your Serenity's representatives. I ask that he be permitted to return to that island either as consul or agent, whichever you prefer, to deal with the affairs of the merchants.

Councillor Canal said they would always be disposed to grant his Majesty's requests. They would have to enquire into this particular matter. With this the ambassador took leave and went out.

[*Italian.*]

Carolus dei gratia Mag. Brit. etc. Rex fidei defensor etc. Ser. Principi ac Dom. Francisco Erizzo, Venetiarum Duci, amico nostro carissimo, salutem. Quando quidem vir nobilissimus nobisque perquam dilectus Vice Comes a Fildingh, nuperrime ad

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Serenitatem Vestram inclytamque Rempublicam reversus est ut pristino legati extraordinarii munere fungatur, nunc vero, ob quadam urgentia negotia confestim ad nos est venturus, Id Serenitati V. hisce significare nobis visum est, sed cum hic non sit diu moraturus, idem familiam suam apud vos relinquit, predictis negotiis peractis quamprimum rediturus, ut mutuam inter nos amicitiam, sartam, tectam, tueatur, Idcirco ut ei facultatem veniendi concedere cumque officiis vestris ubi opus fuerit juvare velitis etiam atque etiam rogamus.

Datum ex Palatio nostro Westmonasteriensi quarto die Februarii anno gratiae 1638.

Vestrae Serenitatis bonus amicus.
CAROLUS REX.

Most Serene Prince :

The King of Great Britain being anxious for the universal peace of the princes of Italy is bound to apply himself earnestly to an accommodation between Venice and Savoy. I spoke about this on my arrival and at my departure for Turin, and now on my return his Majesty expressly commits it to me. Even if other ministers have intervened in this matter his Majesty cannot think that his interposition will be less estecmed, as being more friendly and less interested. His affection needs no spur and he is incited by honour to pursue what he began out of affection. I therefore took up the matter, and I see that the chief points are as follows :

(1) the Venetian ambassador was obliged to leave Savoy.

(2) the Duke of Savoy took the title of King of Cyprus.

(3) the book printed about that title contained expressions against the republic.

Her highness has told me that (1) the Venetian ambassadors in France urged the French to attack Pinerolo, as a sign of that king's displeasure. (2) that the republic wished to treat her Highness in an inferior manner to what the crowned heads do. (3) that the Venetian ambassadors would not give those of Savoy the title of Excellency, and in Paris they tried to prevent their obtaining advantages.

I suggest the following settlement : that both sides shall pass over the fact and reason for the absence of the Venetian ambassadors from Piedmont, because the princes who gave rise to this are no longer alive, and let ambassadors return from both, those of Savoy leaving first for Venice and when they have entered the state, those of Venice can start for Turin. With regard to the pretensions of Savoy, let the republic merely say the Duke of Savoy, or, without writing, treat through ambassadors or by commissions. On the third head I will speak to the duchess by agreement with the republic about the relations between the ambassadors of Venice and those of Savoy. Upon the second and third heads, essentially the most important, let the republic rest satisfied that it was merely the act of the author, carried away by his profession, and not by the duke's order, and the republic suffers no prejudice from this royal title, as it is used among other princes without interrupting relations. I promise

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to try and obtain a declaration from the duchess that neither she nor her husband intended those passages in the book which admit of sinister interpretation. If your Serenity shows the confidence that my king's affection deserves I hope to show by results the regard I have for your interests. It is difficult to apply remedies when the mischief is not known, and I will act with the greatest secrecy and delicacy as much as your own ministers could show, and I will do the same for the duchess. It is all by his Majesty's consent, so that his authority and favour may renew the relations between the two powers to the advantage of all Italy.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

622. To the Ambassador in London.

We enclose an exposition of the Ambassador Fildin. You will find out whether he intends to resume his charge with us and if so when he will come back. You will also let us know if he really has orders from his Majesty about the affairs of Savoy, if any overtures have been made to you and what they say in England about the steps taken here. You will observe all official forms in your relations with the Duke of La Valette, and avoid committing yourself, merely expressing the republic's regard for him.

Vote of 300 ducats to be paid to the agents of the Ambassador Giustinian in London for couriers and the carriage of letters.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 1. Neutral, 3.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci. Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

623. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The king left this city on Wednesday. He parted from the queen very affectionately. Before starting, to show the Scots his leaning to peace, he sent the Earl of Rosberi to that kingdom, to tell them of his moving and his readiness to grant them, with a general pardon, all that they desire for liberty of conscience. He also promised to proceed to Edinburgh to take part in the parliament and pass the concessions to be granted. Wise men fear that these proposals are not now likely to make any impression on the proud spirit of that people. They constantly grow more daring and have surprised the very strong castle of Edinburgh, driving out the royal garrison by force and installing their own troops.* Against the Marquis of Ontelet, who openly stands for the king at Lavardino, they have sent 10,000 foot and 2000 horse giving just cause for the suspicion that they mean to go yet further, in a complete alienation from their obedience to his Majesty.

Before the king left the city sent him a present of 4500*l.*, a meagre help and equally inadequate to present requirements and the large fortunes of those who offered it. The king would not accept it, although 25,000*l.* offered him by the Protestant clergy when he was about to start, afforded him the utmost pleasure.

* Taken on the 23rd March o.s. by Alexander Leslie.

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To support the movements of the royal army the admiral has orders to take the fleet to Newcastle, leaving a squadron of twelve ships off Dover, under the pretext of defending those waters. But the chief object is to cause the French some jealousy, to prevent them from attempts upon Dunkirk, of which suspicion increases daily, causing much anxiety.

Besides the first levies of Scots reported, the French ambassador has obtained leave from the king to enlist 2000 foot in this country also, for his master's service. The patents are distributed and he is successfully carrying them into effect. It seems that the Spaniards also may try to obtain the same advantage, after this example.

The queen here has frankly expressed to Bellievre her sentiments at the difficulties encountered by Mr. German at the French Court over the matter of the queen mother. She asked him if they would not allow her to return to France, to try so that help for her quiet stay in this country might be no longer delayed.

The Earl of Leicester has returned here from France. He has seen the king, and announces that he will go back to continue his service in a few weeks. They have not harkened to Roe's request to return home, thinking that his absence from the congress there would utterly destroy any hopes of the conclusion of the league, so long in negotiation there, in vain, affecting the interests of the Palatine House.

I beg your Serenity to provide me with some money for the carriage of letters.

London, the 8th April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

624. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Asks for the consideration of the Senate, as he will soon have completed the fifth year of his service to the state, begun with the government of Vicenza and Treviso. He had to stay many months beyond the appointed term at the Spanish embassy. Asks that this may be allowed to him in his service in England, where the humidity of the climate causes him all kinds of disorders, making it urgently necessary for him to recover his health in better air.

London, the 8th April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Roma. Venetian Archives.

625. The papal nuncio came into the Collegio and said, among other things :

Besides what Cardinal Barberino told the ambassador he writes to me, what he had no time to tell him, that the nuncio in France had informed the king about the choice of nuncios extraordinary, and his Majesty expressed his desire for peace through the mediation of his Holiness. The pope thought that his Majesty might have drawn some good out of it and

1639. disposed the emperor to something else if he had been able to facilitate the beginning of negotiations at Cologne. But by the letters I have from Holland, Flanders and other places I fancy that things have a very ugly appearance. Count John Louis of Nassau, who was going to Cologne, now says he is going to Brussels about the Palatine's affairs. The English Resident at Vienna was the one who brought back good intentions for his king in favour of that prince. Some written treaty seems now to be on foot for an offensive and defensive alliance with the house of Austria, and for a marriage alliance between a daughter of England with the son of Bavaria, and of a sister of the Grand Duke with the Palatine and of the latter's sister with the brother of the Grand Duke. They also write from Flanders that the Dutch seem to have some negotiations on foot with the Cardinal Infant for an accommodation. On the other side we hear that they are sending money from France to Holland. Perhaps the idea is to act Turkish fashion, to take the money and do their worst. The nuncio writes to me that this makes them all on the alert. The French ambassador told me yesterday that Tullerie will go to Holland; something must be on foot. I tell you all this because your Serenity may find some evidence on the matter through your admirable ministers. This is a great machination which requires your abilities to understand it, for the common service; and I know how much you desire peace.

In the absence of the doge, the senior councillor Antonio da Canal thanked the nuncio for the communication and said the Signory would inform him later of what might turn up.

[*Italian.*]

April 9. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

626. That the Ambassador of the King of Great Britain be sommoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him:

In the midst of our trouble about our differences with the Porte we appreciate most highly the action of the king of Great Britain in a matter which concerns all Christendom, with his orders to his own ambassador at Constantinople and his offer to our ambassador of all that we could desire. We are confident that your lordship will assure his Majesty of this when you go back to London, as you propose, as well as of our cordial affection for that crown and our desire that he may enjoy every prosperity. We regard the interests of his subjects as being on a par with those of our own, and we will make enquiries about the case of Simeas and decide what action is proper to take. We have already declared our good will towards the duchess of Savoy, but the steps taken by the house of Savoy to our disadvantage have afforded an unfortunate response to our advances. Thus your lordship will see that unless there is a change there is no opening for a renewal of friendly relations, although we appreciate his Majesty's efforts in offering his interposition.

Ayes, 128. Noes, 0. Neutral, 5.

[*Italian.*]

1639.
April 9.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

627. Giovanni Grimani, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

With regard to the agreement with Bavaria England witholds her consent until a portion of the Palatine's dominions has been restored and some agreement made about the succession to the electoral vote. Yet the whole affair is thoroughly masticated and there is also a project for a marriage between a daughter of the king and Bavaria's only son, and an alliance with the House of Austria. But the news from Paris and London makes one apprehensive and it may be that Teller has been recalled in order to remove French suspicions, though I firmly believe that he left here to set on foot a new treaty at Brussels. The negotiations certainly took place here and Teller himself informed me that he has finally settled all the essential points with Bavaria and the Austrians and that nothing but the ratification of Spain was required. Thus if England is speaking here in one way, by deeds and at London and Paris in quite another, by words, I do not know what I can say on the subject, except that a few weeks should clear away these fogs from the sky. I will say this much, however, Teller has spoken here very unreservedly and in conversation with all his friends he has expressed views and opinions far removed and utterly divergent from those which issue from the mouths of all the other English ministers and from the king himself as well.

Vienna, the 9th April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

April 11.
Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

628. The Senate's deliberation of the 9th inst. having been read to the Ambassador of Great Britain, he spoke as follows :

I shall leave content since I go with such appreciation of his Majesty's good will to the republic. I will perform the office your Serenity lays upon me and bring you decisions appropriate to the circumstances and your desires.

I am glad that you welcome my king's interposition for an adjustment with Savoy, but if I had some definite resolution about what the republic wants I could speak with better grounds and direct my offices to this reconciliation. There are many apparent reasons for this, which I need not mention. I will only say that the circumstances call for a voluntary oblivion of minor matters for the sake of greater ones for the welfare of Italy. Piedmont has become the scene of tragic events. The idea of a balance of power agrees with your Serenity's ideas and those of my king. It does not suit to permit the progress of those forces which have prospered too much and threaten worse disturbances. The duchess cannot resist alone, without help from your Serenity, and has good reason to fear ruin, but by joint action the machinations of those who try to reduce her will come to naught. I need not enlarge upon the common interest of Italy to help her. I profess to have as Venetian a heart as your Serenity ; only the dress is different. If the book is the chief difficulty, any offensive

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remarks will certainly be removed. I will do my utmost to remove difficulties in anything else that may be suggested by your Serenity upon this or other points, but so long as you do not descend to details and I have no definite light upon the intentions of the state I do not know what more I can do. I have another letter from my king to present to your Serenity before I go. If you wish to add anything to what you have had read to me, I will obey your commands punctually and secretly like one of your own ministers, but it is necessary to particularise. You must also consider the condition of the widowed duchess, menaced as she is, full of affection for the republic and my king, harassed by her kinsmen and worthy of compassion on every head.

In the absence of the doge Sig. Antonio da Canal said there was nothing to add to what the Senate had had read. His Majesty's offers about the Turks were worthy of his generosity and prudence and appreciated by the republic. They heard what he said about Savoy and if there was anything else they would let him know. They valued his Majesty's interposition highly.

With respect to Simeas the ambassador asked that if he was not admitted as consul he might be as agent and simple factor. The case was so clear that no information was needed. It was a question of increasing trade through him. He would have thought the opportunity one not to be lost. He had memorials with the complaints of other merchants; he asked the doge to take them and decide. Canal replied that they would examine the memorials and see what could be done for Simeas, always with the desire to please his lordship. With this the ambassador bowed and went into the other room to take a copy of the office.

[*Italian.*]

April 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

629. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After taking Edinburgh castle, as reported, the Scots have continued their successful progress, and forced the Marquis of Ontele to seek safety in flight. They have taken Aberdeen without a struggle as well as other important places, notably Dalghiz and Donbarten, the first of consequence as the depository of the crown and royal insignia, as well as of a quantity of munitions and arms, which were sent there last month for distribution among those who have so far supported the royalist side. As the latter faces Ireland, it increases the difficulty of entering Scotland from that quarter. These circumstances cause the greater apprehension since the audacity of the enemy increases daily, and it looks as if they meant to attempt the very important place of Berwick as well. The king has sent the Earl of Essex thither with all speed, with 3000 men, and the Marquis of Hamilton is sent back here to hasten the march of the troops, which arrive daily from the neighbouring provinces, to increase the army with new levies. They are thus busy recruiting in this city, amid universal murmurs, everyone, without distinction, being obliged to remain under the royal colours. Many ships

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are all ready round the coast to embark troops and take them by water to Yorkshire, to join the main body. His Majesty adheres to his original plan to put 40,000 men into the field. This will obviously be exceedingly difficult in the great scarcity of money and the shortage of food stuffs.

Amid all these advantageous circumstances the Scots publish that if the king is disposed to grant them the maintenance of their old privileges, and come to Scotland unarmed with only his household, he will be received with the greatest respect, and find proofs of loyalty and perfect obedience among his subjects. If these proposals are sincere it is thought that his Majesty will be compelled by necessity to accept them in the end.

Before leaving here the king, as a testimony of his affection for his wife has decreed under his own seal, that in the event of his death the queen shall have 40,000*l.* a year as super dower, more than was customary with other widowed queens. He also directed the Royal Council that during his absence they should wait upon her Majesty every week and inform her of all that takes place in the government of the country.

The continued preparations of the French in Normandy in particular have aroused fresh misgivings in the ministers here that France may take advantage of the troubles here to attack the neighbouring islands of Jersey and Guernsey, and they have accordingly sent troops to guard them against any sudden emergency.

The Earl of Leicester has postponed his return to France under the pretext of going to the king for fresh and more precise instructions. The French ambassador here adroitly urges his departure, so that that Court may not remain without an English ambassador, causing remark.

The Catholic is trying through his minister here to get his troops transported from Spain to Flanders on English merchantmen, for the purpose of exempting them from the danger of hostile fleets, which scour the waters of Dunkirk. The French and Dutch ambassadors oppose this strongly, and represent to ministers that their masters will be justified by necessity in fighting those ships, even though they carry the colours of this crown.

Colonel Douglas has come again to express his readiness to return to Venice when required. His original leave being expired, he asks leave to remain here a little longer.

Your Excellencies' letters of the 17th ult. have just reached me.

London, the 15th April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

April 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

630. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

They talk of the Archbishop of Bordeaux's fleet having some designs on Gravelines. He might indeed land 8000 infantry but that would not suffice to attack Gravelines or Dunkirk without Dutch help, which there is nothing to indicate so far. Those

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who fix their eyes on Gravelines and Dunkirk seem to consider that facilities for this are greater than in the past, as the King of Great Britain, being busy with Scotland, will not be able to prevent them so easily.

Paris, the 12th April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

April 13. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

631. That the Ambassador of the King of Great Britain be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him :

We repeat our obligations to his Majesty in respect to the offers made by your lordship, whose action in the matter we greatly appreciate. Past events prevent us from doing more than we have done to express our friendly sentiments to the Duchess of Savoy, although we are extremely obliged to his Majesty for his offers, which we apprcciate highly.

Ayes, 128. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

April 13. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Germania. Venetian Archives.

632. Giovanni Grimani, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The Secretary Walderode, an Aulic Councillor, has just been to tell me that after the emperor had arranged the treaty of Brussels about the Palatine's affairs, solely to please the king of Great Britain, news reached him of the efforts of the English ambassadors at Paris to obtain permission for the Palatine family to go to Cologne. Until the emperor had a more definite knowledge of that king's intentions he must postpone any decision on the subject. I believe this step is partly due to the desire of the Austrians to unravel the knot of the varied proceedings of England in these transactions, but it is also due to the successes in Piedmont.*

Vienna, the 13th April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

April 15. Collegio Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

633. The Senate's deliberation of the 13th inst. having been read to the Ambassador of Great Britain, he said :

My request for audience yesterday was about this same business of Savoy, and I was glad to be sent for because I thought I should obtain further light, upon which I could proceed with the adjustment of difficulties. In this new office I must first thank you for the appreciation of my king's interposition. He is moved by pure affection and the desire to see the old confidence restored between the republic and Savoy. From Prince Vittorio Amedeo I have frequently heard declarations of the best feelings towards you. These sentiments certainly remain and the past

* Maurice, Cardinal of Savoy and Prince Tomaso, under the patronage of the emperor claimed the regency of their nephew, the duke of Savoy as against his mother, who was controlled by French influence, and in a few weeks overran all Piedmont with Spanish forces, investing the duchess herself in Turin.

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accidents occurred more through the mistakes of ministers or the fault of ill intentioned persons than from the princes. I wish your Serenity's friendship for the duchess could be transmitted to the House of Savoy, and that there was no occasion to separate these two points, but unite them. The present state of Piedmont requires this, the part of Italy upon which it is necessary to keep the eyes fixed to keep away changes. However, if your Serenity does not feel inclined to go any further in the matter at present, be so good at least to advise your ambassador in London of the offices I have performed and the replies given, so that he may inform his Majesty in the same way as I do, and on my return to Turin, if there is an opening, do something good, if I know the intentions of the state. I shall also speak of the republic's appreciation of his offers about the Turks, and I can assure him that your Serenity will show this. I must add that as I am leaving for London I must first present other letters from my king.

After the letters had been read, the ambassador said, I will do precisely what the letters contain. I ask your Serenity to give me a reply to present to the king's own hand, and I will wait for it. Sig. Talber will fill my place ; I ask you to receive him favourably, it will be a testimony to your satisfaction with what he had done hitherto. I am sorry the doge is absent, as I should have liked to take leave of him. I must recommend to your Serenity the interests of merchants, whose consolation and relief will lead to better relations with yours. Sig. Pelegrini Count of Pelgia, his Majesty's consul general in Italy will need the protection of the state. I ask you to give this and also to allow Simeas to return to Zante. This also will benefit trade. I leave another memorial for this.

In the absence of the doge Councillor Canal replied that the republic would do all it could for the merchants ; they were anxious to gratify Simeas. They wished the ambassador a good journey. They would gladly receive Sig. Talber. If there was anything more, the Signory would let him know. After some words of ceremony the ambassador asked that Sig. Talber might be introduced, and he presented himself in the Collegio. The ambassador took leave and went into the other room to make a copy of the office.

[*Italian.*]

Filza. **634**. Memorial of Henry Hider to the Ambassador of Great Britain.

I thank God at hearing you are going to Venice, as in my sufferings through the powerful persecution of my ill wishers and of the English nation I have no hope of justice except through your intercession, so powerful are the forces that seek to destroy me.

I came to the islands of Zante and Cephalonia some years ago to carry on my affairs. I have always set the public interests before my own, to render myself worthy of his Serenity's favour. The public representatives know how readily I have helped them with my money at various emergencies due to delay of the public

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revenues. Others have not done so, not even subjects. I also increased trade in those parts, with incredible advantage to the state and provided the islands with corn and other things in time of famine, all proving my devotion to the republic.

As we suffered various considerable extortions from the customers of the new impost, I decided, when in Venice in 1636 to take up that duty, with an advantage to the state of 40,000 ducats, at a time when subjects refused it. I nominated Marc Antonio Boldu as conductor, being an islander, and because I had known his father in law Pietro dall' Aquila, fiscal advocate of the chamber of Zante. As the duty on the first harvest showed a great advance Aquila conspired with his son in law to get a hand in this, under the guise of friendship to me, but he worked more by craft, threats and violence against me and the English, unmindful of benefits received from me, and compelled me to renounce all my rights to him, giving me his relations and dependants as *caratadori*, passing over those who had already signed. He also compelled me to take refuge in Turkish territory to trade, abandoning my most important interests, so as not to risk my life. I pass over the maltreatment of many of our nation, especially the consul William Bordet because he appealed to justice. Not content with this Aquila had me entered unjustly as debtor for a large sum of money to the chambers of Zante and Cephalonia. This was easy from his position as fiscal advocate. To win favour with the rulers and under a most false charge of smuggling he has had me banished from the Venetian state by the Proveditore of Cephalonia, on the complaint of Boldu and his own testimony and that of his close relations. He has done this in order to keep me away from the state so that he may have greater facilities for smuggling and of administering the said duty to suit himself. This is shown by his compelling many merchants to pay him various sums, which were deposited in the public chambers, in default of the duty in my charge. This unjust process and the sentence of banishment were rightly quashed by the Council of Forty, civil vecchio thus recognising my innocence.

Some of these things were represented to his Serenity by the English resident, and in consequence, on the 2nd October, 1638 the Senate ordered the Proveditori here to revise the accounts about the debt I was charged with and hear what I had to say. They also ordered the Proveditore of Zante to draw up a process against Aquila, Boldu and their followers. Accordingly I passed from the Morea to Zante, where I acted as consul and general merchant for the nation, an office conferred upon me to my great advantage and reputation. With the help of the Proveditore and the ministers my accounts were inspected and I remained creditor for 1261 ryals 19 aspri, besides my just claims against the customers, as I believe the Proveditore has reported.

When I was about to proceed to Cephalonia to do the like in the chamber there, Aquila, knowing my intention, conspired with the Chancellor Capretta, his close friend, owing to their mutual affairs, and without waiting for me to come, had the

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alleged debt confirmed against me, without giving me any chance of stating my case. They sent the accounts to Venice in my absence in order to blacken my reputation.

I now beg your Excellency to intercede with his Serenity for me upon the following particulars :

(1) that the process against Aquila, Boldu etc. may be made according to the forms of the Senate, because Aquila's influence is so great here that no one would dare to bear witness against him if the witnesses are examined in the usual public way, as he would have them killed, as has happened to many. In this way we poor foreigners shall get some relief.

(2) That some naval commander who is sailing soon may have power to review my accounts and the charges made against me in the chamber of Cephalonia so that I may state my case, and if I fail I will pay readily the sum which I legitimately owe.

(3) That the particulars laid before the Five Savii for Trade by Don Biasio Vondani against Aquila and Boldu about the new impost on currants, farmed by me, receive their finishing touches, especially as this concerns the public interests.

I hope through your Excellency's protection to move the doge to relieve the English nation, which is so badly used by these persecutors, so that after so many afflictions I may enjoy a quiet life and taste the fruits of justice, and attend to my affairs with more spirit.

[*Italian.*]

Filza. **635.** Memorial of Henry Hider to the Ambassador of Great Britain.

Some days ago I sent your Excellency a memorial upon the persecutions suffered from Aquila, his son Zuane, his son in law Boldu and their followers, without referring to the insupportable injuries to which our countrymen have had to submit, owing to their arrogant influence in those islands.

I now add that on the 7th July and the 2nd October last the Senate directed the Proveditore of Zante to form a process upon the complaints of our nation and of myself in particular, against those persons, first sending them all to Corfu, and have them detained there until the process was drawn up, so that justice might pursue its course and take knowledge of their misdeeds, and that during their absence from Zante and Cephalonia the witnesses might tell the truth without fear. Accordingly the Proveditore sent to tell those men not to leave Cephalonia, where they then were, until further order from him, yet they went about as before, in contempt of justice. No Englishman has cared to take upon himself to lay any complaint, for fear of his life, and because the process was not committed with the forms of secrecy ; so they thought it better to suffer wrong.

I came from the Morea to Zante, as the state desired, to arrange the accounts of the chambers of Zante and Cephalonia, because of the alleged debt. But at Cephalonia they would not wait for me, as I have stated. I also came to lay my complaint before the

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Proveditore of Zante, giving him a note of various witnesses. Some of these have not told the entire truth, from fear of their lives, and some will not be examined for the same cause, as Aquila's relations threaten them.

The Proveditore of Zante wished to proceed in a new form, in accordance with the Senate's orders, and sent to the Proveditore of Cephalonia so that he might have those persons sent to Corfu, within three days. Nothing was done, however, as the orders were not intimated, and the public will was contemned. This is due to the close friendship between Aquila and Capretta, chancellor of Cephalonia for those affairs which pass between them, well known to all, so that Aquila may be called the absolute arbiter in those islands. Thus Aquila and Boldu remain at Cephalonia, administering the duty of the new impost which was tyranically taken out of my hands, to suit themselves, committing various serious faults to the detriment of the state and of myself. I now ask your Excellency to represent these particulars to the doge so that severe orders may be sent to the Proveditori of Zante and Cephalonia to send those men to Corfu, and at the same time direct the Proveditore of Zante to perfect the process with the rite and secrecy, so that the many misdeeds of those men may be brought to light, and the process sent to his Serenity to judge the cause. I am sure that justice will give the punishment deserved, for the relief of myself and our poor nation, who deserve so much from his Serenity. Once we are free from these toils we can attend to increasing the trade of these islands, as I have always tried to do. If this is not done, the people here will never feel the force of justice and will proceed from one crime to another, when they get off scot free.

[*Italian.*]

Filza.

636. Laurence Ider, an English gentleman and merchant at Venice has previously set forth to your Excellency the calumnies made against him by the late Ridolfo Simes, the loss he has suffered by his presentation for nineteen months, the proved falseness of the witnesses examined against him, and the unjust penalty which the Avogador Pisani made him pay for the acts of Vicenzo Constantini, notary of the Avogadoria, very well known by the inquisitors of that time, because they promised him restitution, as the most excellent Pisani knows, who is even now in the same office, and also begged you to set it all forth in the Collegio, so that he might be reinstated and return home after nineteen years. He is tired of litigating for nine years and his father constantly writes to him to come home. He again asks your lordship to remind his Serenity of his notable ruin, because he cannot persuade himself that with your favour and his own just reasons he will not recover what he has unduly paid. In addition to this, amid all these persecutions he has been unable to recover many of his debts. He therefore again begs your Excellency to perform a final office, so that his claims, debts and causes may be delegated to four or five members of the Senate, or to those tribunals which his Serenity may consider best

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adapted, for his speedy despatch without appeal, so that they may decide summarily, and he may once more have his own again, which he brought here for the benefit of this city.

[*Italian.*]

Filza. **637**. Thomas Simeas, chosen general factor by the English merchants at Zante, having heard that his Serenity intends to take information about his affair wishes to show your Excellency what prejudice a long delay may do him, as he was only employed to put straight the disorders which the English factors made in the trade at Zante.

He never did anything here contrary to cordial relations between his Majesty and the republic about the liberty of trade.

His Majesty had given satisfaction to the Ambassador who went to England in all he could desire for the republic about his employment.

Before his arrival at Zante there was no gentleman who had currants in his power, but they were all bought by monopolists, Greeks or Jews, and this was the cause of his trouble as it will be the ruin of the people there.

The peasants rejoiced greatly at his coming to Zante, because he paid them cash for their currants, while the Jews only paid a quarter or a third in cash and the rest in goods, in order to impoverish the poor people more. Only $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions of currants were produced at Zante in that year, and of this before his arrival the Jews had intercepted 2 millions and the Greeks the rest.

Before his departure he bought in the two islands 5 millions of currants but as his appointment was suddenly revoked and he has been constantly absent, the purchase remains incompleted, to the notable loss of his Majesty's subjects.

He begs your Excellency to intervene for his return to Zante, so that he may attend better to the affairs of his principals, as he has no intention to prejudice the subjects of the republic, or at least to allow him to return to put a stop to the loss hitherto incurred, and what more may happen through his absence from those parts.

[*Italian.*]

Filza. **638**. I, Francesco Marcello, Proveditore of Zante, formerly gave orders that Pietro Aquila should not leave Cephalonia or permit his son Giovanni or Marc Antonio Boldu, his son in law to do so. We now, in obedience to repeated commissions from the Senate of the 2nd October last order the same Aquila, his son and Boldu to leave the island of Cephalonia within three days and go to Corfu, which they shall not leave until further order from us, upon the most severe penalties to their persons and goods.

The Chancellor Pretorio by order.

Zante, the 1st March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

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639. From the enclosed your lordship will gather the public intent. I had told Aquila and the others not to leave here until further order. Since then the orders have come that they are to go to Corfu. I send this order, asking you to see that it is carried out, sending word as soon as it is done, so that what is proper may be decided, in order to uphold the respect due to justice.

FRANCESCO MARCELLO, Proveditore.

Zante, the 1st March, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

April 16.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

640. To the Ambassador in London.

We enclose copies of our replies to the Ambassador Fildin, especially about Savoy. You will speak in conformity to his Majesty, assuring him of our appreciation of his offer and of the manner in which it was presented by his ambassador. You will send us particulars with reference to his coming back here very soon, of which he assures us.

Ayes, 122. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

April 16.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni Corti. Venetian Archives.

641. To the King of Great Britain.

Express appreciation of his Majesty's efforts on behalf of the republic and the general welfare of Christendom, so adequately represented by his ambassador, whose departure is regretted, although this sentiment is mitigated by the hope of his return, and by the certainty that he will express orally the obligations of the republic and its desire to reciprocate with all sincerity. Wishing him every prosperity.

Ayes, 122. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

April 16.
Venetian MSS. Public Record Office.

642. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In order to assist the congress of Cologne I thought it advisable to visit the ambassador extraordinary of the emperor at this Court. He told me more than once that the emperor put peace before every other consideration. When I praised this, he added, smiling, that with respect to the Palatine the English ambassador offers, if the House of Austria reinstates him, the King of Great Britain will bring about the restitution of Alsace, Burgundy indeed what France holds, a truce or perpetual peace with the Dutch and an offensive and defensive alliance. He remarked that they would need the consent of Cardinal Richelieu in order to effect this. He thought that the English king, in his eagerness to see his nephew reinstated, put forward proposals which lacked an adequate basis.

Madrid, the 16th April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

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April 19.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

643. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English already seem to suspect the possibility of designs here upon Gravelines and Dunkirk; so the return of the Ambassador Leicester still remains doubtful. From what I have gathered from the Cardinal it seems that they consider here that the negotiations at Hamburg on the old question of an alliance have completely vanished away.

Paris, the 19th April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

April 22.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

644. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty has informed the queen by courier of his safe arrival at York where the people received him with loud acclamations and every sign of devotion. He tells her he has made adequate provision for the defence of the frontiers as well as for the fortresses of Berwick and Carlisle. After Easter he proposes to advance to Newcastle to gather his whole army there and complete his plans for the conduct of the war. The wisest think that as the royal party is now completely suppressed in Scotland, he will proceed with great circumspection and will try rather to temporise, to harass the enemy's supplies, and compel him to obedience, rather than to attack him in his own country and trusting to the uncertain event of a battle, in the hope of re-establishing his authority in that kingdom and securing the defence of this one as well.

His Majesty has had the Lord Treasurer of Scotland arrested at York for having, with great cowardice, yielded Dalghiz to the Scottish forces without making any resistance. They say that the Earl of Sterlin, also a leading minister of that kingdom, has fallen under suspicion, who has hitherto professed to take the king's side, and will experience the same fate.

The ministers are labouring ceaselessly to find some way of meeting the very heavy expenses of these emergencies. There seems no other means than by summoning parliament. They suggest to his Majesty the idea of assembling it at York, only those taking part who are at present with him, and who depend absolutely upon his pleasure, claiming that by this precaution he is sure to secure himself against fresh irritation and to obtain promptly the votes for the needed contributions. All do not approve of this as the best course, and think it likely to produce disturbances in this kingdom as well.

The ministry constantly becomes more suspicious that the revolted people are receiving help from the French. They speak very bitterly against that crown. The king has tactfully intimated to the French ambassador here, who proposed to keep near him, to stay where he is, and if he wants to see his Majesty and asks for audience, it will promptly be appointed for him, on the tacit understanding that he comes back here.*

* *See* Windebank's letter to Wentworth of the 13th April o.s. in which he roundly calls the ambassador "this spy." *Strafford Letters*, Vol. ii., page 322.

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The old quarrel between the king and the Catholic minister here seems to be put aside. The Duchess of Chevreuse labours hard to restore him to his former confidential relations, and those who favour the Spanish side most not only hope to secure this, with the present feeling against France, but to introduce overtures as well to re-establish a complete understanding between this crown and that one.

By virtue of the offices reported the Admiral has forbidden the merchants here to send their ships to Spain for transporting troops to Flanders, as the Spaniards had arranged.

Mr. German has gone to Court to report the Most Christian's reply about the queen mother. Although they see that very costly stay here will be greatly prolonged, yet the king has written very affectionately to his mother in law, assuring her that he will share his last crown with her, as a sign of his affection and respect.

The negotiations with the Duke of Weimar for the marriage of the Palatine princess remain on foot. The English agent with the Swiss, but recently returned from that country, has gone to the king with letters just received from the duke. The Swiss, through this agent represent their misgivings at seeing the French so near, without the means or the courage, so far, to prevent them from obtaining greater advantages.

London, the 22nd April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

April 23. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

645. To the Ambassador in London.

After the departure of the Ambassador Fildin his secretary here presented the enclosed paper in a very improper manner, asking that the letters to his king should be written in Latin, as his own are. We replied that we have used the same idiom as is used with the emperor, Poland and other princes who write to us in Latin, and apparently we made him realise how baseless his request was. We inform you in order that you may know the facts, should anything be said on the subject, and that you may send us full information.

Ayes, 133. Noes, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 29. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

646. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Marquis Hamilton left here two days ago to return to the Court. He takes to his Majesty 50,000*l.* realised by the sale of many offices and from those who made a money payment to escape personal service. They have embarked 6000 foot on many ships and proceeded towards Newcastle, where the general muster of the army is ordered for the first of next month, and the presence of all the ministers, a courier having arrived from his Majesty with the command for everyone to go there without delay.

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The Scots pushed their forces towards Berwick, but, finding it well provided and the defenders ready to offer a stout resistance, they thought it best to withdraw, without attempting anything. They are now devoting themselves to making more secure the places which hold out for them in their own country. On the other hand they persist in the show of claiming nothing by their violent proceedings beyond the defence of their old privileges. They removed from the castle of Dalghiz the crown and other royal insignia which they had brought with pomp to Edinburgh. There, with the concurrence (*communicatione*) of all the people, they renewed the oath to preserve them faithfully for his Majesty and his successors and subsequently sent to the king to express again their readiness for a settlement and even to send deputies whenever he chose. These proposals, not being considered entirely sincere, have awakened no response so far in his Majesty's breast.

With the ever growing scarcity of money the queen has got the Catholics of this city to hold fresh meetings to devise a means of obtaining further contributions from those of the whole kingdom. The pope's minister, who is the director of this affair, is trying hard to induce them to make a second payment of 20,000*l.*

The second brother of the Duke of Lennox is getting ready for the journey to Rome, with hopes of obtaining the Cardinalship. Although a close relation of his Majesty, he has always made open profession of the Catholic faith.* The Countess of Arundel is also thinking of proceeding to that Court, as she aspires to the same honour for a nephew.

Your Excellencies' letters of the 30th ult. reach me this week, with instructions which his Majesty's absence does not permit me to fulfil. I will do it through the Secretary of State, the minister to whom all the ambassadors now address themselves.

London, the 29th April, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

May 6.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

647. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

By the king's command the Marquis Hamilton has proceeded to Scottish waters with six ships of war, many other small vessels and 6000 foot, with the purpose of occupying some important position in that kingdom, if he can. The Viceroy of Ireland also has orders to move at the same time, for an attack from that quarter, as they have definitely decided no longer to delay drawing the sword against that people, all hope having disappeared of bringing them to their rightful obedience through negotiation. This plan does not coincide with the sympathies of the generality, and all the remarks one hears in this city are entirely favourable

* Ludovic Stuart, at this time not twenty years of age. He eventually received the red hat just before his death in 1665. Paul: *Scots Peerage*, Vol. v., page 359. He crossed in May, to Dieppe, in charge of Capt. John Povey. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, pages 94, 273.

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to the constancy and interests of the Scots.

The Marquis of Ontele, and all those, although Catholics, who have so far shown a faithful promptitude in his Majesty's service, have joined with the others and signed the confederation, so the rebellion is now seen to be a general one. For the government of the country they have, by common consent, chosen twelve persons, taken by proportion from all ranks, indicating that they propose to lay the foundation of a democratic state after the example of the Dutch.

In order to keep the English Puritans steadfastly in their favour the Scots distribute many papers in this country, in which they point out that the steps taken by his Majesty were solely due to the interested advice of ministers, won over by the pope, who, under the pretence of reforming the liturgy of the churches of the two countries, proposed to introduce the mass as well, and to reduce these realms once more to subjection to the Roman Court, which is most hateful to them. These ideas acquire the more credit with the people because only the Catholics speak against the rebels.

At the interposition of the Duke of Lennox the king has released the Lord Treasurer of Scotland, but on the express condition that he shall not appear in his Majesty's presence, but proceed to Scotland to exercise his most important functions. This command leads men to prognosticate the most pernicious consequences.

With the object of making sure of the loyalty of the troops and those who follow him, the king has decided that all, without exception shall take a new oath to him, with words carefully designed to bind everyone to pursue the Scots to the last gasp. All obeyed readily, but Baron Ceii and Viscount Bruc, Puritans of rank and influence, gave the rein to their passions and refused, pointing out that the prerogative of drawing up such oaths, however proper they may be, belongs solely to parliament and not to his Majesty. In great wrath at the freedom of such incautious ideas, the king had them both arrested, causing a very great murmuring, everyone freely saying that this severity will only hasten greater troubles in England.*

His Majesty will leave York on Monday for Newcastle. As they still suspect that the French ambassador persists in his intention to keep near his Majesty, they have sent orders to intimate once more to the ambassadors that he is going to a country unfitted for the residence of foreign ministers, and so they must not stir. Thus the hopes of that minister of seeing the events of this war are utterly quenched. Apparently he was very eager to do so, in the interests of his master.

All the lords lieutenant of counties have orders to return to their posts without delay and to collect fresh troops to be sent where his Majesty commands, as they have definitely decided to add strength and reputation to his arms by new levies.

* The oath was offered to the lords on the 21st April o.s. All took it except Lord Say and Lord Brooke who were forthwith committed close prisoners to the lord Mayor of York. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, page 67.

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A satisfactory detailed pardon from the king has reached the Duchess of Chevreuse from France. She says she will soon cross the sea to return there. With her absence from this Court the interests of the Catholic will lose the active support which she has given them in the past.

London, the 6th May, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni, Corti. Venetian Archives.

648. To the Ambassador in London.

Advices of events. We shall be glad of the return of Colonel Douglas as soon as possible, as we have need of his services.

Ayes, 134. Noes, 0. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

649. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Joachimi reports the remonstrances of the French minister about the embarcation of Spanish troops on English ships as likely to lead to war with France and these Provinces, as if Spanish troops were found by the French or Dutch fleets on English ships, the flag would not be respected. The king told him and Joachimi also that he could not prevent the numerous merchant vessels in Spanish ports from taking what cargoes they pleased, but he would not allow an escort of his own ships of war. This has not entirely satisfied their High Mightinesses and indeed their suspicions seem quickened of some correspondence between Spain and England in the present troubles of the latter country. They take advantage of that here as affording them an opportunity to express themselves with less reserve and to take a higher tone than they usually have done.

The Hague, the 7th May, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia. Risposte. Venetian Archives.

650. With regard to the memorial of the English ambassador about Thomas Simons, we find that on the 16th July last the secretary of England informed your Serenity that the Levant Company had elected Simons as consul for the islands of Zante and Cephalonia, and asked for your Serenity's patents. On the 29th of that month our predecessors reported that they considered this appointment desirable. It seems, however, that Simons went to Zante before the patents arrived, not to act as suggested, but to the hurt of the inhabitants and to carry out the instructions of the Company and without presenting himself to the Rectors, arranging to buy up currants at very low prices and to obtain absolute control of the trade. This led to his removal from the island.

We are of opinion that the question whether Simons should act as consul and in addition serve as an agent for the Company is a matter for the decision of the Senate. At the same time we would point out that it is most difficult to prevent arrangements devised by the English. No doubt it would be advantageous if

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the vendors also combined. But they are so numerous and the fruit is so perishable, and cannot be kept for more than a year. Consequently they are compelled to sell. The whole produce of currants in the islands is about 11 millions, which greatly exceeds the demand. 1½ millions suffice for Italy, the same for Flanders and about 5 millions for England. Accordingly everyone is anxious to sell and the price may even go lower.

We consider that the Secretary of England should be asked to see that the grievances of the islanders are removed, which are due to the limited authority of the Company, and the Rectors of Zante and Cephalonia might be instructed to make enquiry and discover the principal interests of these English and to inform the islanders that it is not the desire of the state that their interests should suffer. We may add that if the decrees of your Excellencies were carried out the number of currant plantations would not be so abundant, and no doubt a small harvest would be an advantage.

Dated at the office, the 10th May, 1639.

Francesco Zen
Girolamo Trivisan
Piero Foscarini
Geronimo Morosini
} Savii.

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

651. The Secretary of Great Britain came into the Collegio and said :

Before he left the ambassador presented a paper about the English merchants at Zante and of Ider in particular, to which a reply is earnestly requested. Hider has now sent another memorial to the ambassador, which I present.

He then said, I take this opportunity to assure your Serenity that if in the past I have not been able to merit your favour, I will endeavour to win it in the future by some satisfaction for the many favours I have received.

The doge said they were glad to see him. They knew his sincerity and qualities. The evidence about the affair of the English merchants was under consideration, and they would gladly do what they could for them. With this the secretary departed.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

652. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

In the matter of the Palatine's passport I have thought it expedient to write to the Ambassador Giustinian in England, to obtain if possible an official document, expressing the desire of the King of Great Britain as to asking or no for a passport for the Palatine, and his decision, approving or otherwise of a special conference at Brussels, so as to have something wherewith to shut the mouths of those who continue to speak against the

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truth, and to put an end to the tricks by which they seem to be trying to delay the meeting of the congresses.

Paris, the 10th May, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

653. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Fildin has arrived here by the posts on his way to England. He wished to see the king as a private individual, but as he claimed to cover, contrary to the custom here, he could not have it, although they offered to grant his being received in audience as ambassador, if he wished. Apparently he was not satisfied with this. I paid my respects to him, and if he does not leave too soon, I shall make an effort to call on him.

Paris, the 10th May, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

654. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The march of the troops towards Newcastle proceeds diligently. His Majesty and most of the ministers who attend him have already set out thither. Everyone is waiting impatiently for news of the result of the efforts of the Marquis Hamilton against the Scots. These remain on a bold defensive, under the command of Captain Leslie. They have sent forward 10,000 foot with 3000 good horse towards Berwick and they labour ceaselessly at fortifying the frontier, on which both men and women are engaged, the leading ladies showing marvellous devotion. His Majesty writes to the queen that although the Marquis of Ontele signed the confederation with the other rebels, yet he became suspect as a professing Catholic, and they suddenly arrested him. They are glad of this and hope that it will produce changes in that country favourable to the king's interests.

In order to put a stop to the dangerous murmurs which have been very general, against the oath laid on the troops, the king has ordered the modification of some of the terms, and he subsequently ordered the release of Baron Ceii and Viscount Bruch, but on condition that they immediately returned to their country houses, and do not leave them until his Majesty decides.

The queen works her hardest to raise money, of which the need becomes greater every day. She has written *in forma precaria* to all the gentry and ladies as well, earnestly begging for fresh help in these emergencies, and not to contribute less than 100*l*. They hope these efforts will prove successful, as it is thought that no one will have the heart to refuse so just a request to so great a lady.

The Admiral has withdrawn the prohibition to ships to bring troops from Spain to Flanders, and they have sailed safely to those parts. To the repeated offices of the French and Dutch

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ambassadors, they have replied that as the ships belong to private individuals, they cannot prevent them from going on such voyages as suit their interests best, and if they fall in with hostile fleets the captains will find a way to obtain by force that satisfaction which the king cannot grant them, because of the neutrality he professes. This decision has greatly offended those ministers, and as it is a consequence of these harmful suspicions that the French keep on encouraging the rising in Scotland, so those may not be altogether beside the mark who fear that if the French fight the English ships, the bitter feeling caused thereby may lead to other important changes between these great princes.

In discussing whether the persistence of these disputes may not force his Majesty to resume once more the negotiations at Brussels about the Palatinate, the Spaniards try to attract his Majesty by lavish but possibly vain promises.

The Ambassador Fildin has not yet arrived here. His mother awaits him eagerly, and is making every effort to marry him to another very rich lady.* She declares, as do all the ministers, that a few weeks after his arrival he will return to your Excellencies. Your letters of the 8th ult. have only reached me to-day, with the information about this ambassador. No overtures have been made to me about reopening relations between your Serenity and the House of Savoy. If this occurs, I will answer briefly and cautiously, but I am much afraid that such offices are rather due to the feelings of this young minister than to any orders from his master to introduce the matter. However I will try to make sure of this, and send word.

London, the 13th May, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

May 17. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

655. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Fildin decided to continue his journey without appearing at Court. Despite my weakness I called the day before he left, and he returned the call after a few hours. He expressed his great devotion to your Serenity and said he was determined to arrange in England for some assistance in case a rupture with the Turks could not be avoided. I assured him of your esteem and encouraged his friendly disposition. To secure his co-operation I told him what I had written to Sig. Giustinian about the passport for the Palatine. He approved of the expedient of getting the wishes of the King of Great Britain in this matter set down in writing. He said that his Majesty would be greatly indebted to your Excellencies for thus taking up the defence of his nephews.

Paris, the 17th May, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

* Barbara daughter of Sir John Lambe, dean of the Arches. Her fortune in land and money was estimated to be worth at least 50,000*l*. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, page 452.

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May 20.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

656. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The efforts of the Spaniards, who have tried to introduce fresh negotiations at Brussels for the Palatine House through a private religious,* have so far succeeded that the king, contrary to his promises to France and to other declarations, has sent orders to the ministers to admit the Catholic minister and hear from him the particulars of the proposals. They amount to this: that at the intercession of the crown of England the Austrians will see to the complete restoration of the Palatinate, although without specifying anything about the electoral vote, on condition that two of the fortresses there, selected by them, shall remain in Cæsar's hands, and the Palatine shall pay for the garrisons out of his revenues; or instead of these, two others which the emperor may choose to construct in those states where it may suit the imperialists best. In return for these advantages this crown will be bound to enter a defensive league with the House of Austria, with the undertaking to give the Catholic the assistance of some ships of the fleet for the defence of Flanders, and some other remarkable facilities (*convenienza*) so far not disclosed.

The French ambassador, at the report of these proceedings, which they do their utmost to keep secret, does all he can to thwart their progress. He labours to show that the offers are deceitful, expressly devised in order to involve England in a rupture with France and the Dutch, under specious titles.

The Marquis Hamilton has arrived safely in the river of Edinburgh with all his force. He remains at anchor, feeling doubtful as to where he can land with the least resistance and the greatest advantage. They think he will not do so before the troops destined to invade from Ireland have also marched. They have sent more officers there to take part in the proposed operations.

His Majesty is now near Newcastle. By an act of praiseworthy clemency he has recently announced a general pardon to the rebels, with offers to establish all that they desire in Scotland by means of a parliament, if they will quietly agree to the customary residence of bishops in the kingdom, which is the crux of the dispute. In response the Scots have notified the king that if he is disposed to take up the thread of negotiation again and give security to their deputies, they will send persons to treat for an agreement. They not only accepted this promptly, but the Earls of Arundel, Essex and Bristol and the Secretary of State Cuch were appointed to hear the proposals.

The levies granted to France in Ireland and among the Scots proceed lamely. The ambassador has been obliged to go to the king to obtain an extension of the time appointed in the patents to the colonels. But his principal object was to act energetically to destroy the machinations of the Spaniards and to prevent the ships bringing troops from Spain to Flanders being escorted by the eight ships of the fleet, stationed in the Downs for the defence of the Channel.

* Apparently Father Vivero is indicated.

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The Earl of Leicester has returned from Court, where he was made a Councillor of State.* He declares that he will go back to his old post in France in the course of next week.

Your Excellencies' letters received this week are of the 23rd and 29th ult. The chronic sterility of events here increases the difficulty of useful service.

London, the 20th May, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

May 20. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

657. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Fildin arrived in Court on Wednesday.† Without giving me time to call he came here at once and overflowed in compliments. He again expressed his readiness to foment his Majesty's inclinations in the present serious affair between your Serenity and the Turks. He assured me that after seeing the king he will start back for Venice in a few weeks. After the manner of officials here he went on to speak at great length of the overtures made to your Excellencies in the king's name, to restore correspondence with the House of Savoy. He represented that the duchess desired it with impatience and is ready to give every possible satisfaction to the Senate. She had Pere Monod arrested, not only at France's request but chiefly to show that she did not approve of the indecency of his writings, which have interrupted a good understanding with the republic, to the loss of her House and her own private grief.‡ The ambassador pressed me hard as to whether I had any instructions on the matter, and if the conditions he suggested coincided with the state's wishes. If not he would try to correct them. The replies he had received did not seem to him particular enough, and he wished to ascertain your Serenity's feelings privately, so that he might bring the matter to a successful conclusion. His Majesty and the queen, who he said would speak to me on the subject, desired this exceedingly and hoped that their interposition would induce the republic to take that House under its protection once more. In reply I expressed the Senate's gratitude for his Majesty's efforts in the public cause, in the certainty of profiting by results worthy of such a great king. I thought it opportune to communicate to him in confidence the advices sent me on the subject. I also assured him of your special esteem for him. With respect to Savoy I told him quietly that I had no orders and I thought he had a special knowledge of the very sincere intentions of your Excellencies.

London, the 20th May, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

* On Sunday the 15th. Salvetti on 20th May. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H.

† i.e. the 18th. According to Salvetti, writing on the 20th, he came ostensibly to confer with the king upon affairs but really with the intention of marrying a rich widow [Lady Bayning], whom he found already appropriated. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H.

‡ Père Monod, a Jesuit, confessor and councillor of the duchess, arrested and imprisoned at Montmelian on the 4th January, and sent on the 18th May to Miolans, the prison of felons.

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May 21.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

658. GIERONIMO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I will await the good pleasure of the state about the book of Grasvinchel, to gratify him by the expression of the public will, which he desires exceedingly.

The Hague, the 21st May, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

May 27.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

659. GIOVANNI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Catholic minister has held more than one meeting this week with the ministers here, but as he adheres to the bare request that they shall send an ambassador to the Cardinal Infant at Brussels to advance the conclusion of the treaties, the matter remains as before, as his Majesty does not feel inclined to commit himself by such a public declaration, to avoid exciting too soon the suspicions of the princes of the party and of the Most Christian in particular. Yet it would by no means displease them here if the question of the Palatine House provided a motive for delaying the meeting of the congress for the general peace, as during the present disturbances of the realm they think it highly advisable to make every effort cautiously to keep at a distance all hope of an agreement between the crowns.

To achieve their intent the Spaniards cultivate with all their might, through the duchess of Chevreuse, the old leaning for a marriage between the princess here and their prince. These proposals are most acceptable to the queen. They say freely at Court that to facilitate it she allowed the Chevreuse to take the princess to the mass secretly.

The offers of the Scots to hold a conference have entirely fallen through as they would not allow the ministers sent by his Majesty to publish the general pardon in that kingdom, indeed they have printed a new paper in which they contend that it is lawful for subjects to take up arms against their prince for religion. The king, on his side, to dissipate the very general idea that he inclines to Catholicism, is issuing a manifesto protesting his utter aversion from it and that he never had a thought of changing the old liturgy practised in the country.

The Marquis Hamilton has anchored at some uninhabited islands and landed all his troops there.* He is waiting for them to recover from their sufferings at sea, which has caused serious sickness among the men, prostrating many. His Majesty will march from Newcastle next week, to press on with speed to Berwick, with the determination, with all his troops together, not to delay attacking the enemy any longer. These, with renewed vigour and confidence are waiting patiently to withstand courageously the shock of the royal arms.

They are still very busy over enlisting new troops, and besides

* He landed 5000 "raw soldiers" on the islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth off Leith on the 4th and 5th May o.s. "to exercise them in the use of their arms." *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1639, pages 127, 210, 225.

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the levies commanded his Majesty has distributed patents for another regiment of 800 infantry, for the guard of his own person, to be commanded by the son of the Earl of Lince.*

The Earl of Rostburgh, who was sent to Scotland, before the king started, to take assurances of the king's willingness to grant what they wished, is now in strict custody, charged with not having fulfilled his commissions faithfully and having consented to a son leaving the king's service to join the malcontents. They say that his wife, who is in charge of the princess, will have orders to leave the palace.†

The Ambassador Fildin started post on Monday to see the king. He seems most anxious to return to Venice as soon as possible. After a long and costly journey the Secretary Agustini arrived here yesterday evening.

London, the 27th May, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

May 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

660. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Sir Peter Vuechi, who for eleven years has been ambassador at this Court for the king of England, has taken his departure. He was banqueted by the Caimecan who arrayed him in the customary vestments. He took leave of me on the same day. He told me he had spoken to the Caimecan and to Bustanghi Pasha about the impropriety of my arrest, and the interest that all Christendom would take in the affair of the pirates if they went to war with the republic. He said this to them plainly, so that they might inform the king on his return. I thanked him suitably. He told me that his successor had the same commissions. He apologised for not returning my visit, telling me that quarrels and even challenges had passed between them, but he hoped the other would come after his departure. He left on an armed barque for Smyrna where two English ships are waiting to take him to Leghorn.‡

Galata, the 30th May, 1639.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

June 3. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

661. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Arundel has advanced to the Tweed with 12,000 combatants. He is two miles from the enemy, and as they number 15,000 foot and 3000 horse he has decided not to proceed

* Montague Bertie, lord Willoughby of Eresby.

† Robert Ker, earl of Roxburgh was arrested at Newcastle on Tyne on the 10th May o.s. and committed to the custody of the Mayor, Alexander Davison. Lord Henry Ker, his son, after taking letters from the queen to the king at Durham, went on to Scotland and joined the Covenanters. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, pages 155, 172. Jean, countess of Roxburgh had been governess of the Princess Mary from the time of her birth in 1631. *Court and Times of Charles I.*, Vol. ii., page 144.

‡ The quarrel was over the consulage. Wyche stayed on because it was necessary for him to be formally dismissed by the Sultan. The king gave judgment in the dispute on the 20th April, o.s. Wyche to Coke, the 30th March, 1639. *S.P. For. Turkey* : *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, pages 65, 66.

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further before reinforcements reach him. These are being got ready with the utmost haste everywhere, and several couriers have reached the magistrates of this city from the king with resolute orders to supply 6000 foot without delay. They have begun to assemble them and very soon they will be sent off to their destination.

Meanwhile the Scots have intimated while they have not so far gone beyond a desire for the preservation of the privileges of their country, yet, if this intention to trouble them by arms is persisted in, they will make the first attack upon England, in order to assist their defence by this diversion. These words cause apprehension among those who have most credit and influence with the king, and give them the cue to point out how dangerous spirited measures are in existing circumstances, and how beneficial will be the adoption of a persevering clemency towards that people, whose success is impatiently desired by everyone, since all hold fast the hope that this example will facilitate the satisfaction which the English claim also.

M. di Pree, a Scottish captain of experience and reputation, has reached the Court from Flanders, sent by Count Piccolmini at the order of the Cardinal Infant to offer his Majesty 4000 German horse. He asserts positively contrary to the belief of the wisest, that they will be ready to cross the sea whenever it pleases. The king expressed his gratitude but did not accept the offer, well knowing the trickery and pernicious designs behind this courtesy; as in addition to the scarcity of money, which makes fulfilment impossible, the exceeding jealousy of the people here does not allow him to entertain the idea of introducing foreign troops into the country.

With great industry the Treasurer has sent to the army 30,000*l.* received from the merchants, advanced upon the revenues of the crown, which are now pledged up to the end of 1644. They are constantly enquiring into the means to obtain fresh contributions from the wealthy by blandishments (*con soave mano*) and they have applied again to the leading officials of the crown, asking for speedy and very considerable payments. The Catholics also, urged by the papal minister here, hold lengthy meetings to arrange for giving active assistance in the present emergencies. The Catholic minister has continued his negotiations with the secretary of state, seeing him very frequently at night, and with great secrecy.* I find that nothing has yet been arranged, however, as they are waiting for the opinion of the Court about his proposals. Many couriers have gone thither and the queen herself has sent Mr. German with all speed. When he comes back it will be less difficult to find out the particulars of these transactions.

The Prince of Denmark arrived in this city last week; after seeing the queen he went off hurriedly to the king. On the arrival of a gentleman expected from France the Duchess of Chevreuse announces that she will set out for that country; but her frequent

* *See Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, page 189.

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conferences with the Catholic minister here afford material for observation and comment.

They do not speak so confidently of the return of Fildin to the Venetian embassy as before, indeed his mother is making every effort to get him a post at the palace. If this succeeds it will be some time before they decide to send another minister to your Excellencies. The Count of Egmont has again offered his services, saying that he desires nothing so much as to testify to the ancient devotion of his house to your Serenity. I made a formal reply.

Your Excellencies' letters which reach me this week are of the 7th and 12th ult.

London, the 3rd June, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

June 4. Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia, Risposte. Venetian Archives.

662. With regard to the memorial presented by the English Ambassador on behalf of Henry Hyde, the matter has been settled by your Serenity, and the process is being drawn up. Accordingly it is not seemly to transfer it to another hand, especially as Aquila and Boldu may not stay in Zante and Cephalonia, so that they cannot prejudice the process. We also think that the matter can be more easily settled by your Serenity.

Dated at the office, the 4th June, 1639.

Francesco Zen
Girolamo Trivisan } Savii.
Piero Foscarini

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

663. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The present week has passed without anything remarkable happening about here. The king has joined the army, which has not moved from the Tweed, and has been living in tents for several days. The enemy, securely entrenched in his original positions, makes no move. There is talk of fresh overtures for a composition, but the wisest do not think this will be easy. Many of the most trusted ministers tell his Majesty that the sole means of touching the people and destroying the machinations of the most obstinate seditious is to go unarmed to Scotland and be present at the parliament there, which is prolonged for some days more. So far the king does not seem disposed to adopt this advice, as being unsafe as well as unworthy of his dignity. The Marquis of Hamilton remains at his islands, and the fleet, abandoning its original plans is cruising about the waters there preventing all ships from entering the river and approaching that coast. When some Scotch ship approached bringing several officers from Holland to serve in the war, it detained it and made the officers prisoners.

Meanwhile all the property belonging to Scots in this kingdom has been seized and sold, though on the express condition to deposit the price to be restored to those of the owners who

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voluntarily return to their allegiance and repent their past errors.

The Spaniards use all their arts to encourage the old suspicion that the French and Dutch are fomenting the rebels. The Cardinal Infant has this week sent to the Court a Jesuit father to represent to his Majesty the decision of those princes to afford their vigorous assistance, and offering to join the Dunkirk fleet with his and jointly thwart all attempts. The king is well aware that by these proposals the Cardinal only aims at obtaining protection for Dunkirk, threatened by the French fleet, which cruises in the Channel unchecked, eighty sail strong. He decided not to accept the offer and sent back the religious to his master with only a ceremonious answer. Yet he does not give up his inclination to thwart with caution the enterprise of the French, which is considered most mischievous to the safety and repose of this kingdom.

The Earl of Leicester has orders not to delay any longer his return to the Most Christian Court, and his departure is fixed for Saturday. His instructions differ in no way from the original ones, though I find that he is charged very secretly to temporise in his transactions rather than work to secure a conclusion, although with the purpose not to cut the thread of negotiation altogether.

The Duke of La Vallette speaks of his troubles with more passion than prudence, announcing his intention to adopt the most hazardous courses in order to show by his animosity the innocence of his actions, and there are not wanting those who encourage him by possibly ill founded promises, to attempt some pernicious revolution.

The French minister here has lost all hope about the Scottish levies. He has been deceived by many and finds no one willing to take up the charge honestly during the disturbances in that country.

London, the 10th June, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya, Venetian Archives.

664. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Resident informed the Assembly in the States, by royal command, that the Scots have been declared rebels. By virtue of the friendly relations with his Majesty he asked them to forbid their merchants to trade with the Scots, and to uproot their mart which is planted at Rotterdam. Their High Mightinesses heard this demand with no good will and with little intention of paying any heed to it, since it means cutting the throat of a well established trade which brings a considerable benefit to the people here for the disposal of their cloth. They replied that in order to give due consideration to the proposal they must take time to discuss it.

At the moment they are devising some excuse or colour to justify their refusal and so to evade the request. They believe that the king has been moved to prefer this in order to sound the disposition of these Provinces over the affair of these Scots, and

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to forestall any disposition on their part to afford them assistance covertly. The king is very uneasy about this, not only because of the way in which the Scots in their acts, have followed the principles of the government here, but also by reason of the tacit connivance shown here in past months over the transport of arms to that kingdom.

The Hague, the 10th June, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

June 17. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

665. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Several couriers from the king have reached the queen lately and all bring hopes of an approaching agreement with the Scots. They show the most perfect readiness for it, and having obtained a safe conduct they have sent a deputy to his Majesty to express their sincere desire for an adjustment, and with powers to develop the terms. After he had held several conferences with the ministers, they gave him the king's proposals in writing and allowed twelve days to hear the precise intentions of his superiors. Meanwhile the armies on both sides remain idle in their quarters, and the Scots have been ordered by the king to keep twelve miles from Berwick. They have confirmed this command by an edict of their own, to give some proof of their obedience. All show the greatest exultation at the reports of these hopes, which are designedly spread everywhere from the palace. But those who weigh the real value of these things, without prejudice, consider the enemy's proposals merely a device to gain time, and to give them the means to withdraw from the campaign without spoiling the harvest of the present year. The future will soon show what is the truth.

Several ships have sailed from Dunkirk which, in addition to capturing some French barques have detained other vessels which were taking horses from Holland to Scotland. This circumstance affords further confirmation of the inclination of the Dutch to give a cautious support to the revolt, and increases their ill feeling here.

In order to remove the suspicions of the French minister here that this crown is once more treating with the Austrians for an adjustment of the affairs of the Palatine House, the king has directed the Secretary of State to make him some explanation, pointing out that the last overtures were started by the Cardinal Infant, and were not taken up here ; his Majesty holds steadfastly to his original principle, not to budge from the agreement made with France on the subject. But the ambassador is well informed and knows that their actions do not coincide with these statements altogether. He is by no means satisfied and tries to obtain more open declarations that will pledge his Majesty to break off utterly all negotiations with the House of Austria. It is not easy to achieve this ; as their increasing desire, encouraged by the Spaniards, to marry the princess here to the Prince of Spain, and their fixed determination not to bind themselves to the arbitra-

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ment of France alone, do not allow them to let drop absolutely the means of negotiating with the Catholic.

The ship *London* has reached these shores from Smyrna, having made a good passage with favourable winds. The captain assures the ministers that he heard there that the Persian arms had won a glorious victory over those of the Grand Turk. This news has given just satisfaction and they sent it to the king. I have tried to obtain more absolute assurance of the truth of this but have failed to get any satisfactory confirmation.

This ship brings a heavy cargo of currants, taken from the Turkish states. The use of this was introduced into that country a few months ago, and those interested in the Levant Company hope to make very considerable profits therefrom, to the detriment of those of Zante.* There is no more to record, and I deeply regret that the barrenness of the soil does not permit a minister to gather fruits fit to assuage the just curiosity of your Excellencies. I have your letters of the 20th and 27th ult.

London, the 17th June, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

June 17. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

666. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Admiral of these Provinces recently boarded an English ship coming from Spain, on which they found troops or money for the Spaniards. The King of England remonstrated and sent 7 men of war to the Admiral, asking by what authority he had made this search.

The Hague, the 17th June, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

June 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

667. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Two weeks ago an extraordinary courier from England reached their ambassador here. He at once saw the king and the Count. It transpires that he had business of importance. So far as one can gather he promised the alliance of his king with the House of Austria on condition of obtaining help against the Scots. He stated, however that it was not proved that France had any hand in those disturbances as the Most Christian had cleared himself very satisfactorily. He urges the marriage alliance between the prince here and his king's daughter, declaring that in that case they will see more than ever the results of the alliance that he offers. The Count, as usual, was profuse in his expressions and promises, *but it is not clear how they can be fulfilled.*

Madrid, the 18th June, 1639.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* The development of the currant trade with the Morea was the subject of resolutions passed at the meeting of the Levant Company held on the 10th March 1637. In the following July Wyche was notified by the Company of the appointment of Henry Hyde to be consul at Patras, and that the sole buying of currants in those parts was placed in his hands. *S.P. For. Archives*, Levant Co. Vol. 111 (Letter Book) and Vol. 149 (Court Book.)

1639.
June 23.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

668. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

To appease the king of England with respect to the trade with the Scots, which their High Mightinesses are reluctant to stop, they propose to take in hand the affairs of the Indies, thus returning to a subject which has lain dormant for a long time and to revive it with the object of satisfying the English by way of justice. The people of Amsterdam do not agree to this project and protest that they will not abide by any judgment except that of the directors of their Company.

The Hague, the 23rd June, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

June 24.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

669. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The conditions proposed by the king did not satisfy the Scots, and they sent back their deputy a second time to his Majesty with the terms which they demand. In these they persist that his Majesty shall confirm in their entirety the things carried in their Assembly; that the fortresses of the kingdom shall all remain in the power of some of the confederates, and that the king shall undertake to withdraw all his troops from the frontier immediately. On the other hand the Scots are to keep all their troops until the final execution of the treaty. These most arrogant demands aroused his Majesty's just wrath and he dismissed the minister without an answer. He would not delay any longer making some trial of force and he has sent to Scotland the Earl of Holland, commander of the cavalry, and Colonel Axele, with 3000 foot, 1000 horse and ten guns, with orders to attack Scels. They approached this without opposition and took up a position on a hill two miles off; but finding the place well garrisoned and ready for a bold defence, with General Leslie quartered no distance away with the bulk of the army, they thought it advisable to retire with all speed, and in some disorder, with serious danger as the enemy followed closely. Their strength and courage constantly increase and they advanced to within sight of the royal force, and planted their quarters there, without respect. They are well entrenched and closely observe the king's movements. He is hurriedly trying to increase his army with new troops.

They have sent urgent orders to Ireland for the prompt raising of 10,000 more infantry, and have directed the county of Lancaster to supply 6000, they propose to add the latter to the army and to send the former to Carlisle under the command of Henry Bruce, an officer of repute, to make a simultaneous attack from that side as well.

Amid all these disturbances and preparations neither side has given up negotiation. When I saw the queen yesterday for the customary complimentary office, she told me she had received a letter from the king that day which left an opening for hope that the Scots might abandon their exorbitant demands and allow his Majesty to listen to an accord. She expressed her desire for

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this and her passionate wish to see these differences terminated without worse humours. The royal revenues are incapable of coping with them any longer. The daily increasing want of money with the impossibility of fresh provision causes the ministers the gravest anxiety. They all openly advocate, with a view to the interest and reputation of the crown, that it is advisable not to delay an adjustment.

The Ambassador Fildin returned here from the Court two days ago. He has lost his hopes of an honourable post near the king and of the marriage to which he aspired, and so he thinks of returning to his embassy very soon.*

The Duchess of Chevreuse still delays her return to France, and contrary to her assurances they say she inclines to go to Flanders rather than elsewhere. She negotiates constantly with the Catholic minister here, causing the attention and suspicions of the French one. He has persevered with his offices to put a stop to the invitation of the Spaniards to treat separately with this crown about the Palatinate. Here, while they profess to France that they have no inclination to take up negotiation with the Austrians again, they do not altogether quench the hopes that they will embrace the proposals which may be offered to them. So this old affair remains in a fluctuating position, which is just what the House of Austria aims at.

London, the 24th June, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

July 1. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

670. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty has sent a gentleman of rank express to tell the queen at the persuasion of his ministers he did not break off negotiation, and the Scots having sent six deputies to the camp, they have every hope of a composition, and nothing remains to complete it but the signature of the articles agreed upon. This should happen in a few days.† Meanwhile, as a sign of his sincere goodwill he had permitted the Scots to kiss his hand, and prepare themselves, when the troops have been mutually disbanded, according to the agreement, to proceed to Edinburgh to take part in the parliament, by whose means the things established are to be confirmed. The particulars of these are not yet published amid the great rejoicings everywhere at the happy news. All laud to the skies the steadfastness of the Scots, and everyone feels sure that these troubles will have cured the king completely from making revolutionary changes in the future, and that he will also be more anxious to please his people here.

* From a draft settlement among the state papers it would appear that Barbara Lambe, the lady to whose hand Fielding aspired, was affianced about this time to Thomas lord Wentworth, son of the earl of Cleveland. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, page 261.

† The Scottish commissioners were the earls of Rothes and Dunfermline, Lord Loudoun and Sir William Douglas, sheriff of Teviotdale with Alexander Henderson and Archibald Johnstone. They first came to the king's camp on the 11th June o.s.; a second meeting was held on the 15th. The king's messenger was Sir David Cunningham. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, pages 304, 310–2, 315.

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To prove his devotion the Scottish General Leslie has expressed to his Majesty his readiness to take his force to the service of the Palatine, and he asks for no assistance but the maintenance of his men until they have crossed to Holland. When there he has no doubt about obtaining what is necessary from the enemy's country, while he can also serve the king's nephew. The offer pleased the king, but they have not yet decided about carrying it out, as just now they seem more inclined to assist that house by negotiation than by arms. At Brussels they are expecting plenipotentiaries from Cæsar and Bavaria for this purpose, and at their arrival a minister will certainly be sent from here, in addition to Gerbier, to set the affair going. But they keep this decision a most severe secret, as his Majesty is not altogether sure whether the Imperialists will send their deputies there in the manner they promise.

The Dutch Admiral has taken up a position in the Channel between the Downs and Portland, with twenty six well armed ships. He is waiting for the fleet which is to bring troops and money to Flanders from Spain. The Dunkirkers also have sailed from their port and boldly attacked many ships taking money from France and the French ambassador in Holland. The last was killed in the fight and the ship was captured by the enemy. The same fate has befallen ten small Dutch ships which sailed from the Downs last week laden with goods and other munitions of war, on their way to their own country.

London, the 1st July, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

July 1. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

671. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

I have seen the Ambassador Fildinch since his return from the Court and he repeated his determination to set out for Venice in a few weeks. He said he had fresh instructions to confirm his Majesty's willingness to assist the public cause vigorously in the present affair with the Turks. He added, as is customary with this minister, a long rigmarole about his master's goodwill to the Senate. I responded suitably assuring him of the value your Excellencies placed upon his Majesty's offers and generous proposals. I tried adroitly to discover how far the most serene republic could count upon help from this quarter in case of need. I observe that the offers represented by this ambassador and made to me so freely by his Majesty have no other object so far as the king is concerned than to perform the courtesies which the situation demands, and the ambassador is only trying to show his devotion to your service.

News comes today that six English ships have arrived at their ports from Spain, laden with infantry for Flanders and with sixty chests of specie. Three fell in with the Dutch fleet. After some firing the Dutch Admiral said that he wanted nothing except the Spanish troops in accordance with the old standing arrangements. The English captain wisely decided to hand them over promptly, and so 800 Spaniards remain in the hands of the

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Dutch. Everyone observes with curiosity the others, who without allowing themselves to be seen by the enemy, were brought by the other ships to Plymouth.* They will be escorted to Dunkirk by the royal ships. The restraint shown by the Dutch captains in taking the men and leaving the money, has done much to assuage the ill feeling caused by overhauling the other English ships, which anchored off here just recently.

With your Excellencies' letters of the 4th ult. I receive the paragraph from Corraro's. With respect to what he wants about the passport for the Palatine and about not treating of the affairs of that house at Brussels, Fildinch has spoken to the king, as the result of what Corraro said to him at Paris, and his Majesty directed the Secretary Cuch to inform me, so that I might assure his Excellency that he had never agreed to the treaty of Brussels. All that Tellier did at the Imperial Court was without any commissions whatever, as he had not even the insignia of a minister of the crown. When he returns he will be punished as he deserves. I need not comment upon this, especially as I have written more than once that in the present disturbances of the realm, their fixed idea is to prolong this business, and not entirely break away from the secret negotiations with the Austrians, intent on dragging the negotiations to Brussels. I know your Excellencies would not approve of your minister committing himself in a matter which, according to the habitual duplicity of the ministers here, would not be observed, to their shame, or to instances which, if published might although unreasonably, cause offence to some of the parties.

London, the 1st July, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

July 2. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

672. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Expectation of French attack on the treasure fleet. Oquendo has orders to bring it safe to port without running risks. Meanwhile the ships from Naples have reached Cadiz. In their place they are sending the infantry required in Italy by English ships, which have undertaken to convey them. A large proportion of them have died or are dying for lack of necessary provision.

Madrid, the 2nd July, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

* Arrangements for the transport of troops to Flanders were made early in the year in Spain, with Benjamin Wright, presumably a merchant. The chief executive agent was Thomas Davis, master of the ship *Experience*. By May Davis was ready with his own ship the *Providence*, *Rainbow*, *Industry* and another. They took on board 1500 soldiers and though urged to wait for the fleet, then making ready under Oquendo, and offered 1000 ducats a piece for doing so, Davis persisted in sailing without escort his own ship mounting 30 guns. On the 28th June three of his vessels fell in with the Dutch squadron in the channel commanded by Tromp, then on the look out for Oquendo's fleet. He made them heave to and took off 1070 Spanish soldiers. Of the other two one got to Portsmouth and landed 300 men. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, pages 94, 274, 306, 328, 390, 391. Le Clerc : *Hist. des Provinces Unies*, Vol. ii, page 192. Aitzema : *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*, Vol. ii, page 609. Salvetti's despatch of 1st July. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H. Hopton's despatches of 28 Feb. and 8th May. *S.P. For. Spain. Mem. Hist. Espana*, Vol. xv., page 308.

1639.
July 4.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

673. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Admiral of the States sent an express who arrived yesterday, with news of the seizure of 1070 Spanish soldiers, called "*bisogni*" but destitute of every requisite (*bisogno*), whom he found on three English ships. After a mutual exchange of canon shot he boarded them and scarched them carefully, without finding any cash beyond 15,000 florins, consigned by the Spaniards to the English sailors, in anticipation of some such encounter, for the cost of transport, in advance. These ships were surprised in the mouth of the English Channel. It is said that it was a precaution of the Spaniards in order that they might estimate the chance of sending the rest of the fleet, believing that by sending these on they would serve as couriers along the route and to test the possibility of following.

The Admiral has fresh orders to so dispose his fleet that he can keep a careful watch between Boulogne and the English coast. The Admiral has landed the Spaniards in France, only keeping the officers.

The Hague, the 4th July, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

July 8.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

674. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The composition with the Scots has been arranged, to the great joy of the people and of the Puritans in particular. I enclose the articles. All the foreign ministers conveyed to the queen and prince their gratification, myself among them. After the signing of the peace the king chose to proceed to the hostile army, reduced to 20,000 picked foot and 4000 good horse. After his Majesty had seen them they were all to be disbanded within 48 hours. It seems that General Leslie's offer to serve the Palatine House in Germany has not been accepted, his Majesty adhering steadfastly to his inveterate maxim to avoid anything that might affect the neutrality he professes, which maintains a fruitful quiet here.

The king, impatient of remaining away from his wife any longer, is expected next week at Theobalds, a house of the crown ten miles away. They think he will stay there incognito and then proceed to Edinburgh to assist at the parliament, as agreed, which is to be held there next month. Although we hear that the Scots are prepared to insist pertinaciously therein that everything shall go as they please, yet everyone adheres to the belief that fresh troubles will not be started, since his Majesty, from mere necessity is disposed to give them every satisfaction, even without consideration for the rights of his own sovereignty.

If the king receives ambassadors at Theobalds I shall not fail to go there and perform offices according to circumstances, expressing the gratitude of your Excellencies for his offer to support the public cause in the affair with the Turks, and I will try to increase his professed goodwill.

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The Catholic minister here has landed at Dover 400 Biscayan soldiers, who were brought from Spain and did not fall in with the Dutch fleet. He intends to send them over to Flanders one by one in English barques which go to Dunkirk every day. The others remain in the hands of the enemy. It seems that the Dutch admiral, to avoid the useless expense of keeping them, thinks of taking them again to the coasts of Spain and landing them there in several places, not permitting the Spaniards to avail themselves of that levy any more. The colonel and all the officers of the regiment, who were not recognised and so got off, have come to this city. They complain aloud against the English captains for giving up the soldiers to the Dutch after a slight resistance, when they had made such solemn promises.* Meanwhile all those who have the greatest interest in the route to Spain are using every effort with the ministers so that the king's ships may be commanded to return as soon as possible from Scotland to the Channel and prevent foreign fleets from troubling the ships of this nation any more. They are all afraid that if the Dutch and the French fleets unite they will completely destroy the trade of Spain, which is so profitable to this mart.

London, the 8th July, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure.

675. Articles of the peace concluded the 27th June, 1639.†

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Enclosure.

676. Reply of His Majesty to the Lords of the Covenant touching their demands presented to him on the 2nd June, 1639.‡

[*Italian*, 6 *pages.*]

July 8. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

677. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The States have debated upon the capture of the 1070 Spaniards reported, as some disapprove of the Admiral's action in not keeping the ships and prisoners. Some would have wished them sunk, in order to strike terror, and not to have let them off unscathed. The English could not make this a grievance, as the king expressly told the ambassador that he had not granted his ships for the transport of men and money to Flanders, and the merchants acted at their own risk and without his consent. They think that this gives them an opportunity to deal rigorously with the ships engaged in this traffic, and they are inclined to send for the admiral to defend his action. But after two days' discussion they decided in favour of the Admiral.

As the English Resident was going home they sent deputies to inform him of the circumstances and to complain of this open

* The colonel was Don Simon de Mascarenas. *See Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, pages 391, 407.

† Rushworth: *Hist. Collections*, vol. iii., page 1022.

‡ Rushworth: *Hist. Collections*, vol. iii., page 1020. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, page 313.

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encouragement of the Spaniards to the prejudice of an allied and friendly state, and even hint at taking further steps if occasions arise in the future.

The Prince has issued a proclamation to prevent English soldiers from leaving the army and taking money and a passport from the Spaniards to cross from Dunkirk to England, as many have done, grown tired of idleness.

The Hague, the 8th July, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

678. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Princess Palatine and her children are pleased at the settlement arrived at between the King of England and the Scots. They think that with this difficulty removed that king may be able to devote himself more to their relief, and use the forces he has raised for the restoration of his kinsmen as well as for the advantage of his kingdom. The hope is encouraged by the news that he has assembled a large number of ships, without the object being known. The Palatine family interpret this to their advantage.

The Hague, the 10th July, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

July 15. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

679. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Talk of the king's return here has stopped and so have the preparations for him at Theobalds. It seems that his Majesty has changed his mind and he will not leave Scotland until the things agreed upon are fully completed through parliament, and an assured quiet established in that kingdom. Hopes of a thorough re-establishment of the royal authority depend solely upon the duration of that quiet. Meanwhile everything is being arranged for the meeting of parliament, and they proceed with caution in order that it may take place without disputes. The Scots have promptly dismissed all their troops and the king has done the same with most of his, only keeping some companies for the protection and dignity of his own person. This goes to strengthen the belief that everything will pass quietly.

From Holland the Princess Palatine has sent the agent of this crown to greet his Majesty and implore fresh help for the tiny forces of her son, which cannot take the field owing to recent disasters, for lack of money. She feels confident that the successes of the Swedes over the Imperialists which they announce there as remarkable,* render it easy for the Palatine to attempt something promising.

The Dutch ambassador has instructions to perform the most vigorous office for helping that prince to realise his spirited designs, and thereby increase the difficulties of the Austrians. But his Majesty and all the ministers are more partial to the interests of

* The Swedish general Baner defeated the imperialists at Chemnitz and Brandeis in April, taking Pirna, but he achieved no further successes.

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that House, and the ambassador has no chance of doing anything useful. This person has gone post to the Court in order to set things going, but so far one hears nothing of his negotiations. Their successful progress will meet with a serious check from the exceeding scarcity of money in the exchequer, caused by the exigencies of recent events in Scotland.

The Dutch Admiral has avenged by capturing many Dunkirk ships the injuries inflicted by the Dunkirkers on the ships of his countrymen which sailed from the Thames these last weeks. He sailed away with all the fleet from the shores of England, and proceeded to Dieppe, where he landed the Spanish infantry, so that they may be recovered by the enemy for the usual ransom. He has now taken to the sea again, and has his fleet spread off the port of Grave, inflicting constant and serious discomfort on the Dunkirkers.

At the instance of the merchants his Majesty has remonstrated with the Dutch ambassador through the Secretary of State, to the end that the States shall direct their naval commanders to abstain in the future from overhauling in the Channel ships carrying the English flag. Everyone feels sure that this office will induce the Dutch to act with more restraint than hitherto, in order not to cause greater offence.

French malcontents hold very frequent meetings in the house of the queen mother, constantly discussing schemes for making trouble for that crown. Leading ministers do not cease either, with the influential support of that queen, to induce the king to connive at this, so that they may get a good start with their ill devised and reckless plans.

Two extraordinary couriers, from Spain and Flanders respectively, have arrived at Court to-day. At their appearance it was noticed that the minister of the Catholic had a long conference with the Secretary of State. The object of these unexpected missions has made everyone curious, but limit of time has not permitted me to find out. I will try to do so and send word next week.

I beg your Serenity to have money voted for me for couriers and the carriage of letters.

London, the 15th July, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

July 16. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

680. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English announce that the negotiations at Hamburg are on foot again and are making great progress. But M. d'Avo reports differently. The Ambassador Leicester does not appear at Court. The Agent Oger expresses ideas about the affairs of Scotland better calculated to foment ill feeling than to establish unity and confidence between the two crowns. Madame de Chevreuse, despite her satisfaction as announced, does not leave England, and her proceedings cause reasonable suspicions.

Amiens, the 16th July, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

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July 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Costantinopoli. Venetian Archives.

681. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Bailo at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Since my return to the embassy the ambassadors of France and England, and the Imperial Resident have been to see me. I told them all that the principal cause of the trouble was the disunion of the Christian princes. I thanked them for their advice and their readiness to carry out the orders they had received, but, thank God, I did not need any of them. It was fortunate this was so, as not one of them was in a position to help me. The French ambassador was never at home ; the English ambassador unable to see the king and harshly used by the Caimecan, while the Resident has never been able to get audience.

The Vigne of Pera, the 21st July, 1639.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

July 22. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

682. To the Ambassador in London.

The difficulties with the Scots seem on the point of ending. If quiet is re-established you will congratulate his Majesty and the ministers in our name, expressing our satisfaction at the prosperous issue. Enclose sheet of advices.

Ayes, 108. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

July 22. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

683. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The carrying out of the peace with the Scots has been upset by fresh difficulties. They have re-established their original confederation, without regard for their agreements, and have sealed it by renewing their oaths. They labour ceaselessly at fortifying the coast at Leith. They stripped Edinburgh castle of all its munitions and of everything necessary for defence, and handed it over in that state to the ministers sent by his Majesty. They allow the introduction of no other munitions, save those for the daily maintenance of the few troops who guard it. This means that they intend to be able to re-enter it at will. Against those who stand fast for due obedience to the king, they persist in their hostile attitude, and show their temper in other ways, which all tend to show that they do not intend to give up their army altogether.

His Majesty, on his side, disarmed and having scant credit with his subjects still remains at Berwick, not altogether certain as to whether to advance, as arranged, into Scotland. Those who have most influence with him, advise him that it is better to send commissioners to assist at the parliament in his stead, and thus escape the insult of being a spectator of the violent proceedings of that people, it being impossible to repress their insolence by force.

All the commanders and leading ministers have returned to this city. Everyone speaks most highly of the discreet behaviour and generous proposals of the Scots, showing their strong partiality for that side. Some suspect, with good cause, that the English

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have secretly fomented these disturbances with the intent of forcing the king to concede a parliament to this kingdom also. That is the single goal to which the efforts and murmuring of the people aspire, the Puritans in particular, who have the most power at present.

As a counterstroke to past losses the Spaniards sent out this week from Dunkirk a number of barques well supplied with guns and troops. They fell in with seven Dutch vessels laden with sugar, convoyed by two of the States' ships of war on their way to Rouen. After a furious fight they captured the ships with their warships as well, inflicting a most serious loss on those concerned at Amsterdam. They announce the booty captured as considerable.*

With respect to the agreement for the restitution of some English ships seized by the Dunkirk fleet, the Agent Gerbier sent a courier last week from Brussels. One from Spain brings the Catholic's desire for the complete restoration to confidence of his minister here, with pressure to induce his Majesty to choose someone to proceed to Flanders with all speed, to conduct the overtures, which the Austrians now profess their inclination to push forward for the benefit of the Palatine house. They have informed the king of this by a courier, and the progress of this old negotiation will depend upon his precise wishes. It no longer seems strange to anyone. The queen has sent Sir [Kenelm] Digby to the pope in the capacity of agent. This does not escape criticism, because of the reputation of this gentleman as a clever pirate, and of having changed his religion three times.

London, the 22nd July, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

July 29. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

684. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The king's intention about going to the parliament to be held next month at Edinburgh remains doubtful, and the queen is waiting for more certain intelligence of his intentions with great impatience. The leading men of the Scottish covenant were to be presented to him on Monday, in order to lay before him the most difficult particulars of the proposals which they claim must be enacted in the parliament. It seems that from these they will be able to judge better of the king's intent to proceed to Scotland or to return here as the ministers would prefer.

Meanwhile the Scots have consented to suspend the work at the fortification of Lit, provided the ships of the fleet are sent back to England, affording equal satisfaction to the people of that kingdom and to the merchants of London, who hope that on the arrival of the English fleet the Dutch will show more respect for English ships in the Channel. Even to the French ambassador his Majesty has expressed his resentment at the liberties taken

* Salvetti, writing on the same day says that this stroke was achieved by 12 large frigates of Dunkirk. The value of the cargoes was estimated at 100,000*l.* sterling. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, page 392.

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by the Dutch fleet with the ships carrying his flag, charging him to write to France so that the Archbishop of Bordeaux may not begin to practise the same hurtful liberty. The ambassador replied, however, roundly, that if English captains, contrary to treaty, persevered in taking munitions and money to help Flanders, under the pretext of merchandise, causing serious prejudice to his master's affairs, France was obliged to take every precaution to prevent it. They suppose this is intended to make shipmasters uneasy about what they have done, with the danger, if it goes on, of more serious consequences.

The Princess Palatine, by a gentleman sent express, redoubles her instances for speedy assistance in men and money, while the French ambassador here, by order of the Most Christian, actively supports this. But all has proved in vain as yet, his Majesty merely gives his sister fair words and promises that she shall enjoy the fruits of his goodwill when the affairs of Scotland are thoroughly settled. This does not encourage the hope that anything for the benefit of that house will be done soon.

400 Spanish infantry passed through this city this week on their way to Dover, to be taken across to Dunkirk. The Duchess of Chevreuse still delays her return to France. She hints to the minister here that she has opened negotiations with the Duke of Lorraine calculated to lead to the settlement of his affairs with the crown of France, and that she is expecting to hear from that prince daily, when she can set the affair going with all sincerity. These pretences do not sufficiently explain away the suspicions aroused by her lengthened stay at this Court. The hopes of the Ambassador Fildingh for a marriage with another very rich lady have revived, and he is now bending every effort to bring it to a conclusion.* All talk of his speedy return to the Venetian embassy has now died away.

Today I receive your Excellencies' letters of the 24th ult. the 1st and 8th inst. With respect to the Count of Egmont I may say that he has a perfect knowledge of Italian, French, Spanish and Flemish. He has no military discipline beyond what he has learned in the wars of Flanders as a simple adventurer in the regiments of the late Marquis Spinola. His fortune is not equal to his high rank, as the ancient large possessions of his house are mostly in the hands of the Spaniards and Dutch at present. This makes it more likely that he will moderate his claims to anyone who thinks of giving him employment.

London, the 29th July, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

July 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

685. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The accommodation of the king of Great Britain with the Scots has been heard of with indifference. It is thought that the decisions of that sovereign will not give rise to anything startling.

* *See* No. 669 at page 551 above, and note. Lord Wentworth appears to have broken off the match some time in June, and Fielding's suit was at once revived. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, pages 320, 321, 426.

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The Ambassador Lester has not appeared yet. He has orders to negotiate for the exchange of the Prince of Poland against Prince Rupert. The Princess Palatine so writes to the King of Poland. There should not be so much delay over this business. They certainly say nothing about it here, as yet.

Mesieres, the 30th July, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

686. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I gather that two weeks ago, because of my offices with the Ambassador Fildin about a declaration from the king of England upon the conference of Brussels and the passport for the Palatine, the Secretary Cuch had orders to write to me. This seems to be delayed and without this step, it appears from what the Ambassador Grimani asserts, that it is impossible to obtain any satisfaction from Cæsar.

Sciarleville, the 4th August, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

687. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Persuaded by very strong letters from the queen and the whole Council of State the king has decided not to go to Scotland, and they hope he will make up his mind to come back here speedily, where the ministers await him with impatience. They propose to send a commissioner to take part at the parliament at Edinburgh. They have not yet appointed anyone, as all try to evade the task, which is recognised as very weighty and little likely to bring honour to whoever takes it up, since the Scots have now learned his Majesty's weakness by experience, and utter very high flown ideas. Without regard to the agreement they have issued a new protest at Edinburgh, at once insolent and seditious, in which they quite openly display their fixed intent to keep entire the authority they hold in the kingdom, leaving the king with the title and the mere shadow of authority. I enclose a translation of this protest.

When returning from Scotland to England the fleet fell in with five Dutch ships of war, which it seized without resistance and brought into the Downs. The reasons for this seizure have not yet transpired.* Everyone is curious about it, and those who most favour the Spanish party hint at the beginning of some ill feeling owing to past events between this crown and the States.

To the regret of the wisest ministers we have heard here the sad news of the death of the Duke of Weimar.† This utterly

* The Dutch ships were the *Utrecht*, 28 guns; the *Prince William*, 32 guns; the *Deventer*, 28 guns; the *Overrice*, 26 guns; the *Tertoole*, 18 guns: they were taken at anchor off Folkestone by Pennington on the night of the 20th July o.s., because he heard that a Hamburg ship the *Fortune*, sailing from Dover for Madeira had been boarded and carried off by two Dutch ships. The *Fortune* was, however, released at once. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, page 411.

† He died at Neuenburg in Baden on the 18th July.

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puts an end to the hope that his army might proceed to recover the Palatinate, as he seemed to intend, after completing his operations in Burgundy. Many English officers felt disposed to fight under the glorious flag of so distinguished a captain. Colonel Douglas in particular, a servant of your Excellencies, intends to go in that direction, and then offer himself to you for new employment. We hear rumours, though not sufficiently accredited, of negotiations for exchanging Prince Rupert against Prince Casimir of Poland.

In order to secure against accident the money destined for Flanders, the Catholic minister here, under the guise of a private person, offers his Majesty 12,000 crowns if he will allow a ship of the fleet to proceed to Spain to lade that money. As yet the king does not agree to the proposal, which the French ambassador does his utmost to oppose. This makes it probable that the Spanish minister will not find it easy to obtain this convenience.

With the growing heat the plague makes progress in this city. Several houses near this embassy are seriously affected, compelling me to take great precautions to avoid danger.

My letters from your Excellencies this week are of the 9th ult. When his Majesty arrives I will execute my commissions, communicating the last very weighty advices from Constantinople, and expressing appreciation for the prudent offices of the English minister at the Porte. I have got his Majesty's orders repeated to the new ambassador, and if your Excellencies see fit I can easily get new orders sent, although it will always be most difficult to obtain any assistance from this crown beyond mere words and offices.

London, the 5th August, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure.

688. Protest of the Scots (1) that they will stand by the Assembly at Glasgow. (2) that the deposed bishops shall be treated as men accursed. (3) that they intend to maintain the Covenant. (4) that all who advised this thing evilly shall be punished in the next parliament. (5) that judges and subjects who fail to appear at the next sessions, shall be excused, and its acts, if any shall be null and void. (6) that they mean to retain full liberty and the right to increase their powers.

[*Italian ; 3 pages.*]

Aug. 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

689. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Dutch ambassador has made the most vigorous remonstrance to the royal Council this week about the arrest of the five ships of war. They offered every excuse and expressly stated that it had been done without orders from his Majesty, and at the first opportunity they would send firm instructions to the commanders of the fleet to release the ships promptly. This entirely satisfied the minister and settled the matter, to the disgust of the Hispanophiles at this staying of further quarrels

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between this crown and those Provinces. The king left Berwick and arrived yesterday at Theobalds, ten miles from here. The queen, followed by all the Court has gone there to meet him, and they are expected in this city to-morrow, with much joy.

Things in Scotland remain as before, without sign of improvement. The people are quite determined not to receive bishops, and to punish severely their past liberties, which means that they propose to sever themselves from obedience to this crown under this pretext.

With these constant troubles, openly supported by the applause of the Puritans here as much as by the Scots, and to secure himself from greater dangers the king has at last been obliged to conquer his repugnance, and grant England a parliament also. It is quite clear that in this there is very serious trouble in store not only for the Catholics but also for His Majesty's most confidential and experienced ministers.

The Prince Palatine has unexpectedly decided to cross from Holland to this kingdom. After landing he sent a gentleman to the queen while he hastened to the king. It is supposed that by his presence he hopes to work upon his uncle's feelings (*tenerezze*) and dispose him to do something to relieve the fortunes of that most noble house.* In the present troubled state of affairs and the very great scarcity of money it is not likely that his reasonable requests will meet with any response.

The negotiations for the very rich match for the Ambassador Fildin† are approaching a conclusion, and then they say he will return to his post at Venice without further delay. The Earl of Leicester similarly says he is going back to France at the earliest opportunity, where he has instructions to press again for the exchange of Prince Rupert for Casimir of Poland. This is all I have to relate of the most poor occurrences here. I have received your Excellencies' letters of the 21st ult.

London, the 12th August, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

690. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Some Dutch vessels have captured the English ships which were conveying 1000 infantry from Cadiz to Corunna, whence they were to transport them to Flanders with others who were there. The soldiers were made prisoners and the ships released and allowed to continue their voyage.

Madrid, the 13th August, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia, Risposte. Venetian Archives.

691. With regard to the memorial about Thomas Simons, seeing that Western merchants trade in every place in the Levant, it is in their power to limit purchase by their agents. But as vendors have equal liberty in selling we do not see what regula-

* He landed on the 6th August and set out at once for Berwick. Bellievre to de Noyers, the 8th August. P.R.O. *Paris Transcripts.*

† Barbara daughter of Sir John Lambe.

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tions can be imposed upon these English. The most that can be done is to order the state representatives to render every assistance to the inhabitants, not permitting the English to make themselves a monopoly in the purchasing. On the other hand it is to the public and private interest to sell the currants. Accordingly we consider it both useful and necessary to satisfy and encourage this nation to proceed under favourable conditions.

Dated at the office, the 17th August, 1639.

ALESSANDRO BASADONNA
ALVISE MOROSINI, the second } Savii.
PIERO PISANI

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni, Corti. Venetian Archives.

692. To the Ambassador in London.

You must continue on the watch as to whether the Ambassador Fildin really means to return to Venice or to remain in England. The difficulties with the Scots have not ceased and all particulars of the progress of that affair are of importance. Our differences with the Turks have been finally adjusted, with honour to the republic. We enclose a copy of the information imparted to the foreign ministers here. You will speak to the same effect to his Majesty and the ministers, expressing the state's appreciation of what he has done and for his promise of help. We agree to the suggestion to reckon the time spent by you in Spain in the length of your public service.

Ayes, 89. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

On the 19th August in the Collegio :

First vote : Ayes, 16. Noes, 4. Neutral, 2.

Second vote : Ayes, 19. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1. Pending.

On the 25th in the Collegio :

Ayes, 16. Noes, 5. Neutral, 1. It requires 5/6ths.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

693. GIOVANNI GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The king proceeded from Theobalds to this city on Saturday, and on the following day I went to congratulate him on his safe return, assuring him that your Excellencies would rejoice that by his authority and prudence he had assured the tranquillity of these most noble realms and augmented his own glory. His Majesty spoke in the most friendly way of your Serenity and said that the happy termination of his civil discords would make it easier for him to respond in the relations he wished to maintain. I then referred to your appreciation of the recent offices of his ambassador at the Porte, declaring that he had admirably vindicated his Majesty's zeal and piety. I went on to tell him the very serious news from Constantinople, showing how it concerned the common welfare of Christendom. The king said he was very glad to hear of the good offices of his minister. He remarked that the threats of the Sultan would provide the best means for producing quiet among the Christian princes, and he

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was inclined to procure this by the most energetic offices. I applauded this as worthy of his lofty spirit and of the just intentions of your Excellencies.

The Palatine arrived here with his Majesty. He laid aside his claims to the electoral title and consented to see the French ambassador with that of Highness only. After calling on him for the usual offices of courtesy, I hastened through the Master of the Ceremonies to inform the prince of my readiness to visit him on the same terms. The Palatine sent back word that he would be very pleased to, but as he did not deal with the Venetian ambassadors at the Hague on the same footing as with the French, he could not do it here either. I expressed the utmost astonishment at this monstrous idea, and maintained that I could not believe that the ministers of your Excellencies had put up with a treatment different from that of other crowned heads. They have equal treatment at all the Courts. But the Palatine stuck to his point that he had made this distinction. In order not to seem to beg of this young princeling that which is readily granted by the greatest powers, I told him that my intention to see the Palatine was only as a further testimony of respect to his Majesty. With this the Master of the Ceremonies departed, and he has not let me know anything more on the subject, which means that they have tacitly allowed it to be untenable. This unheard of pretension has disgusted all the foreign ministers and compelled me not to see this tactless prince. I have sent word to the Ambassador Giustinian at the Hague.

London, the 19th August, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

694. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

Since his Majesty's return letters have arrived from the Lord Treasurer of Scotland stating that with the exception of the question of the bishops, the nobles there are inclined to satisfy his Majesty, and the chief difficulty lies with the common people, who persist in keeping up the rebellion. With the seeds of dissension growing between them and the nobles, there might be an opportunity of intervening with arms amid their discords, which he did not neglect to encourage, to re-establish the royal authority.

Meanwhile the ecclesiastical assembly opens this week, and this Treasurer is appointed to act in his Majesty's stead there. The city granted the king 10,000*l.* sterling as a testimony of its satisfaction at his happy return, but he, mindful of their steadfast refusal of the help he asked, refused the gift with stern remarks, thus increasing the ill feeling among the citizens here.

The chief reasons which induced the Palatine to come here are the desire to obtain his uncle's assistance about Brisach, and to obtain the command of the army of the late Duke of Weimar, or, if this is impossible, to induce its commanders to turn against the dominions of Bavaria. They hold long consultations at the palace, discussing the best way to set these

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very difficult plans going. Their chief architect is Sir [Oliver] Flam, who recently returned from his residence with the Swiss. They have sent letters in haste to the Weimar officers in order to find out their leanings, and to the Swiss, upon whose movements their best hopes of success are founded. The king has also written to urge them strongly to support his nephew, with specious promises, profiting by their nervousness at the proximity of the French. They have not yet formally approached the French ambassador, but only sounded him through a private individual. They certainly fear that the Most Christian may spoil the success of their projects. The wisest recognise the very serious difficulties in the way, multiplied by the lack of money, the only thing that can give these transactions life. The king is the more attached to them as they raise vain hopes of alarming the Austrians without committing himself and inducing them to make some honourable composition.

The Polish prince of Rasuil has arrived at Court under the pretext of private curiosity. The Palatine took him to see the king, and says he will do so again. This excites the belief that he brings instructions from Poland to smoothe away past ill feeling and to arrange with France for the exchange of Prince Casimir against Prince Rupert.

The cost involved by the queen mother's stay at this Court becomes ever more troublesome. They have sent expressly to ask leave from the Cardinal Infant for her to return to Flanders. His reply is very reserved ; that it must depend upon the Catholic's wishes, to whom he has written. Everyone agrees that the Spaniards will not agree to her return in order not to lose, while adding to their own expenses, the very great advantages which her stay here gives to the interests of that crown. The French ambassador, on the other hand, has some misgivings that, persuaded by her daughter and by necessity, with the withdrawal of her monthly allowance, the queen mother may cross unexpectedly to France.

London, the 19th August, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

695. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

Their High Mightinesses have learned that the king of Great Britain has released the four Dutch ships of war seized in the Downs.* This act, by evading the consequences, may be due to his reluctance to make the concession and it therefore tends to intensify still further the bad impression which is nurtured among the members of the government here about the disposition of the king of England to prefer regard for the House of Austria to the interests of these Provinces. There are some here who do not fail to deduce from past emergencies the evidence of mutual ill feeling between England and these Provinces, for

* On the $\frac{29}{30}$th July. *See* No. 687 at page 561 above. There were five ships, not four.

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the purpose of using incidents which happen to occur to form a basis for evil impressions.

The Hague, the 19th August, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

696. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The restitution of the ships by England does not seem assured. Accordingly the disposition towards the most jealous feelings is stimulated more and more, intentionally provoked by the interests concerned. This feeling has been further intensified by news originating from Hamburg that the English ambassador, having recovered some jewels to the value of 120,000 reichs thalers, deposited with the king of Denmark,* has opened negotiations with that monarch for an understanding and to consolidate it by the signing of an alliance. This is very far from what was expected and equally remote from the interests of these Provinces, for in the present state of affairs the union of those two crowns by no means suits them.

The Hague, the 22nd August, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

697. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince Palatine stays on at Court, and the ministers have met frequently this week to discuss his important concerns, the king always being present, but we do not hear of any definite decision so far. All seem to agree that it is necessary to urge France to take up sincerely the protection of this house. Everyone of the councillors declares that under present circumstances any other idea is vain. On the other hand the French ambassador does his best, to rid his Majesty of his inveterate principle of professed neutrality. He has repeatedly assured the king of the readiness of his master to help his nephew, if England supplies vigorous assistance in men and money. His Majesty only answered with generalities, and so confirms the belief that the Palatine will get little or nothing from his journey.

No news has arrived from Scotland recently, and they are waiting with impatience to hear about the first meetings of the ecclesiastical assembly. From the proceedings there they will be able to judge what measures the king shall take, whether to assemble parliament in that kingdom or to take steps a second time to reduce the rebels by force. His Majesty seems much inclined to this, and many nobles are already charged to collect troops with the idea of sending them to the frontier, and secure it against any sudden invasion.

The unparalleled scarcity of money greatly hampers his Majesty's spirited designs. The ministers hold lengthy meetings to discuss raising more. Every day they examine plans for obtaining from the people without friction the amount required by the urgency

* *See Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, page 402.

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of the situation. But all involve inextricable difficulties. As the sluggish mind of the Treasurer is considered incapable of surmounting these, they think of making a change and giving the post to the Viceroy of Ireland.* Besides his distinguished birth this man has the reputation of great ability, and by employing him his Majesty believes he can more easily achieve what he wishes. His Majesty has in the end accepted the 10,000*l.* which he refused last week, and is now devising a way to induce the merchants here to pay him a larger sum.

The Prince of Rassvil remains in this city and will not leave before the Palatine does. He proposes to accompany him to the Hague. Nothing more is said about his offices. As regards the King of Poland I do not find that they went beyond the usual compliments. His Majesty showed him every attention, went with him to the chase and gave him a public banquet.

Through the Master of the Ceremonies his Majesty has expressed his appreciation of my readiness to visit his nephew. That prince has justified by false excuses his unusual conduct in refusing me this honour. He repeated that your ministers at the Hague, since his father's death, have received no treatment different from what he has observed with the Dutch ambassadors. He said he had never given the position that he is accustomed to concede to the French. To these novel pretensions I have simply renewed my former expostulation, saying that your ambassadors had never received a different treatment from those of France, and this pertained at all the Courts. Perhaps it would be well to inform the princess, his mother, and when she knows she will probably correct this odious behaviour of her son for the future.

London, the 26th August, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

698. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The States here have reiterated their instructions to the Ambassador Joachimi to repeat his remonstrances about the behaviour of the English ships. He is to go so far as to tell the king plainly that if they continue to go on in the same way in the future, their High Mightinesses wash their hands of all responsibility for any unfortunate incident that may occur, allowing their sailors all liberty to uphold their rights by force of arms, and even supplying them with some assistance for the purpose. In the meantime it has been decided to proceed against the captains of the ships seized, because they did not attempt any resistance against the English, but voluntarily allowed themselves to be taken where they were commanded by the guns of a fort, to the prejudice of the rights of this government, which extend, so they claim, to the fullest possible use of the Ocean.

To meet the efforts of the English Ambassador Ro at Hamburg for the establishment of an alliance between Denmark and England, they attach importance to the reports spread here of

* There had been talk of superseding Juxon as early as February. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, page 378.

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some suggestion of an alliance between Sweden and these Provinces. This would be diametrically opposed to the other alliance, which has no other fundamental basis than correspondence for trade in the Baltic.

The Hague, the 28th August, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. Senato, Mar. Venetian Archives.

699. The 1st September, 1639, in Pregadi.*

To the Proveditore of Zante, and the like to the Proveditore of Cephalonia.

We have asked the opinion of the Magistracy of the Five Savii and that of Sig. Zuanne Capello, returned Inquisitor in the Levant, about the affair of Thomas Simons, who went as a general agent of the English merchants to your island, for the purchase of currants, with special reference to the trade in currants, which is the essential commodity of our subjects in those islands.

We have decided that Simons shall return to those islands and stay there for the next two years, so that we may see how he comports himself and decide, according to his behaviour, about his further stay there. Enquiries to the hurt of our subjects must not be allowed, but liberty to trade is to be granted. Purchases must be made in a suitable straightforward manner, and we direct you to warn Simons to abstain from anything that might lead to a more severe decision. He may sue for his debts and you will support him with the arm of justice, as will be convenient, exercising the ordinary authority of your office. If he acts differently you will inform us of what takes place.

That when the Secretary of England comes to the Collegio he be informed in conformity with the foregoing.

Ayes, 141. Noes, 2. Neutral, 9.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

700. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Scots opened their ecclesiastical assembly at Edinburgh last week, as arranged. They closed it after only three sittings, in which they unanimously confirmed their decision to yield nothing of their old proposals, and to uphold their claims to their last breath. They further declared in most arrogant papers printed and carefully circulated in that kingdom and this, that the terms hitherto published were merely to gratify the king, and to save his face, asserting freely that by secret promises he granted them all that they asked. This disagreeable news has rendered his Majesty very bitter. He has protested in public proclamations the falsity of these divulgations, and he has forbidden, under severe penalties, anyone to read or even keep these papers in his house. He enjoins every one to present them within a week to the Secretaries of State, and that they shall be burned in public squares by the common executioner, and this has been done. He seems determined not to pass this over and

* There is a copy of this letter in the *S.P. Venice*, Vol. 43.

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circulates reports that he will take the field in the spring to humble the pride of that people. This may be very well, but in practice it is confronted by insuperable difficulties, as besides the lack of money there is the spirit of the people of England, who all loudly and openly applaud the spirited action of the rebels. Meanwhile the king loses no time in furnishing the frontier fortresses with more troops, and he has urgently ordered the improvement of the fortifications of Berwick and Carlisle. He also thinks of sending the fleet to Scotland to cut off their trade as well as their hopes of assistance from foreign princes, whose promises, they suspect, have fomented this revolt.

Amid these troubles the Palatine stays on, though he seems unable to persuade his uncle to take those spirited steps that his cause requires. The Ambassador Joachimi says that his masters have become suspicious of secret transactions between the crowns for an agreement excluding the Dutch and the other allied powers. Such negotiations cause apprehension not only because of the Palatine house but for their own interests also, as if these great princes are set free, one might devote its attention to supporting the rebels in Scotland and the other proceed with his pernicious designs upon Ireland, where the Spaniards have an influential party.

Count Rossetti of Ferrara arrived in this city on Monday from the Court of Rome, and was met publicly by the leading ladies. He comes as agent of the pope in the place of Monsignor Coneo. He saw her Majesty two days ago, and performed the first complimentary offices. As the king also was designedly present, he offered compliments to him as well, on behalf of Cardinal Barberino, to the scandal of the Puritans, in particular.*

The Prince of Ratisvil, seeing the Palatine is staying longer than expected in this country, has taken leave of his Majesty and gone to the coast on his way to Holland ; one of the king's warships will take him.

London, the 2nd September, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3. Collegio, Secreta. Esposizioni, Principi. Venetian Archives.

701. The Secretary of England was summoned to the Collegio and informed of the Senate's decision about Simons, that he might return to Zante, he said :

I confess my special indebtedness for the relief given to this person. My king will hear of it with great satisfaction, and will be ready to respond when an opportunity occurs, for the advantage of merchants of this nation, and to show his desire for ever closer union and cordial relations with this republic. I ask your Serenity also to despatch the affair of the merchant Hider, who laments his ill fortune and would like relief. I am sure your Serenity will terminate that difficulty also. The doge expressed his willingness, and with this the secretary departed.

[*Italian.*]

* Rossetti reached London on Sunday the 20th August and was introduced to the queen by Conn on the following day. Rossetti to Barberini the 23rd August o.s. P.R.O. *Rome Transcripts.* He had left Rome on the 10th June n.s. Ferragalli to Conn, the 11th June. *Ibid.*

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Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

702. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The usual pleasures of the chase have detained his Majesty in the country latterly, and so they have done no business of consequence at Court all this week. News comes from Scotland that on the completion of the ecclesiastical assembly his Majesty's deputy* confirmed without cavil the most prejudicial decisions taken therein, and with his consent they are getting ready for the meeting of parliament to ratify the things established. As these things are completely contradictory to the sentiment of recent proceedings here and the severity of the proclamations issued this causes amazement in everyone including the wisest and most influential ministers, as no one yet knows whether it is due to the partiality of the commissioner for the Scots, or because of secret commissions from his Majesty, for the purpose of putting a stop to more pernicious disturbances, and awaiting a more favourable opportunity for his most righteous aims.

They talk freely at the palace about the approaching change of many of the leading ministers. The queen's master of the Horse† has already been declared Vice Chamberlain, which means the Council of State. It is also confidently asserted that besides the Treasurer, the Lord Keeper and the Chamberlain, old but Puritan ministers, will soon be changed, also of set purpose, in favour of persons entirely dependent on his Majesty, with the idea of cautiously weakening the Puritan party, especially with a parliament here. It is thought that the king cannot long put off the meeting of that body, of which men speak with increasing freedom, while the people murmur and protest, after the example of the Scots, that they will not suffer further delay.

The Palatine is waiting with impatience for the answers of the King of Denmark and the Swedes to the invitation to unite with this crown to set up the fortunes of his house. Although the ministers purposely circulate reports that the king will grant that prince a levy of 4000 Scots and as many English, giving him his pension for six years in advance for the cost with promises from his Majesty to maintain those troops, there is no sign of anything that would justify hopes of this being done. Although the French ambassador performed a special office on the subject he got nothing from the king calculated to start a stable agreement.

Meanwhile the Palatine is enjoying the pleasures of the Court. His suite state that the air of the country suits him and he wants to prolong his stay as long as possible though it is not thought that his uncle will allow him.

A sharp fever has kept the queen mother to her bed for some days. Her last attack yesterday was so much less severe that the physicians hope she will soon be well and relieve this crown of the cost of such a long and troublesome entertainment. The

* John Stewart, earl of Traquair, treasurer of Scotland.

† George, lord Goring. He was appointed on Sunday the 4th September, this old post being given to Henry Jermyn. Salvetti on the 9th Sept. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H.

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growing expense forces them to try and reduce it, and they propose to make her assignment 2000*l.* sterling a month instead of 3000*l.*

Monsignor Coneo leaves for Rome to-day. He had rich gifts from the queen and the leading lords at Court. The queen ordered that a ship of the fleet should escort him to France, as if he were an ambassador.* He takes very many gifts to the pope and the Barberini on behalf of her Majesty.

The marriage of the Ambassador Fildinch is made and consummated.† He tried in vain for the post of Vice Chamberlain, and now seems to have made up his mind to wait no longer but return to his embassy at Venice with his wife.

The letters from Italy have not arrived this week, the way being blocked by the forces of the late Duke of Weimar. For the command of these the Duke of Longueville has been selected by France, but the Palatine has not given up aspiring to it, as he hopes that the ministers here will not consent to Germans fighting under any but their own countrymen.

London, the 9th September, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 17. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

703. That the Secretary of the king of Great Britain be summoned to the Collegio and that the following be read to him:

The ways of justice are never interfered with in the republic, and in the case of Laurence Hider the delegation of special judges would only lead to confusion and would prejudice justice itself, so we feel sure that the ambassador will recognise the impossibility of our doing more.

Ayes, 116. Noes, 0. Neutral, 8.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

704. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Lester is back at Paris from England. He has intimated to the Court that he has instructions to ask for the exchange of Prince Rupert, to discover if there is any inclination to grant it. Very little can be seen at present, indeed the Cardinal said to me recently that the King of Great Britain was not on such intimate terms with France as to claim the power of recovering his kinsmen at her expense.

Lyons, the 18th September, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

705. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The king returned to this city on Friday, but only for two days. Although suffering from fever I saw his Majesty on Sunday, and

* He had gifts from the queen, the queen mother, the Countess of Arundel and others, valued at 12,000 crowns in all. Sir John Pennington was ordered to convey him to Dieppe. Salvetti, the 16th Sept. Brit. Mus. *Add MSS.* 27962H. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, page 463.

† Lord Fielding was married to Barbara, daughter of Sir John Lambe on the $\frac{12}{22}$ August. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, page 452.

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told him of the honourable arrangement made by your Excellencies with the Turks in the matter of the Barbary galeots. This has added to your reputation at this Court, and I have not failed to point out that your Serenity chiefly considered the public welfare and to spare Christendom a troublesome war, at a time of division among its princes, and to secure that the pirates shall not be supported in the future by the Ottoman House and ministers, but that they may be attacked everywhere, without consideration. I went on to speak of your appreciation of his Majesty's offers. The king beamed with pleasure and said he had already heard the good news of this accommodation, and his gratification was doubled by my assurances.

The ministers, in the presence of the king and Palatine have held further lengthy meetings both here and in the country about the unhappy affairs of that house, but as they persist in their old principles of not going outside their professed neutrality, while the shortness of money grows worse daily, their deliberations suffer from their original uncertainty. Yet they propose to send back Flam with all speed to the Swiss, in order, through him to get that nation to take up the affairs of that prince.

A reply to the king's letters has arrived from the commanders of the Weimar army. It amounts to this, that if this king will support his nephew with monthly subsidies sufficient to maintain their troops in vigour, they have no objection to receiving him to command that force. They are now diligently circulating from the palace the report that the Palatine will very soon proceed thither. Everyone knows that this is done designedly in order to alarm the Austrians, especially at a time when the King of Denmark is negotiating with the Imperialists for the benefit of this house.

Don Antonio d'Ochendo arrived in the Channel on Friday from Coruna, with 66 ships. When he arrived between Dover and Dunkirk he found the Dutch Admiral waiting for him with 28 well armed ships, full of courage and impatient for the fight. A fierce battle took place, lasting two whole days.* At last Ochendo, showing more discretion than spirit, approached Dover with all his fleet, to take refuge under the castle. The Dutch followed closely and took up a position a short distance from the Spanish fleet. They have cast anchor and are now waiting for the enemy to attempt to get to Dunkirk, in order to join battle again. The Dutch have only lost two ships, one burned and the other sunk by gun fire. An equal number of the Spaniards were captured, and the Dutch have sent with all speed to Holland and France for reinforcements, which are now ready and very powerful, so we hear. The Resident of the Catholic here is doing his utmost with the ministers to induce the king to allow the fleet to help his master's cause in this emergency, but so far he has made no impression on his Majesty. Although he greatly

* According to Aitzema, *Saken van Staeten Oorlogh*, Vol. ii. page 610, the action began on the night of the 18th Sept., but Sir John Manwood, writing from Dover Castle that same day says it began 'this morning between 1 and 2 o'clock . . . . in sight, not half seas over between Dover and the high white cliffs opposite.' *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639 page 491.

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dislikes the action of the Dutch, which is prejudicial to the authority he claims in these waters, yet the king completely dissimulates his feelings, and seems disinclined to meddle between the two powers. Meanwhile everyone is awaiting the outcome of this conflict with the utmost eagerness. All say it is the greatest since the famous rout of the Armada of Philip II glorified their seamanship here.

Eight other English ships have reached Plymouth from Spain recently. There they landed 1,800 foot and 900,000 ducats, both intended for Flanders, affording just cause for remonstrance to the French and Dutch ambassadors.*

The parliament in Scotland goes on. Bowing to necessity alone his Majesty has at last agreed to all the prejudicial enactments of the last assembly. Besides the expulsion of the bishops the Scots have ordained that the ecclesiastical order shall never at any time be admitted to the political or economic government of that kingdom. This considerable encroachment on the royal authority causes his Majesty great apprehension that the same pernicious sentiments may raise their heads in this kingdom as well.

The Ambassador Fildinch is making fresh efforts to obtain a post in the king's household. His mother and all his relations are working hard for this. They are favoured by present circumstances, when they are anxious to cut down all unnecessary expenditure, such as they consider the embassy to your Excellencies, where the distance between the states and the dissimilarity of interests separates you from the concerns of this crown.

London, the 23rd September, 1639.

Postcript: a courier has just arrived from Dover with the news that a reinforcement of thirty Dutch ships has reached their Admiral and he now has sixty-three well equipped vessels.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni. Corti. Venetian Archives.

706. To the Ambassador in London.

Unjustifiability of the Palatine's claims with regard to the treatment of the republic's ambassadors. Nevertheless the republic will not relax its efforts with the emperor on behalf of that House. To gratify the Signory the emperor has consented that the Palatine shall be at liberty to attend the congress at Cologne, which had been refused before. You will refer to this in such manner as you think proper, informing his Majesty of it at a special audience.

Ayes, 150. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

* The *Royal Exchange*, capt. William Brown, with seven other vessels, sailed from Coruna on Wednesday the 7th Sept. n.s. with Oquendo's fleet and reached Plymouth on the 12th. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, page 476.

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Sept. 30.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

707. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish and Dutch fleets still remain between the Downs and Dover. The latter, reinforced by many ships of their own country, is momentarily expecting further reinforcements from France, while the former is the weaker by 14 smaller Dunkirk ships, which carried a million in cash and the greater part of the Spanish troops, which seized the opportunity of a favourable wind to proceed safely to Dunkirk.* Meanwhile the Spaniards do not relax their offices and other means with the ministers to obtain assistance from his Majesty that will enable them to return to Spain without a fight, and enjoy the old privileges of the realm, which provide that when the fleets of hostile powers arrive simultaneously in these ports, one must stop until the other has had twelve hours' start. The Dutch ambassador labours to prevent them having this advantage, and he protests openly that their Admiral is determined to engage in a fresh battle with Ochendo at all costs.

So far the king has replied to both in general terms. He has ordered many private ships to arm and join the fleet, which are now in the river, under the specious pretext of making sure, especially if the French fleet comes, that nothing shall be attempted by all these foreign ships, which might discredit the English shores. But the real purpose is to lay down the law to these fleets, in the present serious circumstances, and so vindicate on the one hand their claim to the control of the Channel, and on the other cautiously to favour the passage of the Spaniards, to whom they have shown a distinct partiality by supplying powder and other requirements. News comes that the Cardinal Infant has gone to Dunkirk to hasten the preparation of a number of ships and send them with all speed to succour Ochendo. Although that officer had the advantage of his enemy in the number and quality of his ships, he has not won the reputation of a brave warrior, a title conceded by all to the Dutch Admiral.

After the long discussions of late, it has at length been arranged that his Majesty shall pay the Prince Palatine three years in advance of the pension of 12,000*l.* that he has from this crown, with a promise that the king will further supply him with such assistance as the circumstances require, according to the amount of his success against the enemy and the spirited nature of his behaviour. The prince now declares that he will proceed without further delay to the army of the late Duke of Weimar. By means of this money and his uncle's protection he hopes he may facilitate overtures not only for the command of those forces but for obtaining Brissac as well.

* Salvetti writing on the same date says that 15 small Spanish ships got through the Dutch fleet on Friday the 23rd and that the Dutch ambassador attributed this to Pennington's assistance. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H. The specific charge made is stated in a letter from Northumberland to Pennington of the 16th Sept. o.s., which gives the number of ships escaped as fourteen. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, page 504.

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In order to give some apparent satisfaction to the French minister here, especially with the Palatine going to Germany, the king has required from Telier an account of his operations at the Imperial Court. As a sign to the French that he never consented to such proposals he has had Telier sent to the Tower of London, to defend himself against the charges brought against him. Everyone recognises that this severity is designed to uphold the veracity of their original declarations, and so people believe that the matter will end with a reward for that minister instead of punishment.

The differences with the King of Denmark about the debts he claimed from this crown have been completely settled by the Ambassador Roe. With this that king has resumed his previous friendly relations and promised to make strenuous efforts with Cæsar for the relief of the Palatine House.

The sittings of the Scottish parliament approach their end without any further troubles. In England complaints come from many of the towns, which seditiously demand the removal of some rites recently introduced into the Anglican Church by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The plan of reducing the monthly assignment to the queen mother, who is now recovered and in perfect health, has failed owing to the influential offices of the queen.

London, the 30th September, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya, Venetian Archives.

708. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

Their High Mightinesses have seized the opportunity of the Spanish fleet taking refuge in the Downs to suggest that the money of the Spaniards be seized under colour of a loan to his Majesty, and as a device for avoiding the perils of transporting it, and that this be used as a fund for the purpose of enabling his nephew to take command of the army of Duke Bernard. They propose to support this suggestion by the offices of their ambassador with that king. The Princess agreed readily, although everyone sees beforehand that the attempt is doomed to failure and is based rather upon an illusory speculation than upon sound judgment.

The Hague, the 30th September, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

709. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Dutch Ambassador has had frequent and very lengthy audiences of the king this week. He has tried hard to persuade him that the Spaniards, under the lying pretence of escorting troops and money to Flanders, were cloaking most pernicious designs upon some of the islands of this crown, in sending so powerful a fleet to these waters, and adroitly hinting that this is the moment to help his nephew, suggesting that he shall seize the whole Spanish fleet, fill it with English troops and then send

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the Palatine on board to attack the Catholic. In his reply the king did not seem to give credit to what the ambassador reported or to be inclined to follow his suggestion, indeed, in order to bridle the Dutch to some extent he has reports circulated that he will support the one to be first attacked in the channel here. He continues busy in strengthening the royal fleet, and twenty well armed ships are at this moment equipped to join it; among them is a new and very large one, armed by marvellous ingenuity with 100 large pieces of ordnance.*

The forces of the Dutch Admiral, who is impatiently awaiting the moment for fighting the enemy's fleet, increase every day. Eight additional ships have reached him laden with fireworks, and at Calais there is a sufficient provision of powder and of other material (*bastimenti*).

The Spaniards, on their side, grow constantly weaker by the desertion and death of a great number of soldiers, while their anxious hopes of succour from Dunkirk fade away, as twenty four ships of the India Company have been sent from Amsterdam to the port of Grave and completely blockade it, preventing any kind of vessel from coming out. Everyone is curious to know what the king will do under the circumstances, but the Council of State has not yet made up its mind, although all appearances indicate that they incline to favour Ochendo. He is a cunning man and a past master in dealing with imminent peril, and he does not hesitate to make secretly the most liberal offers to the king and leading ministers, which is the true way to facilitate the successful conduct of all business at this Court (*il quale scaltro non meno che perfetto maestro dei vicini pericoli, non lascia per avantaggiar la propria causa, di secretamente offerire al Re et a' piu principali ministri l'use di tutte le pretese liberalita, ch'e il vero mezzo che facilita in questa Corte la felice condotta di tutti i negotii*).

The old standing quarrel between his Majesty and the Spanish minister has at last been ended by the offices of the Catholic with the English ambassador in Spain. On Monday, with some dismay to the French and Dutch ambassadors, he saw the king in state, and after justifying the sincerity of his proceedings, he strongly recommended to him the interests of his master.

Reports persist of the Palatine's journey to Germany, and they are devising means at the palace to get together the 36,000*l.* promised to him; but the excessive scarcity of money retards this also, although only a small outlay, and consequently stays the prince, who apparently shows more skill over the pleasures of the chase than can be expected in military matters.

By a decree of parliament the Scots have granted to the prince all the revenues of the bishoprics of that kingdom, but on condition that he shall only enjoy them when he attains the age of twenty one; and meanwhile they are to be applied as an indemnity

* The *Sovereign of the Seas*, launched in October, 1637. *See* Oppenheim: *Administration of the Royal Navy*, pages 260–2. The earl of Newburgh writing to Middlesex on the 27th Sept. o.s. says that Pennington had with him 15 merchantmen and 5 royal ships, but the admiral was about to join him with 6 ships of the royal navy and ten merchantmen. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 4th Report, page 294.

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for the expenses incurred over the late trouble. It has assigned to the exiled bishops 100*l.* a year with the obligation to remain in England and never return to Scotland. Although everyone characterises these decisions as very audacious, and they make the king angry, yet he conceals his sentiments with complete dissimulation, in order to avoid fresh trouble at all costs.

The Viceroy has arrived at Court from Ireland.* His Majesty received him with extraordinary demonstrations of affection and esteem and it is thought that he will be declared Lord Treasurer of England.

Stimulated by the ambition of building up a more glorious fortune the Earl of Arundel proposes to go to Madagascar, in the hope of winning an important conquest in that island by arms. Five large ships are being prepared for this, and many of the gentry have offered to accompany him on that most difficult voyage. Those who know the character of the people there best do not predict success.

I have this week your Excellencies' letters of the 16th ult. With respect to the Palatine's monstrous claims I may say that he repeated a third time by the Master of the Ceremonies, that since his father's death he had not granted the more worthy place that he does to France, to the Venetian ministers who visited him. With the help of information from Giustinian, at the Hague, I have shown how far from the truth this is, yet he repeated it again and said he would not change. Accordingly I shall never consent to see him in order not to prejudice the rights of the republic, which I upheld at the Catholic Court against those who had resisted it for over forty years so that at my departure the Austrian ministers left Venetian ambassadors nothing to desire.

London, the 7th October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

710. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The affairs of Brisac do not look clear yet. It is announced that they have been satisfactorily arranged, but the facts do not bear this out. They are much incensed at the offices of the King of Great Britain to interest the Palatine therein, and in order to bring them to naught they are making every effort to satisfy the leaders of the army, promising prompt succour, with some idea of investing Filisburgh.

Grenoble, the 7th October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

711. Gierónimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

These States are seriously displeased at the escape of thirteen Spanish ships to Dunkirk taking over troops, a considerable portion of whom are in a sorry state, but a part is still serviceable

* On Sunday the 2nd October. Salvetti on the 7th. Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 27962H.

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and of importance for active service. The incident happened under the direction of the English Admiral, who forbad the Dutch ships to blockade the coast and took upon himself the task of closing the opening through which the Spanish ships might put out to sea. But either his greed of the money offered him by the Spaniards overcame his good faith which was pledged to the Dutch, or the king's disposition prevailed in some manner, so that he not only left the passage without any guard, but even escorted the ships through the blockade and conducted them to a point remote from all danger.

This action has greatly incensed the government here and has all but induced them to decide upon precipitate action. For three days now they have debated in the Assembly whether they shall attack the fleet, in port, regardless of all considerations. Opinions varied widely and they took into consideration not only the superficial aspect of the case but the necessary consequences. Their vehement impetuosity was mitigated by discussion and argument, and finally the States agreed, with the exception of one Province, to direct the Admiral to be ruled in the future according to the opportunities which present themselves. They imagine that they can cover themselves by the ambiguity of this phrase if at any time the Admiral should take violent action and the king of England should threaten his resentment, by asserting that the incident took place without direct instructions from the government. This is a very illegitimate device to justify the impulses of their impatience and is still less likely to preserve the rights of the king of England. But before deciding upon this course they sent six delegates to ask the advice of the Prince of Orange. These returned yesterday evening, and the States have since sent to the Prince again, but nothing has transpired about their decision. The Admiral urges an immediate attack, but the king of England has forbidden hostilities to both parties, and threatened to turn his forces against the one who first provokes a contest. The Dutch ambassador writes that the king's Council is partial to the Spaniards, but the king himself maintains an independent state of mind and is more inclined to uphold his neutrality.

With the consent of the royal ministers a quantity of Spanish soldiers of the fleet were embarked on twelve English ships, together with some others, to be carried across to Dunkirk, under the protection of the royal flag. But the Dutch ambassador found this out and remonstrated with the king. His Majesty professed that he had never consented to any order for the transport of these Spaniards, nor had he been informed about it. He gave instructions that the troops should be landed and that in the future his ships should not be used in any act prejudicial to either of the parties.* This pronouncement has afforded singular

* On the $\frac{2}{12}$ Oct. Northumberland transmitted an order to Pennington that so long as the Spanish fleet remained in the Downs none of his subjects should presume to admit on board or give passage to any Spanish soldiers or sailors belonging to that fleet, for Dunkirk, Spain or any other place. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639-40, page 4. As the king's intention was known at the Hague five days earlier, there seems to have been no hurry in forwarding the order to the essential quarter.

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consolation to the members of the government here, who were very doubtful about the intentions of the king of England.

His Majesty has sent an express to the Princess Palatine absolutely refusing to do what she suggested. He says he will not budge from his impartiality, but means to hold a middle course. Nevertheless he has intimated to the Dutch Admiral his intention to be rid of the Spanish fleet soon, and to devise a way for both fleets to put to sea and test their fortune. Here they think this is merely intended to soothe their impatience.

The Hague, the 7th October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

712. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

Everything points to a decision to attack the Spanish fleet. In order to five greater colour to this opinion they have even caused the preachers to declaim publicly about the partiality of the king of England for the Spaniards and his evident propensity to favour them. Further than this they have got the preachers to exhort the people to offer earnest prayers for the happy issue of the public deliberations. But I believe that this is done with the idea of inducing the king of England to rid himself of the Spanish fleet ; and their threats will very speedily evaporate if that king takes steps of his own accord to send the fleet away and so relieves these Provinces of such a serious preoccupation.

The Hague, the 9th October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 14. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

713. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier reached the king from Brisach on Sunday with letters from the commanders of the late Duke of Weimar's army, which have increased the Palatine's hopes of having the command of that force. He set out post for the coast yesterday, to cross hurriedly to France, and after arranging his affairs with the Most Christian, he will proceed towards the Weimar army. The Lord di Crever accompanied him. He was taken prisoner with Prince Rupert, but escaped first by paying his ransom to the Imperialists. He announces his intentions to devote the whole of his huge fortune to the service of the Palatine house only. He has given the most substantial proofs of his devotion by spending 500,000 crowns and more.

Sir [Oliver] Flam set out the same day for Basel, to take up his post as Resident with the Swiss. He takes instructions to urge them strongly to promote the interests of the Palatine house. The agent for that prince is negotiating with the merchants here the sale for other years of the pension he obtains from the Treasury here, the prince being intent on amassing a sum of money which will serve to set his very proper designs on a good footing.

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The Council of State has discussed much about the course to be followed by the king in the very delicate matter of the two foreign fleets here. The Councillors differ in sympathies and opinions, and nothing has yet been decided. Perhaps they hope that something will occur to separate these powerful fleets without the crown interfering. The French and Dutch ambassadors urge strongly both orally and in writing that the Spaniards be ordered to depart from these shores, and that the Dutch be allowed to settle the quarrel with them by arms. But his Majesty evaded this by generalities, while he has caused grave offence to the Dutch by promptly granting to the Spaniards food and other conveniences. Meanwhile the written declarations of the Dutch ambassador that the Catholic forces had designs on this country find support from the death of an English soldier on one of the Spanish ships. Before his death he sent for a confessor of his countrymen, and told him the secret aims and commissions of Ochendo, which were to receive support from many of the leading lords of this kingdom, with whom the Catholic had a secret intelligence for this purpose ; and the fleet brought a quantity of arms to be distributed among Spanish partisans. He charged him straitly to bring all this to the knowledge of the king and ministers. He did so promptly, arousing feelings of mistrust in his Majesty's breast. Without delay he sent the Earls of Arundel, Holland and Pembroke to Ochendo, with orders to see his instructions. But Ochendo, would not show them, because of his master's dignity, and perhaps in order not to disclose some secret design against France, and he said they had all been burned in the fight. The Catholic minister labours his hardest, and not without success, to prove the vanity of these reports and the sincerity of his master's conduct. He shows that the fear of falling in with the French fleet made it necessary to secure the passage of the troops and money to Flanders with such a powerful fleet ; and these considerations have entirely removed his Majesty's suspicions.

Those interested in the fisheries of the North have presented a petition to the king to render them justice upon these ships for the serious damage they received from the Dunkirkers last year.* These circumstances increase the anxiety of the Spaniards, surrounded as they are by the Dutch fleet, now increased to ninety large and well equipped ships, besides ten others which cruise up and down the Channel, making the English ministers give up their original intention of aiding the flight of the Spaniards through the royal fleet, as all see that it would be difficult to succeed in this without serious hurt.

They have sent a courier to the Lord Treasurer of Scotland to try and get the parliament there to modify its decrees, and if that is not possible to try and dissolve it as soon as possible, as it looks as if the people there meant to keep it together for

* Petitions of the earl of Warwick and his associates, and of the earl of Pembroke for the Fishing Association of the 29th September o.s. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639, pages 532, 533. *See also* Petition of the earl of Pembroke for the Association of Fishing, undated. *Id.* 1639-40, page 239.

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their own ends a long time and to make fresh changes to the prejudice of the royal authority.

London, the 14th October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 14. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

714. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince returned here three days ago. They discussed the naval situation at once. The open demonstrations of the king of England in favour of the Spaniards have equally served as an incitement to their action. Their chief concern is that this offer of an asylum to the Spanish fleet shall not be made into a precedent. They also recognise the great advantages they would derive from routing this fleet. Accordingly the more keenly they feel the stimulus to take steps for the destruction of this fleet the more sensible they become of the obstacles placed in the way by the king of England. They are incensed that without any legitimate object of his own interests or any provocation from this quarter that king should interpose between them and their prey when it was ready to fall into their hands. The king intimated to the Dutch ambassador that he would make the Spaniards leave in a week; but at the expiry of that time nothing had been done, the commander of the Spanish fleet having raised various difficulties.

It is supposed that the Spaniards intend to send their troops by driblets to Dunkirk on English ships and to let their own vessels stay where they are until some storm drives the Dutch away. This consideration serves as a more urgent stimulus than any to make an attack. They have practically thrown all circumspection to the winds and see perfectly clearly that their fleet lying there idle is an indication rather of imbecility than of magnanimous resolution. That their self control and modest behaviour may be interpreted merely as a confession of their own imbecility in the face of the provocation offered by the king of England. That monarch, from the behaviour and irresolution of these States, may be induced to magnify his own greatness and seek to increase his own consideration at the expense of the honour of this country. In order to prevent such results, after mature deliberation they sent a despatch two days ago to the Admiral and another to the ambassador in England, apparently of a much more determined character than heretofore.

The armed ships of the Provinces are estimated to number ninety sail; the English, between the two fleets, forty; and the Spaniards as before. It cannot be long before we hear of some violent action from this quarter, unless the king of England interposes for some compromise or suggestion that would prove satisfactory, since matters here have reached such a pitch that something is certain to happen soon as the result of animosity or impatience.

The Hague, the 14th October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

1639.
Oct. 15.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

715. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I communicated to the English ambassador what the Count Duke had told me, that whenever his king wishes they will give a passport for the Prince Palatine. He seemed highly delighted and after thanking me for my good offices he assured me he had written about it to the King of Great Britain. He declared that it was perfectly true that his king desired it greatly.

Madrid, the 15th October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 16.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

716. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Admiral has sent word that recently when he assembled his captains, the English Admiral, suspecting that his signals were intended for battle intimated that he would help the Spaniards if the Dutch attacked, and moved his fleet so as to put the Dutch fleet between him and the Spaniards. There do not seem to be sufficient grounds for deciding whether the object of this move of the English was to leave the field open for an engagement, or if it was intended to place them in an advantageous position. The Admiral has asked for definite instructions. After prolonged deliberation, every one being bound by oath to absolute secrecy, I understand that they have directed the Admiral to attack.

The Hague, the 16th October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20.
Senato, Secreta. Deliberazioni, Corti. Venetian Archives.

717. To the Ambassador in London.

To find out all that is essential about the mission of Sir [Oliver] Fleming to the Swiss. We note the desire to Lord Fildin to obtain office in the king's household. If he succeeds it will leave the post here vacant. You must take an opportunity of intimating to some minister, with whom you have confidential relations, and as if coming from yourself, the need for reciprocity in the matter of ambassadors and for everything that can lead to the inference of community of interests between the two parties.

Ayes, 75. Noes, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

718. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The night after the Palatine left the king sent a courier to persuade him to do his utmost to avoid seeing the Most Christian on his passage through France. The ministers here entertain fresh suspicions that that monarch may not concur in the plan to give the Palatine the command of Weimar's force, and may try to delay his journey, using the interval to thwart this desirable advantage by careful and influential offices. The Prince sailed safely to Calais, passing through the Downs, where the Spanish, as well as the English and Dutch fleets saluted him with all their

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guns.* He took remittances for 10,000*l.*, half on merchants of Lyons and half for Geneva ones. He intends to make his first stop at the latter town and then go straight to Brisach. To the 36,000*l.* promised his Majesty announces that he will add 24,000*l.* more, as a gift, when the prince has actually obtained the command to which he aspires, and says he will show even greater liberality if fortune favours the prince's spirited designs.

The Spanish and Dutch fleets remain as before. On Sunday many large barques reached the former from Dunkirk, with 800 sailors, of whom they were in the utmost need, as the majority of those they brought from Spain were lost in the battle and destroyed by sickness. News comes today that sixteen well armed vessels have reached them, sent by the Cardinal Infant. Fresh ships and troops have also reached the Dutch Admiral, and he now has under his command 120 sail, all admirably supplied with picked troops and every other equipment. He seems determined to attack Ochendo even on the coast of this kingdom, and has not concealed his design from the Vice Admiral Pennington, possibly in order to sound his commissions. Pennington sent word to the king asking for precise instructions as to what he shall do under such circumstances, but so far they have sent him no answer as the ministers do not know what course to pursue, with the Dutch forces so strong. The most experienced characterise the Admiral's remarks as a device to compel the king to ask for the removal of the Spanish fleet from his ports. It shows no inclination to do so with the haste desired by the Dutch. Meanwhile they have sent Captain Gamba di Pallo with ten ships to meet and fight 4 galleons which they understand have left Spain to join the fleet here.†

It is astonishing that the Dunkirkers have inflicted new and very serious injury on English fishermen this last week.‡ Those concerned made strong remonstrance to the king, and he informed the Catholic minister that he must find some way of satisfaction without delay, otherwise he will take vigorous measures to prevent such occurrences and to obtain full compensation for the claimants. The agent sent an express to inform the Cardinal Infant and to prevent any detrimental measures with their fleet in such a critical position. In a long audience he tried to soothe his Majesty, assuring him positively that his master would give prompt satisfaction, and so he stayed the serious danger which threatened him.

As the Treasurer did not succeed in getting the Parliament of Scotland to alter its original enactments, he dissolved it, with universal consent, by his Majesty's order. With its reassembling

* He crossed in the *Bonaventure*, which sailed from Dover on the 4th Oct. o.s. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639-40, page 13.

† Commander Kats was detached on the 9th Oct. with twelve ships to cruise towards the Capes and to watch Dunkirk. Commelyn: *Hist. de Frederic Henri de Nassau* pt. 2, page 54.

‡ It looks as if the ambassador was misled by the petitions of the 29th Sept. o.s. (*See* No. 713 at page 581 above), which do not refer to any recent injuries. Gerbier presented a remonstrance on the 14th October n.s. (*S.P. For. Flanders*), but this also refers to injuries of an older date, and there is no further remonstrance on any fresh subject among the state papers.

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postponed to another time they have given up paying any attention to those affairs here, and they will wait for other opportunities for making good the damage which the authority of the crown has suffered from the license of the people there.

London, the 21st October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

719. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The decision to attack the Spanish fleet is established. The reasons for this perilous step, so provocative to the king of England after the declaration he has made, are, in the first place, the excitement of the people, in the hope of certain victory, which has carried away the government. On the other side arguments were advanced as to the disadvantage of offending the king of England. These were chiefly two, if the fight went against the States, they would suffer (1) the loss of the sovereignty of the sea and (2) the destruction of their herring fleet. But all agreed upon the decision to fight, as if the enemy fleet is routed they count on being able to soothe the indignation of the king of England by some act of submission ; for if that monarch would only open his eyes to his own advantage and safety, he is interested in the preservation of this country. Accordingly the States here cherish the opinion that the king of England will never be totally alienated and hostile, since the destruction of this state would manifestly involve the ruin of the kingdom of England. Although they do not hope to have him ever so purely benevolent as to yield on the question of his usurpation of the rights he claims over the sea, yet such considerations have not sufficed to shake the universal inclination and determination to attack the fleet in his port.

The Hague, the 21st October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

720. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty returned on Saturday to this city from Windsor, where he spent all last week, taking part in the usual Garter ceremonies. I went on Tuesday to fulfil my instructions with him. I told him that your Excellencies had tried to induce the emperor to admit the Prince Palatine to the congress at Cologne for the general peace. I pointed out the very great difficulties in the way, but after much pressure Cæsar had issued an imperial decree that to gratify your Serenity the Palatine might have access to that congress. I remarked that your gratification was the more because you felt sure this would please his Majesty. The king expressed his warm thanks and obligations to your Excellencies. He then asked me very eagerly if this had been managed by your Excellencies or by the Most Christian, whose ministers have tried to make him believe that France induced the emperor to consent through the interposition of the papal ministers. He said he especially wanted to know if the Palatine

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would be allowed to treat at Cologne by his own minister or reprcsentative, or only by writing. I assured him that the very pressing offices of your Serenity's ministers at the Imperial Court had obtained this declaration from the emperor. I thought that the Palatine would be able to set forth his claims at the congress in the same way as the other princes concerned. In this way I made the most of your Serenity's services and obliged the king to remark that he certainly believed that you had obtained this advantage for his nephew, and he took it as a tribute of friendship.

He went on to apologise for the abominable behaviour of the Palatine to me. He said thc prince had no wish to cast any slur on your Excellencies, for whom he had every respect, but he did not wish to change the style observed with other Venetian ambassadors at the Hague. He repeated this more than once. I replied suavely that the Palatine's memory could not be very good as I knew your ministers had never tolerated treatment differing from that of other crowns, according to the custom at all the greatest Courts, respected by his Majesty himself. This induced the king to say cautiously that my contention was perfectly true, and to half hint that if a fresh occasion arose the difficulty would be removed.

London, the 28th October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

721. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Dutch Admiral Tromp, grown impatient of waiting any longer for the Spanish fleet to move, and having received precise knowledge of the spirited intentions of his masters, attacked them on Friday, the 21st favoured by a good wind, inside the Downs off Dover. The cnemy hoisted their sails and put out to sea, and after a bloody fight lasting ten hours eleven were captured by the Dutch, six foundered and three were completely burned. Among these was the galleon of Don Lopes d'Osa. Everyone bears witness that it was ill fortune more than lack of valour, and that he fell in the fight after having proved both his personal courage and his loyalty as a captain.

Twenty eight Hamburg and Ragusan ships, which were with the Catholic fleet together with that of Don Andrea di Castro, lost heart, and without mingling in the fight, ran themselves ashore, preferring to risk a shameful loss there rather than perish by the hands of the enemy after an honourable defence. However the greater part of these, after the battle, were got off, and favoured by a thick fog Ochendo retreated to Dunkirk with nine other large ships where he is now blockaded by the enemy's forces. The losses of the Dutch are not considerable; it is announced that they have only lost two ships.

The Castellan of the Downs, as a protest against the offence done to the ports of this kingdom, fired his guns frequently, but without effect, to try and disturb the progress of the fight. Pennington did the same, though he was weakened by the absence

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of many merchantmen which had sailed into the Thames the day before, having grown tired of waiting.

On hearing this disastrous news the Catholic minister went to the king and complained of Pennington for not having acted with the sincerity and resolution required, in accordance with his instructions to defend the party first attacked, and by liberal promises and hints he urged his Majesty to remonstrate with the Dutch for the scant respect they have shown him. The king expressed his sorrow at the unhappy event. He said he would communicate everything to the Council, and after he had obtained more precise information he would do what best befitted the interests and dignity of his crown.

The Dutch ambassador, to prevent mischief, also asked audience for the following day. He begged his Majesty not to listen to the prejudiced accounts of the enemies of his masters, and to suspend judgment until letters arrived from them to justify their action. The king replied with generalities, his face clouded with wrath. That minister, anxious to prevent his Majesty from proceeding to carry his resentment into action, remarked that he would write to his masters that no inducement would persuade the king to make any change in their old standing relations. At this the king betrayed ever greater agitation and said sharply that he did not give him leave to do so and if he desired a categorical reply to his offices he must put down in writing what he thought best and then he should have a suitable answer also in writing. With this the ambassador took leave and at once betook himself to France, who tried his hardest yesterday to assuage his Majesty's anger, but with scant success so far, as there are plenty who are ready to encourage hasty resolutions, for their own interests and passions. But it is unlikely that the king will take precipitate action lightly, as in the past he has always shown himself especially anxious to keep the peace, and besides, the Dutch also have their supporters in the king's Council.

The ambassador has sent a full account to Holland by courier, suggesting that it will be advisable for the States, in order to satisfy this crown, to send speedily an ambassador extraordinary to justify their action, and thus afford the king an opportunity of saving his reputation by such a public testimony. Meanwhile they have sent for Pennington to go to Court to defend himself against the charge of not having loyally carried out his instructions. This week they sent a courier to the Palatine with fresh remittances of money. The prince advises his Majesty from Paris of the progress of his journey.

London, the 28th October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

722. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince has received a despatch from the Admiral with the account of his victory over the Spaniards. He says he advised the English of the intended attack on the evening before. He

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took advantage of a real opportunity, as some affirm, or of a manufactured one, as is more probable, to give some colour of legitimacy to his attack on the port. This was that a Dutch soldier happening to be killed they had the body carried in sight of the English asserting that he had been struck by a musket ball of the Spaniards, who used to exercise themselves daily in the port, according to military practice, and they had thus broken the neutrality. It is not confirmed but some who took part in the action state that a large part of the English ships at the mouth of the port sailed away, some to escort the Palatine and some for other objects. Thus only eleven were left, against which the Dutch admiral told off thirty of his before he entered the port. When the English saw this, having it is supposed orders from the king not to mix in the fight, they let the Dutch pass, only firing a few shots, but so high as to show that it was an act of interposition rather than one of offence. The Admiral thus reassured, on any doubts he had about the behaviour of the English, advanced into the port, intending, so their High Mightinesses affirm, to compel the Spaniards to leave the roadstead. The Spaniards endeavoured to burn their ships. Some tried to escape while others were run ashore.

Since the action no despatch has arrived from the ambassador in England. This has caused some astonishment and anxiety to the government, as they are afraid that the affair will be badly taken there. They have decided to send an ambassador extraordinary to England to complain of their harbouring an entire fleet of supplies, and also of the transport to Dunkirk of 6000 Spanish infantry on Spanish and English ships. But he will have secret instructions to justify the action to the king and to try and assuage his indignation. Some think that the king of England may be led by this to a closer understanding with the Spaniards, or that he may take his revenge on the fisheries or by reprisals in his own ports. The Spaniards would spend their money freely to encourage any such disposition. On this account lively altercations take place at the debates of the government here, more particularly with those who are guided rather by the popular desires that by the prudence of the wiser heads, and who allow themselves to be carried away by their hatred of the Spaniard, without being restrained by the respect due to the king of England. The behaviour of such persons will afford abundant material in the future for endless consideration and discussion.

The Hague, the 28th October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

723. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The merchants here have news, confirmed to me by the Cardinal of Lyons, that while the Prince Palatine was proceeding incognito from England to Brisac, possibly with the intention of being received, in accordance with the negotiations of the King of Great Britain, to the command of the army of the late Duke of Weimar, he was stopped at Molins. They say that the

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Ambassador Bellièvre, having found out about the journey, gave the information to M de Buglione, his father in law, by whom the arrest was ordered. It will be a matter of great consequence, owing to the trouble it may cause with the English, as they and this nation are always so heated against each other that the slightest incitement is enough to produce the greatest disorder.

Lyons, the 30th October, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 4. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

724. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The king shows more and more bitterness against the Dutch. The French and Dutch ambassadors try to mollify him, pointing out that what they have done is quite in conformity with an article of the old alliance, which gives the Dutch liberty to pursue their enemies into the mouths of the rivers and to the shores of this kingdom. This does not satisfy the king, who openly professes that this permission was objected to on other occasions as prejudicial to the rights and dignity of the crown. Meanwhile he has countermanded the orders to Pennington, who, instead of coming here, is to stay in the Downs, and if the Admiral Tromp comes back to these ports he is to make him prisoner. But the admiral has gone away, being possibly aware of the design, after having, with some small boats, at night, carried off a Spanish ship from Dover, where it had taken refuge in terror. He is now off Grave, trying to inflict more damage on the Spaniards. Their losses are found to be greater and greater, many other ships in addition having been lost on the coast of France. Ochendo's own galleon, unable to enter the port of Dunkirk which was not deep enough, was abandoned by the commander to the discretion of the enemy, after he had dismantled it. The Catholic minister never ceases his outcry against Pennington, declaring that on the evening before the battle the Dutch Admiral presented him with a very rich diamond, on condition that he did not interfere with his plans.

They have sent a courier hastily to Spain with full particulars, with orders to represent to the king how much has been done here to prevent this unfortunate occurrence, within the terms of the neutrality they profess.

Under the pretext of fresh remonstrances about the damage which the Dunkirkers continue to inflict on fishermen, subjects of this crown, they sent this week to the Cardinal Infant the Lord of Norghet, a person of great distinction. I find that they have given him other more weighty instructions, which are kept secret, and given him a despatch which he is not to open before he reaches that Court.*

* Edward Norgate, blue mantle pursuivant and clerk of the signet. His business was to present a justification of the king's action with respect to Oquendo's fleet. *See* his memorandum of $\frac{8}{18}$ November. *S.P. Foreign Flanders.* Windebank to Gerbier, the 18th Oct. o.s. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639-40, pages 43,44.

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News reached his Majesty yesterday of the arrest of the Prince Palatine at Molins. This has caused great perturbation and diminished the hopes of his obtaining the command of Weimar's troops.

When they supposed the fire of civil discord to be completely extinguished in Scotland, fresh and more pernicious disturbances have broken out. The nobility, fomented by the covenanters, have changed their mind and have not allowed the dissolution of parliament. They have unanimously agreed that not only shall it meet every year in future, but it has also been decided, in order to give the common people a greater interest in the revolt, that instead of the bishops a lower chamber shall be introduced, as is the custom in this kingdom, but which has never existed there before. Upon those who adhered to the king's side in the late events, they have laid all the expenses incurred to resist the royal arms, by a heavy tax, and by an even more serious infringement of the sovereignty of the crown, have forbidden Scottish subjects to traffic between that kingdom and this. These measures give rise to very serious anxiety and the suspicion daily increases that they are deliberately fomented by France and the Dutch, equally. At the palace they say freely that in the spring the king will again take up arms against that people ; but the unlucky experiences of last year, the bias of the English towards the Scots, and the great scarcity of money, make it unlikely that this will be realised. To provide against a surprise of Dumbarton castle they have sent many companies of soldiers there, and amid these great difficulties his Majesty has added to the Cabinet Council, who are the ones to prepare the most important deliberations, the Marquis Hamilton, the Viceroy of Ireland and the Earl of Northumberland. In long and frequent consultations with these he discusses the measures to be taken to meet the present serious dangers, and then they devise means to keep within bounds the neighbouring foreign powers in the future.

London, the 4th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 5. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

725. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

Letters arrived yesterday from the ambassador in England, fifteen days after the event. I gather that they have only served to increase the perplexity here. Joachimi says that he could not see the king earlier because he was away hunting, and when he told him the king said nothing but showed his resentment by his expression. They believe here that the king's hostile views are encouraged by the Spanish ministers and by the Hispanophile English ministers. These persons stir up a monarch inclined by his own instincts to placidity, telling him that so great a king cannot swallow such an affront. They hope here, all the same, that the king's natural kindliness will permit the matter to be put right without too much difficulty. Thus there is a general confidence here that the king's annoyance may easily be changed

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into moderation and tranquillity provided the Spaniards by their outcry at such an opportunity, do not succeed in eradicating entirely the natural instincts of the king of England, and carry him away along with their own ardour.

They are hastening the departure of the ambassador extraordinary, who is also to introduce negotiations about the trade of the coast towns, which is extending to the sea outside the Downs (*per il comercio delle citta marittime che si distendono al mare fuor delle Duna*). This trade is giving rise to serious prejudice to these Provinces, and so they wish to seize the opportunity to arrange so that it shall not do any further injury to the vital interests of this republic.

The greatest anxiety of the States is lest the event should produce a close union between Spain and England, to the detriment of this country. From the king of England, alone, who has not enough power to spend sufficiently unless parliament meets, they do not fear any molestation which would be more than their forces could deal with, but from both crowns together the greatest perils would result, as they would not be able at the same time to keep up a stout resistance to the forces of Spain on the one side while on the other they had to meet the attacks which the king of England could make.

The Hague, the 5th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

726. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

They have held long deliberations over the last despatch from England. However they have not altered the instructions for the ambassador extraordinary, though they are urging his departure. He should start today. The long consultations held in England on the subject cause them anxiety, though they take comfort from the known temper of the king and from the obvious advantage which the trade of the kingdom has gained.

The Hague, the 7th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

727. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The news of the arrest of the Prince Palatine was quite true. The secrecy of his journey and the intrigues of the English Resident to establish him in command of the armies of the late Duke of Weimar, which already caused offence, contributed greatly to the king's decision, as soon as he had the news from Buglione, to order his arrest. The idea here and what the ministers publish, that he tried to get this command to open the way for the settlement of his interests with the emperor, may serve to render his release difficult. Some of the most influential already say openly that if he had not cherished designs inimical to the king's service he would not have concealed his operations. If he wanted to fight for the common cause in Germany he knew

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well that with the King of Great Britain co-operating, His Majesty would have given him the means and considered him always as his ally. Meanwhile they have sent a regiment of horse to bring him to the Bois de Vincennes. To put off the outcry of Leicester the king has informed all the foreign representatives that until he has returned and rested some days at St. Germains he will admit no one to audience.

Nevers, the 9th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

728. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

In order to hear from the French the reasons they allege for stopping the Prince Palatine at Molins, and Lord Crever and Sir [Oliver] Flam at Paris the king has sent a courier this week to the Most Christian Court. If, these persons are not allowed to continue their journeys before his return, he propose to send an ambassador extraordinary for the same purposes, with further instructions to make additional efforts to find out what France is doing to encourage and help the rebels in Scotland. The parliament there keeps passing ever more audacious measures, arousing just resentment in the king. The report gains vigour that he means to make a fresh effort with his arms in the spring against that people. The viceroy of Ireland, the minister who at prcsent enjoys most influence with his Majcsty, never ceases to incite him to take violent measures, declaring that that kingdom will supply promptly 20,000 men paid, and there are already many officers of that nation who offer their services with devoted loyalty.

We hear that the States have selected Aerssens to come as ambassador extraordinary to evince their respect and show the necessity which obliged them to attack the Spanish fleet in the very ports of this kingdom. He is expected at this Court very shortly. Meanwhile the Catholic resident works hard to keep his Majesty's feelings inflamed, while steadily intimating the readiness of his master to marry his son to the princess here, if nothing occurs to change him. This proposal is the one that attracts the king and queen most, and so the Ambassador Bellievre labours to discredit the assertions, publishing that that prince is married to a daughter of Cæsar, and that he expects to receive the terms arranged by the first couriers.

Don Antonio di Castro got off to Dunkirk this week with ten of the ships which were beached here on the day of the fight, and the majority of the Spanish soldiers who were here on English barques have also proceeded in that direction. Two ships, also from Cadiz, arrived at English ports two days ago with 400 chests of money, destined for Flanders.

The Earl of Arundel pursues his plan of conquests in the island of Madagascar. For this purpose and as a token of friendship the king has given him a well armed ship, and the earl is hastily equipping others, in order to prosecute his difficult undertaking

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at the earliest moment. The courier with letters from Italy has not arrived this week, and in the absence of material I beg your Excellencies to pardon the poverty of this sheet.

London, the 11th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

729. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

Reports from England announce the indignation of the king at the event in the Downs and his decision to send an ambassador to remonstrate. The States are urging on their own ambassador so that he may arrive first. But the anxieties of the government here are lightened by the king's pre-occupation over the arrest of the Palatine, and they are thinking more about turning their victory to the best account. They believe that the king's own interests will lead him to dissimulate the affront.

The Hague, the 11th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

730. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Palatine arrived at the Bois de Vincennes the evening of the day before yesterday and was put in the highest apartment of the tower where Prince Casimir is, under strict guard, no one being allowed to visit him and he not permitted to leave the room. He seems little disturbed by the incident and passes his time very cheerfully, playing and diverting himself as best he may. He says the object of his journey was to pay his respects to the king and Cardinal and to communicate some important business. He had no other design. He hopes the king will grant him the interview at St. Germains that he would not permit at Lyons. His proceedings give credit to his good intentions, but do not dissipate the impression of the ministers here that he meant to advance his own interests in the army of the late Duke of Weimar. So soon as the king reaches St. Germains they will hold a general council, in which they will discuss these interests in particular, as so far no one will express his own sentiments with any freedom. The great confidence between the king of Great Britain and the Queen Mother and the malicious advantage that the Duke of la Valette takes of this opportunity, render the risings in Normandy much more redoubtable.

Moreta, the 14th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

731. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Lord Treasurer of Scotland has informed the king by repeated despatches that fresh seeds of dissatisfaction have been sowed among the confederates, with indications of open divisions, and so he is working hard to profit by these circumstances to induce the parliamentarians to gratify his Majesty by the

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dissolution he ordered, postponing the conference until next March. He says he does not despair of his efforts bearing fruit and of inducing them to appoint deputies to develop the means for a useful composition, which will re-establish civil repose in both kingdoms, such as all desire who wish well for the king's service. At the same time his Majesty seems determined not to grant the Scots what they claim, and one of the bishops banished by the Assembly having recently died, he announced his successor without delay.* When this is known in Scotland it is feared that it will make fresh trouble there and destroy the efforts of the Treasurer.

Aided by influential representations the Vice Admiral Pennington has at last got them to change their minds and allow him to justify his conduct in the most difficult circumstances of the fight between the Dutch and Spanish fleets. He has sent the king a clear account of the matter, which has completely removed from his mind the odious suspicion that the Vice Admiral had an understanding with the Dutch. As they have a strong party in this country the hopes of the Spaniards to interrupt the old standing correspondence between this monarchy and those provinces by their remonstrances seem to dwindle away. By a special decree his Majesty has conceded as a gift to the Catholic king all the guns and other apparatus of the ships lost off these shores, and even waives his Admiralty rights, which are considerable. This courtesy has not entirely satisfied the Catholic minister here, and he urges more vigorous measures for the services of his master. But that is far removed from the intent of the ministers here, whose sole pre-occupation is to preserve the advantages of peace for this nation whatever the price may be.

A Spanish galleon entered the port of Plymouth two days ago. On the day of the fight it separated from the others, but owing to contrary winds it could not proceed on its voyage to Spain. For the same reason another, manned by 500 men has anchored at the isle of the Weit. It now lies under the fort there, surrounded by 28 Dutch ships, and there are grave misgivings that they may throw away all reserve and attempt to seize it there. We are anxiously waiting to hear what happens.

No decision has yet been heard about the arrest of the Palatine, as the courier sent to France has not yet returned. At the palace they have spent these days in continual dancing and other recreations, which occupy the attention of this idle Court more than anything else.

London, the 18th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

732. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The aspect of affairs on the side of England is rather troubled than menacing. The States here take consolation from observing

*James Wedderburn, bishop of Dunblane, died about this time. Laud to Roe, the 12th November. *S.P. Germany, States.* As there is no official record the appointment of a successor does not seem to have been persisted in.

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that the disturbances of Scotland are not entirely assuaged or quieted. The arrest of the Palatine, which the king has felt very bitterly, does not altogether displease them here, as every incident that adds to the troubles of the king of England favours them here, because the more involved he becomes in disturbances the more are they relieved from cause for anxiety. Joachimi writes that the Spanish ministers are trying to induce the king to pronounce that his coast has been affronted, but he will not be led so far. Arsem, the ambassador to England, is detained by contrary winds. Speculation is rife about the nature of his reception.

The Hague, the 18th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 19. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

733. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The king and Count Duke are much perturbed by the news of the practical destruction of Oquendo's fleet by the Dutch. The ministers blame the King of England, saying that his friendship does not help them at all, as they consider that he ought to safeguard and escort them. They at once held counsel how to make good the loss. To reassure the king they told him there was an English entrepreneur (*partitante*) here, who offered to get them forty English ships.* Even if he did this, the lack or rather absence of sailors, munitions and troops would involve delay and difficulty, so there seems no prospect of a powerful fleet for next year.

Madrid, the 19th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

734. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The deputies of Scotland, all extreme Puritans,† appeared in Court on Monday. We gather that their instructions are solely to adhere pertinaciously to the measures taken by their parliament to the prejudice of the king's sovereignty. His Majesty would not grant them the audience they asked, but ordered them to leave this city within six hours. They obeyed promptly and so the negotiations for a composition are completely broken off, and those to regain by the sword the hereditary control of that kingdom proceed.

The Viceroy of Ireland, whom the king trusts more than any one else, studies to advance his own fortune amid these troubles and increase his personal authority. Thus he urges his Majesty constantly to take spirited measures, and tells him that the Irish will help his just cause with 20,000 foot. He further holds out

* In a despatch of the 15th Dec. Bellievre writes that an Englishman named Reid has recently arrived from Spain with orders to hire fourteen English ships of 500 tons and over, to go to the West Indies. P.R.O. *Paris Transcripts.*

† The earls of Dunfermline and Loudoun were the leaders.

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hopes that he will induce the clergy there also to supply prompt and vigorous succour. Those of England, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, have offered to maintain 10,000 men. All the bishops of this kingdom, in their own interests, are intent on urging that for the decision of these troublesome differences his Majesty must again appeal to the arbitrament of arms, since they are well aware that if their hierarchy is shut out of Scotland it will soon be cast down in England also, involving the loss of the authority and very rich possessions which they at present enjoy.

They have debated at length in the Council how to raise enough money to set on foot adequately the measures they propose to take. They decided at last to levy rigorously the old tax called "ship money." If this proves successful the exchequer will profit to the extent of 200,000*l.* a year, but as the people openly resisted payment in the past, it is feared that very perilous difficulties may be encountered in carrying it into effect.

M. di Norghet writes from Brussels that the Cardinal Infant and all the ministers welcomed him with every token of honour and friendliness. His Highness had sent a courier to Spain urging the Catholic to send an ambassador extraordinary to this Court, with definite instructions to settle the differences about the Palatine house and not only re-establish perfect correspondence between that crown and this, but some useful arrangement to counterpoise the preponderance of the Dutch in these seas. However the Ambassador Aerssens has arrived from Holland and makes his public entry into this city to-day. Everyone agrees that his prudent offices will mollify the king, who is susceptible to every impression, and consequently destroy the machinations whereby the Spaniards with such elaborate industry endeavour to hurt that state.

They have directed the Earl of Leicester in France to justify cautiously the Palatine's move and to try and obtain his speedy release. The original idea of sending another ambassador to that Court for this matter has died out, as now they do not show so much apprehension at the imprisonment of that prince as every one felt at the first news. This confirms that the ministers here care little or nothing about those affairs which are not absolutely inseparable from the most vital interests of the crown.

London, the 25th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci. Francia. Venetian Archives.

735. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

They have had a long consultation about the Palatine, but nothing has been decided, as they want first to hear the views of the king of Great Britain and the tenor of the offices of his ministers. The Secretary Savigni having visited the prince and extended his accommodation has given rise to the belief that they think of releasing him if the King of Great Britain will pay the expenses of the late Duke of Weimar's army, as already they show some leaning to his having the command.

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Prince Maurice, third brother of the Palatine, who was here in college, has gone to serve as a volunteer in the army of Baner, stimulated by the news of his successes.*

Paris, the 25th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 28. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

736. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The ships which went ashore in the recent action have been refitted by the king of England and sent to Dunkirk, whither also the crews scattered about that kingdom were being sent back. The States thought that the king would keep the ships, which were only slightly damaged. They have instructed Harsem to remonstrate and to meet complaint by complaint. Joachimi writes that the king has intimated that he will not listen to a word about the fleet, but the States do not despair of their ambassador adjusting matters.

The Hague, the 28th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 29. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

737. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English ambassador has been to the king this week to remonstrate strongly about the arrest of the Palatine and to press for his release. His Majesty replied that the manner in which the Prince passed through France and his designs in Germany had necessitated the action, which grieved them because of their esteem for the King of Great Britain and their affection for the Palatine; and they would try to find the easiest and readiest method for the common satisfaction. Such is the present state of the affair.

Paris, the 29th November, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

738. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Aerssens had his first public audience of their Majesties on Sunday, with all the usual ceremonial. After compliments and an expression of the desire of his masters to maintain the old standing correspondence with this crown, he went on to defend the attack on the Spanish fleet not forgetting to intimate that this success had destroyed the ambitious designs of the Catholic and would prove equally advantageous to his Majesty. At a private audience he gave further particulars justifying the spirited action of his masters, and proposed measures calculated to solidify the beneficial relations between the two states. The king answered briefly and with generalities. The ambassador behaved with studied modesty, speaking uncovered

* On this same day Northumberland directed Pennington to provide the *Expedition* or some other ship to convey the prince from Dieppe to Holland. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639–40, pages 98, 99.

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for the most part, which is not customary on such occasions. He asked for another audience of the king, which they have so far delayed under specious pretexts, in order to render the king's sentiments more public and make the most of the respect indicated by this mission. This is the sole object of the indignation shown against the Dutch by his Majesty and the most influential ministers. For the rest they are of one mind in the wise intention not to break the ancient union with the Provinces, the trade with whom is what nowadays increases most the wealth of this mart and of the whole kingdom also. Meanwhile, in order to prevent an easy success for the Dutch, the Spaniards repeat their assurances that an ambassador extraordinary will very shortly arrive from that crown with proposals that will lead towards the conclusion of the marriage, zealously manipulated by the Duchess of Chevreuse, between the princess here and their prince. But these reports are hardly enough to make an impression upon the ministry here, as they obtain little or no credit.

The son of the Secretary Wilbanch is selected to go to the Most Christian in the capacity of a simple gentleman, to obtain the release of the Prince Palatine.* He will start as soon as his instructions are ready. From what I can see they will be all for mildness and peace. A courier set off yesterday to take the news of this choice to the Earl of Leicester, whose offices on this affair have not given complete satisfaction here. The report is revived that if Wilbanch does not succeed in inducing France to release the prince, if they want some one of higher rank, his Majesty will send the Earl of Holland, whose consideration ranks highest at Court.

Meanwhile the Ambassador Bellievre has made intimations calculated to mollify the king, assuring him positively, in the name of Cardinal Richelieu, that this incident will in the end redound to the Palatine's great advantage and complete satisfaction to his Majesty. In order possibly to evade troublesome obligations by prudent dissimulation, the king now declares freely that he had nothing to do with his nephew's move, except to please him, and he alone carried on the negotiations with the officers of Weimar's army.

Affairs in Scotland become more and more disturbed. The people stand fast by their determination to uphold the enactments of their parliament. It is now dissolved, with an odious protest to his Majesty that he has not observed the terms of the last treaty, and yet claims that they are bound to carry out their part, which means that they intend to expel by force from the fortresses of the kingdom the garrisons placed there by common consent. These misgivings afford them cause for reflection here and distress the king exceedingly. He knows his insecurity at home, and that he is thereby weakened for confronting other

* Thomas Windebank. He crossed to France on the 24th November, o.s. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639-40, pages 147, 158. In reporting this mission Bellievre speaks very slightingly of the father. Bellievre to Chavigny the 2nd Dec. P.R.O. *Paris Transcripts.*

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difficulties that may arise, thus causing a decline in the prestige, with his neighbours and distant princes which his ancestors gloriously maintained.

Thirty ships of Barbary pirates are cruising off Capes St. Vincent and Finisterre. After a stout resistance they captured four English ships, on their way home from Malaga, richly laden.

The courier of Italy has been stopped by Weimar's army, understood to be near Frankfort, and has not reached Antwerp this week, so this Court has no letters from that province.

London, the 2nd December, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 3. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

739. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

An extraordinary courier from England recently reached the ambassador here, with letters from the king about the fight between the Spanish and Dutch fleets off their coast. They represent at the palace that the king considers himself greatly affronted by the action of the Dutch in attacking the Spanish fleet in his ports and that he will not forget it for forty years. They immediately announced here that the English monarch desires an alliance, and offers to unite his fleet with that of Dunkirk. Further, if they accept the proposals already made he will join with the House of Austria against the French for the recovery of Lorraine. When that is achieved they will restore the Lower Palatinate to the Prince Palatine and the princess his daughter will be sent here to be brought up in the Catholic faith, and given in marriage to the prince here. The ambassador, however, denies having received any intimations of this character and rather lets it be understood that the Dutch defend their action, and his king will show himself their friend, as heretofore.

Madrid, the 3rd December, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

740. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

After the Dutch ambassador had waited eight days for another private audience of the king, they granted one last Sunday. In a long and ornate office Aerssens repeated that the sole object of his masters in the attack on the Spaniards was to break the ambitious designs of their enemies, to the mutual advantage, in accordance with the permission granted by the last alliance. He went on to complain seriously that under the specious pretext of neutrality this kingdom had supplied the Spaniards with everything they could have enjoyed even if they had had an open alliance with this crown, and he asked his Majesty not to permit it in the future, and to add some articles to the old alliance which would prevent dissatisfaction and unite the two states by indissoluble bonds, their interests being uniform and their friendly

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ties so strong. His Majesty answered formally charging the ambassador to set down his proposals in writing. He stated, however, that in subsequent treaties with the Catholic he had denounced the article upon which the Dutch base their case, whereas they want it confirmed with new conditions. People think that the ambassador will mollify the king, and will return home without any change in the old agreements. He claims that the ambassadors must visit him first, and so far keeps away from all. When he came I did everything proper. I not only sent my coach to his house, but the Secretary Agostini, to pay my respects. He responded with great reserve, avoiding titles. Subsequently he claimed absolute parity, and is trying hard to get the French ambassador here to concede it. If he succeeds the example will not affect me, unless I have express orders, as in such cases French ministers generally act solely in accordance with the circumstances of the time and the interests of their master, without regard for any prejudice, which might prove irreparable in the case of your Serenity.

Mr. Wilbanch set out last Sunday for France, with all diligence. He takes letters from his Majesty to the Most Christian pressing earnestly for the release of the Prince Palatine. They hope to obtain this by these offices as well as by the lively remonstrances of the leaders of Weimar's army, who have expressed their resentment here at the unexpected arrest of the prince of whom most of them profess themselves vassals.

They have sent the Agent Curtius as minister of this crown to the Princes of Germany. He looked after the interests of the Palatine House at this Court. He has instructions to go to Frankfort to take part in the diet and in all congresses held in that province, and to urge the princes there to protect the Palatine, endeavouring to prevent anything prejudicial to that house at those meetings. If his efforts prove in vain he is to protest in the king's name that such hurtful decrees are null.

The dismissal of the Scottish deputies has greatly increased the disturbance in that kingdom. Since the dissolution of parliament they have assembled the Council which they call the Board, and have unanimously decided not to carry out the agreement made with the king but to keep their troops and prepare for a vigorous resistance. Such decisions prove more and more that it will be impossible to avoid a fresh appeal to arms. In order to do this with success the king has held long conferences with his ministers, consulting about how to compel that people to obey ; but with the continued shortness of money, the lack of experienced commanders and the need of everything else that is wanted, all their deliberations languish and prove to those who are least prejudiced the exceeding difficulty of the task. The Scots, on the other hand, are perfectly aware of the difficulties which limit the king's purposes, and march straight forward to establish to their own satisfaction a government entirely free from their natural dependence on this crown.

London, the 9th December, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 12. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

741. Gieronimo Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the Doge and Senate.

The ambassador extraordinary reports his first audience. Being threatened with exclusion from the Court he had recourse to stratagem. The king received him graciously and he found his Majesty much better than he had expected in treating upon the most essential point, namely the exclusion of the Spaniards from these seas, and the conclusion of an alliance. He says he found that the queen gave great assistance owing to the connection of these Provinces with France. Accordingly the government believes that all cause for anxiety is at an end and that more favourable impressions will have their course.

The Hague, the 12th December, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 13. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

742. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince Palatine is still strictly guarded. Savigni told me that the King of Great Britain is sending a son of the Secretary Windebank to demand his release ; but it will not be so easy. Wrongs received from friends are less bearable than from enemies.

Paris, the 13th December, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 20. Senato, Secreta, Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

743. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The son of the Secretary Windebank has arrived from England in the capacity of a gentleman merely, to ask for the release of the Palatine. He has been to visit the Prince today, with the Ambassador Leicester, in the presence of Savigni ; and tomorrow he is to have audience of the king ; after which we shall perhaps see a little more clearly into the depths of this affair.

Paris, the 20th December, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

744. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Treasurer of Scotland arrived at Court last week with the Marquis of Ontlet. From their reports his Majesty obtained a more precise account of the confused and dangerous state of that kingdom. After long discussion his inveterate objection was overcome by extreme necessity and he finally consented to grant a parliament to England, in the hope of consolidating the love of the people and so obtaining prompt contributions, sufficient to enable him to begin to repair with energy the civil disorders as well as to restore the former prestige of this crown with neighbouring princes. Accordingly on Friday he solemnly assembled the Council of the Realm and announced the proposal. All the councillors approved and the decision was acclaimed by universal applause, especially by the Puritans, who have always sighed for this advantage more than anyone else.

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The Catholics, many ministers of the Court, and others of the magistracy, who fear severe censure, do not approve of the measure, and try hard to prevent its fulfilment, declaring that the immoderate claims of parliament with the reforms which they pretend to introduce, will be like a powerful medicine and do more harm than is caused by the present weakness.

On the other hand, the parliamentarians, in order to strengthen the king in his decision, carefully circulate the idea that they will arrange everything to please him, and will confine their demands within the limits of a praiseworthy modesty, so as not to alienate him from summoning other parliaments in the future. Such things are always said upon these occasions, but those best able to judge from past experience do not believe them and predict that once parliament has met they will not be able to wind it up satisfactorily without offering the sacrifice of some victim, from those most in his Majesty's favour. Meanwhile, in order to hasten the military preparations proposed the royal Council has granted his Majesty a loan of 300,000*l.* on the security of the subsidies to be voted by parliament.

They think of sending the Viceroy to Ireland to hold parliament there also and ask the people there for fresh succour for the maintenance of sixty large ships, which they propose to send out very soon, for the purpose of alarming the Scots by the stoppage of their trade, but equally to cause misgivings to the neighbouring powers, and to the Most Christian in the first place, the detention of the Palatine and other very important considerations having increased ill-feeling and disputes with that crown. The French ambassador has made serious complaint of the offices which Sir [Oliver] Flam is performing against him with the Swiss. He obtained an unsatisfactory reply from his Majesty, who pointed out that the violence shown to his nephew compelled him to do everything that might facilitate his release. In order to help that prince by the use of suspicion they try at the palace to create the impression that his imprisonment has afforded them a reasonable stimulus for arming thoroughly and for assembling parliament. But these remarks do not cause the supporters of France much apprehension as they know quite well that to carry them into effect will involve insuperable difficulties. On the other hand they are still suspicious here that the secret negotiations between the two crowns for an accord are going on and they have directed their ambassador in Spain to operate cautiously in order to stop their progress.

The Dutch ambassadors, as directed, have given their proposals in writing as instructed. But they do not go beyond the original general ideas about the desire of their masters for a perfect understanding with this crown. They only enter into details in their complaints about the facilities afforded to the Catholic to transport money and men to these shores, but stop short at asking that this may be stopped in the future. By fresh verbal offices they have repeated the request for the punctual fulfilment of the treaty of Southampton, which means that they may freely attack Spaniards off the coasts and in the mouths of

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the rivers of this kingdom. To all this the king replied that he could not prevent his subjects trading with those of a friendly and allied prince, as with respect to the treaty of Southampton, the peace with Spain had completely destroyed it. Acrssens does not accept this answer and labours, so far in vain, to improve the terms for his masters. But apart from his success in mollifying the first resentment, it is considered certain that the ambassador will not obtain anything more. By his adroitness and prudence he has made himself very agreeable to his Majesty.

He has adjusted his differences with the Frenchman, who agreed to call first at Joachimi's house. For the rest Bellievre professes to have enjoyed the title of Excellency and to have replied in the third person. Aerssens persists in his claim to parity with me, so our relations are interrupted.

They continue their vigorous preparations at Dunkirk for equipping twenty six ships, with the idea, so I gather, of attempting an important stroke against Normandy, with the opportunity of a rising there. The French, however, watch the enemy closely, and are preparing their fleet to thwart the designs of the Spaniards. The Prince of Orange has asked the queen to act as godmother to his last born son.* They are expecting Count William of Nassau soon, with the formal invitation.

Fildinch speaks openly of his speedy return to his embassy. He has called upon me and repeated the assurance. He says that after he has served his Majesty in the masque, which is to take place within six weeks, he will start without further delay, so that I fear to suggest a different destination would only earn his resentment, without doing any good. He has influence at the palace owing to the protection of his mother and of the Marquis Hamilton, a minister who has great credit with the king.

I have your Excellencies' letters of the 25th ult. I ask for pity if I have not done all my duty. For thirty days I have kept my bed in acute pain, caused by the dampness of the climate, which does not suit me at all. Perhaps the Senate will afford me some relief from the deplorable condition to which this noxious air has reduced me. I enclose the certificates of the physicians.

London, the 23rd December, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosure. **745.** Certificate that the Ambassador Giovanni Giustinian owing to the humidity of the climate, is suffering from chronic catarrh, with almost perpetual hæmicrania, with general lassitude, which disturbs his nights and makes him sleepless. The remedies tried have proved vain, owing to the severity of the attack, which it is not in the power of a physician to mitigate or heal. If he remains longer in this kingdom he is in great danger of falling

* The prince's second son, but he died of colic on the $\frac{13}{23}$ December and was buried at Delft on the 24th. Letter of Sir Thomas Manwood of 24 Dec. *S.P. For. Holland.*

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into a decline. If he leaves this district, purer air may prevent the mischief.

Dated at London, $\frac{13}{23}$ December, 1639.

[Signed]: JOHN COLLARTUS, medicinæ doctor.

[*Latin.*]

Enclosure.

746. Certificate that the ambassador has consulted him about hæmicranica catarrh and general lassitude; many remedies tried, but all in vain, and he has come to the opinion that if the ambassador wishes to recover his health he must leave these parts as soon as possible for the more subtle air to which he is accustomed, as if he remains here any longer his lungs will be affected by the chronic catarrh and become flabby.

Dated at London, the 20th December, 1639.

[Signed]: TH. MAYERNE, Archiatrorum Reg. Comes.

[*Latin.*]

Dec. 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Spagna. Venetian Archives.

747. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English ambassador is certainly carrying on negotiations here, although he announced otherwise. He has been several times at the palace with the king and the Count Duke. It is confirmed that he spoke of the marriage between the prince here and their princess, and of the need to check the Dutch, who have become too insolent. For some days past the affair seems to have cooled off. It is not known whether this is due to some difficulty or to artifice, because as a matter of fact the full truth has not transpired from beneath the appearances. The ambassador has not yet sent back the courier from England.

With regard to the offer of forty English ships, the one who suggested it asks for time to allow him to build them in England. It is seen that this would take too long and would be inadequate for their serious requirements.

Madrid, the 24th December, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 24. Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Haya. Venetian Archives.

748. GIERONIMO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador at the Hague, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Harsem's negotiations proceed slowly. The most discerning here favour the view, which is supported by the experience of previous negotiations with England, that the king there will interpose delays in coming to a decision upon the petitions of these States until such time as the tenor of the Spanish offices is heard at that Court. From what we hear they intend to despatch an ambassador to the English Court about this event of the two fleets on the English coast. Some of the ministers here interpret the unfavourable attitude of the king as a presage of the rejection of their project. The king might have made up his mind to this already did not the troubled state of affairs in Scotland keep him in suspense.

The Hague, the 24th December, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 27.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Francia. Venetian Archives.

749. Anzolo Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King and Cardinal gave courteous audience to the son of the Secretary Windebank. He spoke of the Palatine's affairs, but only received general replies. From what His Eminence has intimated to me they think of profiting by this occasion to constrain the king of Great Britain to take steps in the interest of the public cause to which they have not yet been able to bring him. They will offer the Palatine an army, the command and money, but they require his uncle to give real assistance.

Paris, the 27th December, 1639.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 30.
Senato, Secreta. Dispacci, Inghilterra. Venetian Archives.

750. Giovanni Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.

The Lords of the Council show great punctuality in the payment of their portions of the loan of 300,000*l.* promised to his Majesty. He has not abated one jot of his determination to arm powerfully, and in addition to the orders for a numerous fleet at sea in the spring, he has made arrangements for enlisting a force of 25,000 men and 5000 horse, which they will begin to get together in the middle of this month. The public pretext for these extraordinary preparations is given as the need for checking the ardour of the Scots, but I find that his Majesty and his more confidential ministers have other and more secret intentions. The chief one is to keep within bounds, by the fear of these forces, the parliament which they have decided to open on the 13th April. Meanwhile the king has decided to call one in Ireland, in the confidence of obtaining such proofs of obedience and liberality from the people there, that their example shall pave the way for the satisfaction which he claims from the English also.

At the report of these movements it seems that the Scots have become less exacting and have sent to ask permission to send two commissioners to his Majesty. This was promptly granted with a promise that they should be heard patiently. They have sent back the Treasurer to that kingdom with orders to confirm the news of the meeting of parliament in England, and to see that the instructions to the deputies are arranged so as to allow the crown to be able to embrace the new overtures with dignity and safety. If this is managed, and they seem to place their hopes upon him, *and if the parliament here produces the results desired, the king does not mean to leave this army idle, but will use it to encourage revolts in Normandy, in order to express his resentment with France for the arrest of the Palatine and the secret pecuniary assistance afforded to the Scots, as well as to prevent any designs upon the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, to which the Earl of Leicester asserts that the Most Christian aspires. Thus incitements for no longer temporising with that crown are being increasingly multiplied, and they cherish dark designs here, and they even think of stirring up the King of Poland to the same ends.*

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These are vigorously supported by the suggestions of the queen mother and by the malcontents of France who sojourn at this Court.

The Catholic makes attractive offers to the merchants of this mart to induce them to bring to his service twenty large and well armed ships, with a special obligation to transport from Spain to Flanders his men and money. The Spanish minister here has strongly urged his Majesty, in his master's name, to permit his subjects to complete this bargain. The Dutch ambassadors oppose it strongly, pointing out that to grant this request would mean the absolute contravention of the old agreements, and would compel their masters to throw aside every consideration and prevent the enemy by force from enjoying these advantages. But such threats make no impression on the king, who inclines to give the Spaniards this satisfaction out of which he counts on fresh acts in favour of his ancient claims to the sovereignty of these seas.

A very rich ship has reached these ports from Virginia, bringing goods worth 600,000 crowns. Count William of Nassau arrived here on Sunday to give the queen the invitation I wrote of, and Colonel Gorin is selected by her Majesty to go to Holland to ask the young princess Palatine to take part in her name at the christening of the son recently born to the Prince of Orange.

London, the 30th December, 1639.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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